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OXFORD BROOKES UNIVERSITY

Directorate of **Learning Resources**

Emotion in Organisations: Working in British Pubs

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Oxford Brookes University for the award of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Research into emotions in organisations has grown considerably in recent years, inspiring both academic and practitioner interest. This thesis reviews the growing literature on the subject, especially considering Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour and the possible emotional demands and impacts of service work. Concepts such as emotional exhaustion, burnout and desensitisation are often referred to in the literature although relatively few researchers draw attention to any more positive effects. This project sought to widen the study of the emotional implications of service work to include the large, but under researched, public house sector of Britain's hospitality industry. This thesis investigates the nature of emotion rules in public houses, how such rules are learnt and identifies a variety of both negative and positive emotional demands of pub work and how workers react to these.

A single ethnographic study was undertaken within a large chain of public houses. A mixture of participant observation and in-depth interviews provided a rich variety of data resulting in a broad picture of the nature of the emotions within a number of individual public houses within the chain, with the fieldworker taking on the role of an employee in five such units.

When discussing the emotional demands of their work, there was a common assertion among study participants that pubs were rather different to other types of hospitality outlet. This was seen as particularly relevant to the nature of emotion rules, which were influenced by a variety of stakeholders, including management, colleagues, customers and self. The idea that bar staff need to be and be seen to be genuine with customers was often stressed. Although all were able to recall some specific incidents when some surface and deep acting was called for, these were perceived to be exceptions rather than the norm. Some negative emotional aspects were raised by participants, especially relating to dealing with unpleasant customers or situations. More positive 'effects' of emotional labour were also alluded to, with bar staff claiming to enjoy much of their work dealing with customers. They described pleasure from satisfying customers and even 'enjoying' dealing with less pleasant ones when they felt they could maintain an element of control over potentially damaging situations.

The thesis takes a reflexive approach to the topic being investigated. This is felt to be particularly important given the participatory nature of ethnography and the generally tacit nature of emotions and the management of emotion. The researcher discusses influences, experiences, problems and successes from a personal perspective, helping readers to understand the personal research journey undertaken and come to their own conclusions regarding the value of this piece of work.

To Terri

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Thanks are also due to colleagues of all types from Oxford Brookes University and University College Northampton – fellow research students for discussion and coffees, academic staff for encouragement and students for listening to countless fieldwork anecdotes during lectures.

During the last few years I have been lucky enough to attend a number of conferences and publish material from this project. I must express my gratitude to numerous anonymous reviewers and not-so-anonymous delegates and readers for their usefully constructive feedback and encouraging praise.

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1 Introduction

The study of emotions in the workplace seems to have only gained academic credibility in recent years. Hochschild (1983) originally introduced the concept of emotional labour in her study of flight attendants and bill collectors. A number of researchers have subsequently expanded the topic to various different types of workers including teachers (Blackmore 1996), nurses (James 1992; O'Brien 1994), lawyers (Pierce 1996), police (Stenross and Kleinman 1989) and caterers (Leidner 1993; Phornprapha and Guerrier 1997). This study investigates the emotional nature of work in UK public houses or pubs. It builds on previous research into emotions at work by discussing the implications for this socially and economically important sector of the hospitality industry. This introductory chapter sets the scene for the thesis, discussing the aims and objectives of the research and outlining the structure of this report.

1.1 Rationale

With the rapid growth in service industries it is of particular importance to understand work processes relevant and peculiar to this sector of employment. The emotional demands and social skills of face-to-face interaction with customers require more attention by researchers and practitioners alike. The concept of emotional labour has implications for the management of service operations in two key areas, namely customer satisfaction and the emotional well-being of front-line employees. This study explores the topic from the second of these perspectives in an attempt to consider its personal and human resource implications.

Researchers such as Hochschild (1983) have investigated the emotional demands of service work and often emphasise their potential negative and alienating impact on employees (Wouters 1989; Tolich 1993; Morris and Feldman 1996; Korczynski 2002). Although acknowledging that there are also positive consequences, such individuals often seem to take a predominantly pessimistic view of the subject. This suggests there is a need for studies to consider both negative and positive aspects of emotional labour, and this is what the current project hopes to contribute to. Taking an ethnographic approach helped the fieldworker to experience first hand the emotional demands of a particular service job as well as providing complete access to

a wide variety of fellow workers. This was especially so given the nature of the live-in positions taken, giving close and almost constant contact with colleagues - an additional advantage not available to many less participatory researchers.

Relatively little research into emotions has been conducted within the hospitality industry, and what little there is has focused on restaurants (e.g. Phornprapha and Guerrier 1997; Seymour 2000) and airline hospitality (e.g. Hochschild 1983; Taylor and Tyler 2000). Public Houses are important both socially and economically in the UK catering industry, but have been relatively neglected by researchers - not just those concerned with emotions at work. This study seeks to develop a greater understanding of the sector and the type of work it demands of employees serving 'behind bars', building on the small body of research already conducted throughout the twentieth century by such diverse researchers as the Mass-Observation (1970) team, Smith (1985a; 1985b) and Guerrier (2000).

Another important reason for studying the emotional side of organisations and work relates to the importance of emotions to people more generally. A growing number of researchers recognise that emotions are an integral part of human experience impacting on social experiences such as work, beyond Hochschild's ideas of emotional labour. If this is so, as seems reasonable, any research into organisations that does not recognise the significance and value of emotions is likely to be incomplete. As Fineman (2000:278) concluded, studying emotions 'engages students of organizations in ways that are qualitatively different from other endeavours' and is especially useful in showing academics and managers alike that there is an alternative way of looking at organisations, work and management than the more traditional rationalistic model.

1.1.1 Theoretical Orientation

This apparent social aspect to emotions highlights an important discussion about the academic investigation of emotions. Certainly emotions have been studied by a wide variety of researchers from a number of disciplines. A review of the literature identifies differences between sociologists (e.g. Hochschild 1983) and psychologists (e.g. Totterdell et al. 1998). However, other disciplines are also represented in the field, including natural science (e.g. Darwin 1998), philosophy (e.g. Ben-Ze'ev 2000) and management practice and consultancy (e.g. Druskat and Wolff 2001). Although

this thesis does consider the contribution and implications of the wider emotion literature, it should be made clear that the researcher has consciously taken a predominantly sociological stance in the theoretical orientation and methodology of this study. For example, the possible socio-cultural influences on emotions are considered central to the thesis, which involves social learning and control, and sees emotions as integral to communication processes.

This perspective is significant to the current study as the concept of emotional labour and the management of workplace emotions are, by their nature, linked to interaction between individuals within the society or culture of an organisation. An investigation into the nature of such interaction and the management of socially based emotions presents researchers with a variety of methodological and conceptual problems, not least of which is the generally tacit level of emotional understanding amongst 'performers'. Likewise the apparent importance of socially constructed gendered emotions adds another dimension to the challenge of understanding and explaining emotions. These issues are central to the research project and are discussed at some length throughout the thesis, showing how the research design and ethnographic approach helped to elicit relevant and useful information from the various study participants.

1.2 Study Objectives

As an ethnographic study, the research objectives developed during the course of the project. Appendix 1 gives an outline of this process. The resultant objectives can be summarised as:

1. To identify mechanisms for the setting and enforcing of emotion rules in public houses.
2. To analyse the processes by which customer contact employees learn such rules and the emotional skills necessary to follow them effectively in public houses.
3. To identify the emotional impacts of such emotion rules as perceived by service employees in public houses.
4. To explore how service staff react to and cope with the emotional demands of serving different types of pub customers.

5. To consider the implications of the emotional demands of service work for employers, employees and customers.

1.3 Limitations and Delimitations

No single research project can hope to provide a full analysis of a topic as complex as the practice of emotional labour in such a large and varied part of the hospitality industry. Thus it is essential to outline some of the limitations and delimitations governing this study.

The ethnographic approach adopted by the researcher provides much rich and deep data with the intention of developing a level of understanding of social phenomena not usually possible with more formulaic, quantitative measures. However, the time and effort expended on such a project considerably limits the size of the sample possible. Therefore the study has focused, not only on a single organisation, but on a relatively small proportion of the units within the pub chain. A more complete discussion of the limitations of the research method is developed in the methodology chapters later in the thesis.

1.3.1 Gender Specific Terminology

Although recognising that certain job titles have become unpopular due to sexual typing (e.g. waiter/waitress, barman/barmaid), it seems less clumsy to use such terms within this thesis when identifying certain individuals (rather than such descriptors as 'female/male member of bar staff). It should be noted that such usage does not attempt to differentiate particular jobs on a gendered basis, but is only intended to identify the gender of individuals.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is broadly divided into sections following the general development of the research project. The approach follows a relatively traditional, linear format (research objectives, review of the literature, method, analysis, conclusion), although it has been suggested that 'this should be considered only an arrangement of convenience' (Lindlof 1995:215). Lindlof's point was that the process of qualitative research is

more cyclical with each of the major activities being carried out concurrently. The point does need to be made that the documentary structure does not necessarily follow the temporal framework of the research as is often the case in a considerable part of the ethnographic and idealist literature.

The first part of the thesis, immediately following this introduction, presents a systematic review of the relevant literature. This is made up of three chapters. The first of these (Chapter 2) gives a general introduction to emotions and emotion management. A number of important issues are discussed including the nature/nurture debate and the importance of culture in determining appropriate or inappropriate emotions. The relevance of emotions to organisations is also briefly demonstrated, preparing the reader for the concept of emotional labour. Such ideas are central to the concept of emotion rules and thus essential to the research objectives, dealing as they do with the nature of emotion rules within the workplace.

Chapter 3 moves the focus more specifically to emotions at work, discussing the idea of emotional labour. The chapter focuses on the first four research objectives in turn. After defining the term and discussing its nature, the focus moves towards the nature of emotion rules in organisations and how individuals learn to perform emotions in the private and work environments, discussing the influence of socialisation and more focused and planned training. The chapter finishes with a review of the potential impacts of emotional labour suggested in the literature and some coping mechanisms utilised by service staff.

Chapter 4 continues with a review of the literature dealing with the nature of work in public houses. Some background to the British pub is provided, giving a brief history of the sector and a summary of public house types and ownership categories which show the social importance of the industry. Although there is a lack of research dealing with emotion rules in public houses, a number of issues relevant to the topic have been introduced from the literature. This helps to identify certain aspects of pub work which contribute to the emotional nature of such occupations which is essential to all the study objectives.

The next section of the thesis discusses the methodology employed in the study. Chapter 5 outlines the rationale for the methodology used, showing the value of an ethnographic approach. This chapter identifies some of the key issues related to social research in general, and studies concerned with emotion in particular. Questions relating to the objectivity or subjectivity of knowledge are considered,

showing how such ideas link with research philosophies such as phenomenology or positivism.

Chapter 6 gives a full explanation of the research design, identifying the approach to data collection and analysis. Each of the main data collection techniques is discussed, showing the particular advantages and the complementary nature of each. After explaining the data analysis strategy the chapter concludes with a reflective discussion of other issues related to the research design, considering limitations, research ethics and support systems available to the researcher during each stage of the project.

Chapter 7 gives a brief, reflective account of the pilot study, demonstrating the benefits gained from testing the data collection and analytical techniques in the field prior to the main project.

The next part of the thesis presents the findings of the research, applying them to the literature. Chapter 8 introduces the pub chain and each of the units that participated in the project. The second part of the chapter seeks to provide an overview of some of the employee attitudes towards the organisation as reported throughout the study, dealing with such issues as commitment at work, relationships with colleagues and head office and the influence of gender roles within the chain. This background to the organisation and employees helps to explain the study findings by exploring the nature of the work, management, employees, customers and relationships which combine to produce the setting and context of the study and thus enables the research objectives to be achieved.

The next three chapters generally follow the structure chapter 3, addressing the research objectives in order. Chapter 9 considers objective 1, and discusses the nature of the emotion rules identified during the fieldwork. The organisational and individual approaches to emotion rules provides a useful insight into the nature of emotional labour in the participating public houses, identifying the influence of particular groups (e.g. management, colleagues, customers and self) in designing such rules. The crucial issue of emotional authenticity in pubs is also considered with particular reference to the apparently unique position of this part of the hospitality industry.

Chapter 10 focuses on objective 2 and explores the processes used to learn emotion rules and skills. The experience of participants is considered in some depth, examining a number of training and socialisation processes and discussing the concept of emotional control in operations.

Chapter 11 deals with objectives 3 and 4, considering the impacts on, and coping techniques utilised by, service staff. The experiences of participants are compared with the generally negative impacts identified in the literature. A number of negative impacts are identified, varying in the level of seriousness and damage as perceived and reported by interviewees. Various coping mechanisms are also outlined with particular emphasis given to social support from colleagues.

The following chapter (Chapter 12) presents a more reflexive and personal discussion of some of the key issues identified during the study. The intention is primarily to demonstrate key thought and emotion processes experienced by the researcher during the investigation. It represents an attempt to share some of the experiences of conducting the research with the reader, attempting to identify and consider biases and other influences on the data collection, analysis, evaluation and conceptualisation. Recognising that objectivity is difficult if not impossible, this seems to be one way of enabling the reader to evaluate the worth of this research based on as full and open an account as possible. Thus the evidence presented in relation to the research objectives is considered from the researcher's perspective, discussing the nature of the data at a more personal level.

The final chapter (13) of the thesis draws the key findings together, demonstrating that the objectives were achieved and discussing the project's wider implications in relation to objective 2. The strengths and weaknesses of the thesis are considered, showing the significance of the findings in relation to the literature. The thesis ends with some recommendations for further research and a brief reflective concluding statement.

2 Emotions

2.1 Introduction

This chapter has the objective of introducing some of the key issues related to the study of emotions that are highlighted in the literature, thus setting the scene for a deeper discussion of emotion in the workplace later in the thesis. It aims to provide a conceptual background for the study and its objectives which are developed in the next chapter. A number of important issues of relevance to emotion rules are discussed. It begins by examining the concept of emotion more generally, from a personal and social perspective and continues by raising a number of issues of particular importance to this project's specific research objectives. In particular the social and cultural influences on emotion are considered, introducing the concept of feeling and display rules and the communicative functions of emotions that are integral to emotional labour. The chapter concludes with a brief introduction to the study of emotions in organisations that will be built on in the next part of the thesis.

2.2 What is Emotion?

There seem to be few direct definitions of the term 'emotion' in the sociological literature, although the concept is often mentioned in rather vague terms. Scherer (1996:282) suggested that an emotion could be considered as 'a *hypothetical construct*, which is not directly observable as such, but which is inferred from a number of indices and their interaction [emphasis original]'. This suggests that emotions cannot be directly observed, but have to be interpreted from various visible indicators (such as facial expression), thus emotion is not a single, easily measurable thing, so any definition of emotion 'can only be a product or theory' (Frijda 1986:1). Scherer (1996) argues that emotion should not be seen as having the same meaning as 'feeling' as feeling is only one part of the total emotion, which also includes neurophysiological responses and motor expression, outlining an 'emotional triad' of 'feeling, physiology, expression' (Scherer 1996:284).

This definition provides a useful description of the elements of emotion (feeling, expression and physiology), but fails to clearly show what emotions are. Following a similarly triadic approach, Reddy (1999:268) analysed 'emotional utterances' (such as "I am angry") and identified three elements that help explain how

the individual deals with emotion within the self. He suggested such emotion claims have '(1) a descriptive appearance, (2) a relational intent, and (3) a self-exploring or self-altering effect.' The first of these deals with a simple description of an emotional state, while the second shows a link between emotion and action, perhaps explaining or proposing an activity. Reddy (1999:268) used the example of saying 'I am in love with you' to 'propose or confirm a long-term sexual liaison.' The third element, 'self-exploring and self-altering effects' refers to an individual's attempt to cognitively and verbally interpret feelings, engaging in reflective consideration of the emotional state.

2.2.1 Emotions as Cultural Constructs or Genetically Inherited

The idea that individuals are in some way restricted by emotion rules or norms, whether socio-cultural or inherent to all humans, requires some consideration. This section will briefly examine some of the arguments related to the source of such emotion rules, which are of importance to the understanding of emotions at work in public houses.

There has been a long running debate regarding the causes of emotions partly instigated by Darwin (1998) who, more than a century ago, was one of the first writers to consider seriously that emotions and their representation in body movements and facial expressions could demonstrate a relationship between human beings and the lower animals. The debate on the influence (if any) of society and culture on emotions has resulted in various extreme points of view. For example, Ekman (1998:xxiii) even suggested that some cultural relativists considered the very concept of emotion to be an 'invention of Western Culture', seeing it as another example of the apparent attempts by dominant societies to Westernise other cultures. The weakness of this suggestion is highlighted by cross-cultural studies in emotion (e.g. Russell and Yik 1996; Levy 1973 etc.) which clearly demonstrate that various types of emotion can be found in both Western and non-western cultures. The emotional nurture/nature dispute reflects wider psychological, sociological and anthropological points of view, with a variety of evidence supporting both perspectives to an extent. This section briefly outlines the debate, highlighting some of the key arguments propounded.

2.2.1.1 Nature

Hochschild (1979:551) provides a useful introduction to the study of emotions. She pointed out that, in the past, social psychologists following the organismic school of thought demonstrated a 'tacit assumption' that emotions are not influenced by social norms or rules as they were seen as essentially uncontrollable or instinctive in nature. An implication of this perspective is that such social rules are exclusively focused on the observable behaviour or conscious thought of individuals, rather than their feelings. Hochschild (1979) however argued that people do seem to experience relatively orderly emotional experiences, suggesting that this is a result of social pressures or feeling rules. This is not, in itself, a satisfactory thesis as biological impulses would not necessarily result in anarchic, unpredictable emotions. Darwin's (1998) extensive investigations into emotions, among both humans and other animals, resulted in his three key principles of emotion expression which suggest that biologically caused emotions could be orderly and even predictable. These principles are:

1. The 'principle of serviceable associated habits'. This asserts that certain states of mind result in particular actions that would 'relieve or gratify' such states of mind and associated sensations, desires etc. and that such actions are habit forming. This suggests that certain emotions act as an involuntary catalyst towards actions in order to satisfy particular needs related to a state of mind. For example the instinctive desire to flee when frightened by some external stimulus would result in some physical preparation to actually run away, even if not actually carried out. Such a frightened person's muscles would tense into a preparatory crouch, just as sprinters do when preparing for the start of a race.
2. The 'principle of antithesis'. This suggests that directly opposite states of mind (to those referred to above) generate a 'strong and involuntary' tendency towards similarly opposite actions, although such actions serve no particular function (except perhaps that of communication). This could be seen as supporting the habitual nature of emotions and emotional display. Darwin clearly illustrates this principle by describing the aggressive and friendly posture of a house cat. The aggressive cat crouches to spring, eyes wide open and prepares teeth and claws to attack, while the friendly cat arches its back with eyes closed and tail erect to

show affection. Darwin suggests the latter has no purpose other than to stress friendly intentions by displaying the direct opposite of aggressive expression.

3. The 'principle of actions due to the constitution of the nervous system, independently from the first of the will, and independently to a certain extent of habits' (Darwin 1998:34). This principle could be seen as including all other responses to emotions that do not fall into the previous categories and includes the involuntary aspects of expression that seem to have little obvious function, and could even be seen as disadvantageous. Examples include excessive trembling or sweating when angry or afraid.

All of these principles would lead the reader to expect somewhat similar emotional responses among individuals of a given species that follow a similar genetic blueprint, and sometimes more widely. For example, aggressive displays have many similarities throughout the animal kingdom. Ekman (1998) considered that the value of emotions as a form of personal or social communication stems from the idea that their display is generally involuntary and easily recognisable by others. He did recognise that individuals may attempt to hide (or communicate false) emotions, although his earlier research suggested that such displays are not exactly the same as those of genuine emotions (Ekman and Friesen 1969). For example, his work on facial expression suggested that certain muscles in the face are not under conscious control, resulting in individuals often being able to deduce whether some emotional expressions communicate genuine feeling or not.

2.2.1.2 Nurture

One of Hochschild's (1979) key objections to such an organismic perspective seems to come from the argument that society has no real influence on feeling, although cultural norms may require individuals to control the *display* of feeling. She suggests that, in addition to physiological, instinctive influences on emotions, social factors also influence the way an individual labels, interprets and manages emotions, and that these 'microactions' of labelling, interpreting and managing have a very real influence on the construction – or social construction – of the emotion itself. The reasoning behind this assertion seems to be linked to the idea that the thoroughly socialised human, or 'normal adult' (Hochschild 1979:155), would endeavour to actually *feel* (or suppress) an emotion that is controlled by a socially required display rule. She coins the phrase 'emotion work' (Hochschild 1979:561) to describe the process, differentiating the attempt to feel an appropriate emotion from 'control' or 'suppression' of inappropriate ones. Thus, an individual may consciously suppress 'happy' feelings when attending a funeral, seeing them as inappropriate, and attempt to generate sad and mournful ones rather than simply covering happy feelings in a cosmetic way. Thus, the nurture argument sees both expressed emotions *and* actual feelings as being subject to social influence, hence:

> That emotions are "socially constructed" has meant two things: (1) The individual is the site, but not the source, of emotional events; (2) the learned feelings that individuals express are consonant with the ambient social order, its norms, its ideals, its structures of authority (Reddy 1999:259).

Kemper (1981) warned that exaggerating the influence of cultural norms on emotions should be avoided. He stressed that, although different cultures do have different attitudes towards the appropriateness of particular emotions, this does not prevent individuals experiencing less fashionable or acceptable emotions. He illustrates this idea with an often cited vignette (Levy 1973) describing how a Tahitian man experienced a negative feeling when separated from his partner, which he interpreted as illness. Such a feeling (somewhat akin to sorrow or loss in English) was hypocognated (not included in the language's vocabulary) giving the man no way of verbally interpreting the feeling and resulting in him perceiving his condition as a type of physical illness.

2.2.1.3 Nature and Nurture

The most realistic conclusion to be drawn from the argument summarised above is that both nature and nurture play a part in the development and use of emotions in humans as Ekman (1998) suggested. Frijda (1986:263-264) highlighted various types of emotional stimuli in both animals and humans that appear to be inherited (such as distress calls from young stimulating caring emotions in their elders), while others provoke differing emotions dependant on circumstances, indicating an element of social learning. For example, 'rough-and-tumble play induces fear in small infants and merriment in those same infants a few weeks later' (Frijda 1986:264). Darwin's (1998) work with animals seems to support this dual nature of emotions as inherited and learned. A mature animal confronted with a dangerously angry, fearful or protective representative of another (or similar) species seems to know to leave well alone and retreat, but the young may not be so aware of danger signals without some sort of prior learning. Similarly, young children do not seem to instinctively know the appropriate behaviour and demeanour for a funeral without some adult instruction.

Certainly inherited emotions (such as fear of danger) seem to have an important role in facilitating internal and/or external communication, as will be further discussed in the next section. Culturally monitored emotions, however, have an increasing importance as society develops with certain instinctive emotions (such as uncontrolled rage) seen as of less value or even socially destructive in more sophisticated social environments.

Reddy (1999) offers a slightly different perspective which may help to explain different schools of thought in the debate. He suggested that individualistic cultures (referring specifically to the *West*) tend to see emotions as 'messages from a private place within the individual', while more collectivist cultures encouraged the view that emotions are social products (Reddy 1999:258). Thus, the way emotions are seen and conceptualised by researchers can differ considerably depending on cultural and philosophical orientation.

Socially derived rules are of particular importance when considering emotional labour, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Thus this study will focus on the socially constructed side of emotion as it is primarily concerned with organisationally derived and imposed emotion rules, which raises another issue highlighted by Fineman (1993b) when he questioned the usefulness of simplistic,

'deterministic approaches to organisational life' (Fineman 1993b:11). He suggested that social constructionists would argue that as social constructions or 'in-the-head fictions' (1993b:11) themselves, organisations are not the easy-to-identify things that many student and management text books suggest. He showed how organisations are often written about as entities in their own right, although they rely on shared rules or norms to achieve some level of organisation of people and resources. Interestingly one student text co-written by Fineman (Gabriel et al. 2000) does provide a rather more critical view of organisations, suggesting that:

> Strictly it makes little sense to say that organizations have goals, that they act, that they control individuals' behaviour. It is people, not organisations, that have goals, act and control. Nevertheless, these are convenient ways of describing behaviours and actions of large numbers of people associated with each other. Furthermore, people talk and behave as *if* organizations act [emphasis original]. Organizations can be thought of as the aggregates of the actions of numerous individuals (Gabriel et al. 2000:333).

However, organisations are still referred to as somehow being separate entities having definable cultures and identifiable organisational 'rules' of emotion.

2.2.2 What is an Appropriate Emotion?

The idea of appropriate emotional response was raised earlier in this chapter, and is of great importance when investigating any aspect of emotion. The previous section suggested that social influence is of considerable consequence in deciding whether particular emotions are appropriate or not, and introduced the significance of social construction of actors' behaviour and emotion from an organisational perspective. The following sections address the conceptualisation of 'appropriate emotions', discussing feeling and display rules from cultural and situational perspectives.

2.2.2.1 Feeling Rules or Display Rules

Hochschild (1979:563-569)[1] addressed this issue by coining the phrase 'feeling rules'. She suggested that although such rules are often 'latent' or not usually consciously thought about (Hochschild 1979:563), there are numerous more explicit types of rules

[1] Hochschild's work on emotions and emotional labour is more fully discussed in the next chapter, considering the theoretical and methodological basis of her influential research in the field in more depth.

or conventions relating to different situations (e.g. You *shouldn't feel* so guilty' or 'You *don't have a right* to feel jealous' [emphasis original]. Hochschild 1979:564).

This recognition of a possible disagreement between actual and acceptable (or appropriate) feelings is Hochschild's (1979:57) argument in favour of the existence of such rules governing feeling. It also seems to add weight to the argument in favour of socially constructed emotion which was identified earlier. However, the identification of such easily identifiable (explicit) rules also suggests that other, more implicit rules are likely to be in place, influencing people's emotions at a less conscious level. Fineman (1993a:218) draws attention to the problems of implicit organisational feeling rules, differentiating them from clear, often communicated 'regulations' that take the form of verbal instructions to service workers. He asks how individuals can learn such 'unspoken, and largely invisible rules'. This issue is central to an understanding of the processes involved in emotion management and labour, and as such will be investigated in more depth as the thesis develops.

Despite the apparent existence of such feeling rules, if Scherer's (1996) definition of emotion is to be adopted, the implied dominance of 'feeling' should be treated cautiously. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993:89) approach this issue by suggesting that 'display rule' is a more appropriate concept; they suggest that emotional labour is primarily concerned with 'publicly expressed' emotions, although this does seem to ignore the importance of influencing customers' emotions. Both of these concepts appear to have value, although neither, taken individually, satisfactorily includes all the elements of emotion and emotional labour, rather making up parts of a whole. Display rules may seem more useful in the study of the subject, especially from a behaviourist's point of view, but to fully understand its nature and impacts actual feelings, cognition and physiological state should be examined as well. A useful way of thinking about these rules is to realise that feeling rules provide a certain foundation for display rules. For example, feeling happy at a wedding may be a feeling rule, but if an individual feels unavoidably sad for some reason, the relevant display rule would be that such sadness should be hidden and/or happiness feigned. Thus, although researchers may claim to identify specific feeling or display rules, the tacit, unspoken nature of many such rules makes such differentiation problematic. For example, in the above example one researcher may conclude the key rule to be the feeling rule, if an interviewee expresses the need to feel happy, while another researcher may interpret the issue to be the individual's

worry at not being seen to be happy. So, although it is relatively easy, and important, for researchers to conceptualise differences between feeling and display, at an empirical level researchers' analysis and interpretations could differ. Thus it seems that feeling and display rules may not be easily differentiated in practice.

In order to avoid any confusion with these two concepts it seems appropriate to consider more general *emotion* rules in this thesis. Thus, distinguishing between feeling and display rules will not be a primary concern here, as it would be difficult - if not impossible - to do so in a study concerned with emotional labour.

Hochschild (1979) took her arguments further, introducing Goffman's (1971) discussion of acting. She conceptualises two types of acting relevant to emotional management, identifying *surface acting* to represent the 'direct management of behavioural expression... outward demeanour' (Hochschild 1979:558) and *deep acting* when an individual attempts to alter her or his actual feelings to fit the culturally appropriate emotion. In The Managed Heart (Hochschild 1983) she develops this idea of deep acting further, providing numerous examples from her fieldwork. Airline cabin crew are encouraged to feel that the 'cabin is your home' (Hochschild 1983:120) to develop a more comfortable atmosphere for travellers and using 'emotional memories' (Hochschild 1983:105) to facilitate the 'right' feeling was explicitly encouraged by cabin crew training programmes. Certainly this divide fits with the division between display rule and feeling rules respectively, although it is not likely to be very easy for observers – whether fieldworkers engaged in formal researchers or casual participants – to be able to identify which is being followed in particular situations and by particular actors

2.2.2.2 Culturally Appropriate Emotions

Wouters (1992) suggested that attitudes towards emotion have changed in recent years (especially in developed countries) and there is less perceived need to artificially hide or suppress certain emotions because societal attitudes towards them have altered. For example, 'today, admitting that one is afraid no longer means that one has automatically to act upon the emotion.' (Wouters 1992:229). However, he claims that this idea of more open or emancipated emotion has not resulted in the end of emotion management, rather that it has moved the focus somewhat. For example,

emotion management is integral to personal 'image building' (Wouters 1992:233) and successful employment in the growing service industry.

This idea that a society's perception of appropriate emotions has gradually changed gives further support to the importance of culture in an individual's emotion management. Comparing research across cultures also provides evidence that different groups make different emotional demands upon their members. Levy's (1973) example of the Tahitian language not including certain emotions is a good example of this. Various other cross-cultural studies also add to the evidence, although often what may appear to be major cultural emotional differences do not stand up to close scrutiny. For example it has been suggested that romantic love is a culturally alien emotion to China, but Russell and Yik (1996:186) assert that this is a misconception by Western researchers who misinterpreted the 'social practices and personal experiences of couples in China'. This example demonstrates the importance of careful collection and analysis of data when dealing with cultural issues more generally, suggesting that it can be easy to jump to erroneous conclusions based on incomplete observations or dubious interpretation of data. Perhaps it is tempting to attribute great differences in *all* areas, to observations made in surroundings or situations that are obviously different in such things as language, climate, fashions of dress, greetings or food to an individual's normal setting.

When considering the idea of culturally appropriate emotions, analysis of the role/power of the agents of socialisation is crucial. In Chapter three the issue of learning to perform emotions is considered in some depth, linking to such socialisation agents (such as family, school, workplace etc.) and the guidelines (both explicit and tacit) established by social institutions such as work organisations.

2.2.2.3 Situationally Appropriate Emotions

As culture seems to play an important role in establishing the appropriateness of emotions, some consideration should perhaps be given to situational context. This could relate to physical place, times, audiences and other situational factors.

Fineman (1993b:21), for example, pointed out that organisational cultures have physical spaces in which emotional displays differ, giving various examples of places where 'customers' have little or no access (such as staff canteens). He suggested that rules for such displays are likely to be relaxed in such environments

where it is often seen as appropriate for individuals to show their negative feelings towards customers for cathartic purposes. Much the same could probably be said of personal, out of work life as well, where such relaxation or modification of appropriateness could be possible in the home or some public areas such as the local pub - the latter being of some importance to this study.

2.2.3 The Functions of Emotion.

To perceive emotions as essentially rational, given the 'appropriate nature' argument outlined above, requires people to see them as fulfilling a useful human function, whether physical, psychological or social. To better understand the nature of emotions, it seems appropriate at this stage to ask what purpose emotions serve, rather than simply describing what they are. Earlier in the chapter some such functions were identified, for example, the crying baby stimulating caring emotions in its mother, but more discussion would be useful at this point. Wiley (1990:128) claimed that 'information communicates feeling and feeling discourse and behaviour provide information.' This suggests that feelings are both a reaction to and expression of information, although it is stressed that feeling is not so much a biological sense as one that is 'socially constructed, cognitively interpreted, physiologically recognised [and] behaviourally displayed' (including all Scherer's proposed components of emotion). Thus it is argued that, without a social frame of reference, most feelings would be meaningless. Levy (1973) seems to offer some support for this idea when discussing interpretations of certain feelings. In the Tahitian example introduced earlier in this chapter he argued that if a feeling does not have a cultural label or an emotional interpretation, it may be perceived as a physical illness. His thesis asserts that feelings can be inspired outside of socially constructed strictures, but may not always be fully allowed to develop into socially communicating emotions. Thus:

> Emotions seem to be feelings which convey and represent information about one's mode of relationship as a total individual to the social and non-social environment; and they seem to involve sensations with essential autonomic nervous system components (Levy 1973:271).

The Tahitian example also illustrates a problem with much culturally-based emotion research highlighted by Scherer (1996:301), who suggested that language has been the major focus of such research. He suggested that areas such as 'values, goals, personal

schemata, casual attributions' and other such constructs (which are admittedly challenging to investigate) would also be valuable concepts to research in the field in order to better understand how cultural factors influence emotional processes.

In addition to communicating with others, emotions can perhaps be seen as a form of internal psychological or physiological communication, as a 'means by which we know about our relation to the world' (Hochschild 1983:219). Scherer (1996:305) also suggested that an important function of emotion is to prepare the individual for specific action, perhaps at a motor level, by providing energy (perhaps by increasing the rate of respiration). Such an argument could be extended to a motivational level, with the individual wanting to run or hide when frightened, or comfort someone when feeling pity, with emotions adapting the individual or group to varying situations. Such adaptation of behaviour also indicates that emotions usually perceived as negative (such as anger or fear) do not necessarily have wholly negative outcomes, and serve an important purpose in themselves (Kiefer 2000). Being *paralysed* with fear, for example, could serve the important function of keeping a person still while an enemy or predator passed by. This seems to support Darwin's (1998) 'principle of serviceable associated habits' as discussed earlier, where a useful emotional trait becomes habitual to a species, although it may lose some of its earlier value. Perhaps such fear inspired paralysis could be more disadvantageous in certain circumstances - perhaps running away would often be preferable. Timmers et al (1998:975) pointed out that certain types of emotion expression may also have internal 'cathartic effects', citing the example of relief of crying when sad or frustrated and slamming a door when angry. This demonstrates a function which has little value beyond a subjective feeling of satisfaction when no more practical release is available.

2.2.4 Emotions in Organisations

Fineman (1993b:10) stressed the importance of emotions in organisational life, suggesting that 'Feelings contribute to, and reflect, the structure and culture of organisations'. The two editions of his well known text (Fineman 1993a; 2000) présent a variety of studies which serve as a useful introduction to the field.

Emotional labour is not the only 'emotional concept' relevant to the understanding of work and organisations. The study of emotions in organisations generally has grown considerably in recent years, although it has been indirectly

referred to for many years. Concepts such as staff and guest satisfaction could be seen to reflect - at least in part - emotional responses to work organisations. One school of thought - especially evident in the management literature - seems to see emotions as irrational and 'disorganised interruptions of mental activity and as impediments to normal functioning' (Ben-Ze'ev 2000:2). One example of this is evident in Weeks' (2001) article on 'Stressful Conversations'. The paper's brief introductory note clearly suggests that emotion per se is a negative influence on the rational communicator suggesting that 'We all get caught in conversations fraught with emotion. Usually these interactions end badly' (Weeks 2001:112). Briner (1999) draws attention to this sort of negative view of emotions from a variety of perspectives, and points out that:

> Terms such as "business-like" and "professional", for example, seem to specifically exclude emotion and imply that emotion is something which might get in the way of work activities (Briner 1999:16).

One apparent attempt to recognise the importance of emotion to human activity was the introduction of the concept of emotional intelligence (Mayer and Salovey 1995; Goleman 1998). This suggests that emotions can be seen as appropriate or inappropriate and represents an attempt to demonstrate that there is a certain rationality to emotions.

In his interesting conceptual discussion of emotion and rationality, Ben-Ze'ev (2000:1) outlined his view of two 'senses' of rationality - descriptive seeing rationality as requiring 'intellectual calculations' and being 'normative' with rationality involving an 'appropriate response in the given circumstances'. He suggests that although emotional response does not usually involve the former, it is often rational given the latter definition. He goes further, claiming that 'our emotion behaviour is clearly not rule-following behaviour' (Ben-Ze'ev 2000:11), apparently disagreeing with those who argue the existence of feeling or display rules. On further examination, however, this seems to reflect a difference in philosophy rather than actual disagreement. He goes on to suggest that emotions are not governed by such 'intellectual calculations', although this may seem so at times such as in the examples given by the likes of Hochschild (1983) referring to the way we think we ought to feel in certain circumstances. Ben-Ze'ev's (2000) opinion is rather that intellectual and emotional aspects of personality are necessarily complementary but cannot really be seen, 'thought' about or theorised about in the same way as each other as they are somehow diametrically opposites. The earlier section on emotional feeling and

display rules suggested that much of the literature on emotions alludes to appropriate emotions and emotional displays, although Ben-Ze'ev (2000:15) would see these rules more as general guidelines or 'guiding principles-such as "drive safely" – rather than specific rules – like "don't exceed 100 kilometres per hour"'. Thus the issue of what is appropriate (and who decides what is appropriate) is often not very clear and will be considered in some depth later in the thesis.

The view of emotion as irrational seems to have been supported by those researchers and managers who focus on emotional negativity. Kiefer (2000:4) for example highlights areas of the literature that stress the negative emotional reactions of employees to organisation change. She bemoans the common perception of emotions as 'negative and as an obstruction to change, causing failures.' On the other hand, in her study that studied a large service organisation following a major merger, Kiefer (2000) suggests that emotions should be seen 'as part of the individual and social experience of [organisational] change... reflecting valuable perspectives of different stakeholders in the organization.' Her suggestion implies that examining emotions can be a useful way of finding both positive and negative reactions of individuals to planned and actual change, and that such reactions are not always negative towards the change.

2.3 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to the study of emotions generally, highlighting a number of issues relevant to this investigation, such as 'rational' and 'appropriate' emotions. The literature suggests that emotions serve an important communicative function, which demonstrates the relevance of culture to an understanding of emotions. There seems to be little doubt that emotion rules, whether feeling or display rules, are therefore governed by a mixture of cultural and inherited or instinctive factors. Such a combination of influences has the potential for contradiction and perhaps ambivalence resulting from personal and social forms of communication, which is likely to be important to this study of emotional in a work organisation. The concept of such culturally 'designed' emotion rules (both feeling and display rules) has been discussed, introducing a key issue that will be considered at some length later in this thesis. The mechanics of how such emotions are learned by

individuals is an issue that also needs to be investigated in order to consider the different influences on people performing emotions.

From a slightly different perspective, the discussion of emotions and organisations at the end of the chapter seeks to demonstrate the importance of an understanding of emotions to organisational effectiveness. Individuals' emotional responses to colleagues, subordinates, supervisors/managers and customers all affect organisational performance, as do their reactions to strategic and organisational change programmes, although it is a relatively new area of interest to and investigation by management researchers. The next chapter will focus more on emotions in the organisational arena, focusing on the phenomenon of emotional labour.

3 Emotion Rules in the Workplace

3.1 Introduction

This chapter develops some of the key ideas introduced in the previous chapter focusing on the idea of the commoditisation or commercialisation[2] of feeling and emotional labour. Its objective is to review a number of key issues pertinent to the study's research objectives that are revisited later in relation to the empirical findings.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of emotional labour and an analysis of the work of Hochschild (1983) who originally coined the phrase. The chapter then focuses on the specific research objectives. The design and enforcement of emotion rules (Objective 1) are considered in the section on 'identifying emotion rules in organisations'. Following this how employees actually learn such rules (Objective 2) is discussed, looking at both socialisation and training processes. The final part of the chapter moves on to the important area of perceived emotional impacts of working in service occupations (Objective 3) and how workers deal with and react to such effects (Objective 4). This also raises the related issue of emotional authenticity at work, which requires consideration. This chapter also begins to consider the influence of gender on emotions at work, a theme that recurs throughout the remainder of the thesis.

3.2 Where it all Began

Hochschild (1979; 1983) originally applied emotion and its management to service work situations and developed the concept of emotional labour. Her best known work, *The Managed Heart* (Hochschild 1983) outlines the findings of her research into the emotional aspects of airline work and debt collection, and has proven to be a seminal text cited by most (if not all) subsequent researchers in the field. Before attempting to discuss Hochschild's ideas of emotional labour it would be useful to consider the

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[2] These two terms seem to be used interchangeably in the literature on emotional labour. Despite this, commoditisation and commercialisation could be differentiated somewhat, with the former seeming to emphasise emotion as a commodity to be sold or purchased in the service industry, while the latter could be seen as a more general term referring to the management or *use* of emotions within the commercial world. Although these do seem similar, commoditisation seems to relate more to Hochschild's (1983) view of emotional labour, while 'commercialisation' would relate more to any management of emotions required in the work situation – for example, empathy with and manipulation of staff emotions.

empirical research itself and how her influential ideas germinated. Later in the thesis the value of a reflexive approach to research is considered, and this short section intends to give the reader some idea of how perceptions of this important work affected the attitude of the current study.

The first chapter of the Managed Heart provides an interesting insight into the conceptual development of emotional labour. Hochschild draws attention to individuals and theories that inspired her work, and outlines the subsequent methodology she pursued. For example, the book opens with a discourse on Marx, comparing the work of modern day flight attendants with that of a nineteenth century seven year old child labourer. The first is physically exploited by male capitalists, while the second is emotionally taken advantage of by the same group. This simile seems worthy of note given the potentially emotive nature of the comparison. The adult flight attendant is compared with the rather pathetic image of an exploited child which seems more likely to inspire sympathy or outrage than an exploited adult coal-miner, mill-worker or shop worker, each of which would live and work in similarly exploitative and harsh conditions. Hochschild explains that the 'reason for comparing these dissimilar jobs is that the modern assembly-line worker has for some time been an outmoded symbol of modern industrial labor' (Hochschild 1983:8) despite earlier claiming to find 'some unexpected common ground' (Hochschild 1983:4) between the two examples.

At this point it would be useful to consider the value of such comparisons to the researcher. In their discussion of tropes[3] in organisational research Oswick et al (2002) identify a number of criticisms of using such literary forms from the literature. They acknowledge the potential value of tropes, but, citing from a variety of academics, caution that that by seeking to find similarities between different things 'they reify and act as ideological distortions' and 'they can obscure and lead the generation of scientific knowledge' (Oswick et al 2002:294).

Thus, from the start of her book, Hochschild seems to be preparing the reader for a generally negative perspective of capitalist exploitation of the worker. She suggests that '*seeming* [emphasis added] to "love the job" becomes part of the job' (Hochschild 1983:6), thus hinting that even if an employee claims to or appears to love her or his job, this could be interpreted as additional evidence of the control of

[3] 'A trope is a figure of speech in which a word is used in a non-literal way (e.g. a metaphor or metonym)' (Oswick et al 2002:294).

capitalism over individual workers. A loose interpretation of this could see her work as focusing on showing capitalist work practices as negative even before any primary data was collected, demonstrating the need for the reader to be aware of any such bias from the writer. This issue is certainly not peculiar to Hochschild's work, but deserves attention when evaluating any writer's work. Korczynski (2002:144) critiqued this focus on one perspective of her work. He particularly identified one quotation from her data about 'work[ing] with people' (Hochschild 1983:143) which he suggested 'should be central to [her] analysis. Instead, it is a quick sentence dusted off before turning to the real topic for Hochschild which is the *tensions* [emphasis original] of emotional labour' (Korczynski 2002:144).

The actual methodology Hochschild utilises also requires consideration. She describes two differing approaches to data collection. She first used qualitative questionnaires with students, apparently to collect exploratory data relating to gender and class influences on emotion. Secondly she observed and interviewed flight attendants working for Delta Airlines and interviewed a small sample of bill collectors who also worked for Delta. The data collected from these various sources led Hochschild to her conclusions regarding emotions at work which led to the growing interest in the field from many different disciplines. Later in this thesis there is a fuller discussion about useful methodologies for investigating emotions generally and emotional labour in particular.

Although the criticisms of Hochschild's work discussed in this section may seem, in themselves, to present a generally negative view of her ideas, they should not undermine their importance in the field. Her seminal text 'The Managed Heart' still serves as the basis for much work on emotions in organisations. Almost twenty years after its original publication 'new' audiences are being introduced to her ideas (for example, Hayes and Kleiner (2001) reviewed her work in a journal entitled *Management Research News*).

3.3 Conceptualising Emotions at Work

Emotional labour could be seen as the management or display of appropriate emotions while working, requiring 'one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others.' (Hochschild

1983:7). This quotation is helpful, as it succinctly includes each of the three key emotional labour factors:

1. 'Inducing or suppressing feeling' - following explicit or implicit feeling rules.
2. 'Outward countenance' - conforming to display rules
3. Producing 'the proper state of mind in others' - the key reason for emotional labour is really to 'manage' customers' emotions, stimulating appropriate emotions and avoiding inappropriate ones for the benefit of the organisation.

The implication here is that in service industries 'in processing people, the product is a state of mind' (Hochschild 1983:6). This last concept was further explained by Leidner (1999:83) who stressed that such 'nonemployees' are not just observers (or customers) but should be seen as 'coproducers of the interaction whose cooperation is required for the work to go forward.' Thus, apart from being dissatisfied themselves, customers can also hold up the work process if not in such a proper state of mind, and so spoil the service experience of other customers.

The literature suggests various different types of emotional labour including 'personalizing an impersonal relation' (Hochschild 1983:109), or perhaps depersonalising an overly personal one, refraining from reacting negatively to abusive behaviour and 'maintaining a perpetual, sincere smile' (Macdonald and Sirianni 1996:9). However, such definitions and concepts are rather descriptive and have little to differentiate them from other theoretical constructs such as emotion work, emotion management and emotional intelligence (which are considered in the next section), except, perhaps the link to formal, paid work, although even this is problematic when examining areas such as voluntary service work.

3.3.1 Emotional Labour, Work, Intelligence and Management

In order to develop a satisfactory understanding of emotional issues in service work it is helpful to consider the nature of certain key concepts relevant to the subject. Emotional labour is the most relevant theoretical construct to this particular study, but others do appear have a certain bearing on the research objectives. At the very least these need to be differentiated from each other.

Emotional labour, as defined above, has been described as performing emotions for commercial gain (Hochschild 1983), which seems to be the main identifying factor. Emotional Intelligence (EI), on the other hand, is a more general

term which implies the regulation of emotions 'according to a logically consistent model of emotional functioning' which is relevant both in and out of work (Mayer and Salovey 1995: 197). Thus EI could be seen as the ability to select and express emotions appropriate to situations within society generally, not merely at work, and to accurately interpret emotions in other people.

Both emotion work and emotion management also show similarities to such emotional intelligence, although they could be perceived as more concerned with the ability to control emotions in line with different societies' expectations through personal effort (hence emotion *work*). Hochschild (1979:561), for example, showed how individuals often use active verbs such as 'squashed', 'tried hard', 'killed' and 'let myself' to demonstrate effort or even internal struggle to control emotions. She suggests that this exertion involves three elements, 'cognitive' work (attempting to change thoughts to inspire particular emotions), 'bodily' work (trying to change physical reactions, such as trying to slow breathing rates) and 'expressive' work (directly controlling facial expression and emotional gestures). Thus, emotional intelligence could be seen in predominantly cognitive, intellectual terms, knowing about appropriate emotions, while emotion work seems to focus on the need to directly work at emotions in a number of different ways. Emotion management, on the other hand, could be seen as involving all these areas of emotions; knowing *and* doing.

Examining the motives or rationale behind emotional labour could be a useful exercise when attempting to clarify definitions. There are various different types of emotional labour which could perhaps be categorised by purpose or objective. For example, an organisation or individual employee may seek to develop and retain a certain level of control over customers by changing guests' own emotional states, usually (but not always) attempting to develop positive emotions. By fostering particular feelings, organisations attempt to maintain what is believed to be an appropriate atmosphere in different settings. For example, a lively, energetic discotheque would hardly be possible with depressed or bad-tempered staff and clientele. Another perception of emotional control relates to the requirement that staff do not react in kind to abusive behaviour, with the intention of avoiding inflammatory or confrontational encounters with customers. Hochschild (1983) discusses a number of examples of this from her cabin crew study, explaining that Delta airlines label angry customers as 'irates' (Hochschild 1983:25 and 110-111). This is seen to help

depersonalise such encounters, helping staff overcome possible reactive negative feelings.

Another objective of emotional labour can be seen as 'personalizing an impersonal relation' (Hochschild 1983:109). Because many service industries have a relatively homogeneous service (for example, hotels offer an essentially similar product of accommodation, food and drink) organisations can attempt to gain competitive advantage by offering special service in an industry that would otherwise be 'little differentiated' (Noon and Blyton 1997:127). Such personalisation is likely to require staff to induce or suppress feelings/expressions that are inappropriate or appropriate respectively and is closely related to the idea that customers expect their servers to maintain 'a perpetual, sincere smile' (Macdonald and Sirianni 1996:9). Another related approach to emotional labour relates to understanding customers' individual needs, with customer service employees empathising with their customers (England and Farkas 1986, cited in Steinberg and Figart 1999:11). Thus it would be possible to customise service to satisfy all guests. The pilot addressing Delta's trainee flight attendants (Hochschild 1983:4) provides a useful summary of some key motives for performing effective emotional labour. The assertion that a smile is the trainees' 'greatest asset' suggests that such smiles have a tangible and monetary value as a commodity by potentially improving the quality of the service offered and also making service employees' jobs easier by keeping the customer happy.

Such ideas are still not very helpful in differentiating emotional labour from other types of emotion management as the objectives outlined above seem to have a relevance to non-commercial emotions. Perhaps the key idea relates to the employing organisation. An 'emotional labourer' could be seen as attempting to influence the emotions and behaviour of individuals in relation to a relatively impersonal organisation (as opposed to a more personal group such as a family or informal circle of friends) providing a service.

The problem of this differentiation was considered during a useful discussion the researcher had with his supervision team. This resulted in the idea of emotional labour as being directed towards particular ends, taking on an instrumental character, while emotional intelligence was seen as a more general quality that may or may not be deployed in an instrumental way.

3.3.2 Private and Public Emotions

There is a considerable literature on the topical concerns of work-life balance and the relationship between home and work (e.g. Hochschild 1997; Baines and Gelder 2003). Research into emotions at work has also considered the relevance of such issues, examining work and non-work influences on service workers. Many of the reported differences between emotional labour and 'authentic' emotions seem to be closely linked to the concepts of private or public emotions. This essential divide is described by Parkin (1993:167) as the 'public world of paid work ... [and] the private and personal world of the family and the domestic.' Although such public emotions do not precisely equate with our definition of emotional labour as they are included in all types of paid work, rather than the service work peculiar to emotional labour, the concept offers an interesting perspective on the study of emotions at work.

However, some caution should be exercised with this suggested private-public divide. For example, Wouters (1989) finds fault with Hochschild's (1983) apparent over-simplification of emotional labour when she, like Parkin, appeared to equate the term 'public' with 'paid work'. Hochschild (1989:483) agrees with the implied problem with this view, but then seems to abruptly dismiss the issue, moving on to a deeper argument with Wouters' (1989) criticism of her apparent preoccupation with 'the costs of emotional labour' (which are considered more in a later section dealing with the commercialisation of emotions). Perhaps this particular issue could be worthy of rather more attention than Hochschild (1989) seems to have given it in her reply to Wouters' ideas. The implied assumption is that due to the monetary reward offered by such public work, the whole nature of such emotion management will be very different to that of private life. Hyman et al (2001) also consider the issue of public/private; work/non-work from a similar perspective to Hochschild. Their analysis draws particular attention to the difficulties of differentiating work from non-work, especially given the emotional demands, not limited to performing emotional labour for customers, made by organisations. They suggest that:

> Particularly in the service sector, as studies of the exploitation of emotional labour have shown ... the worker is increasingly expected to put their *whole self* [emphasis original] into the job. And, taken a stage further, if the organisation has the whole worker, then traditional distinctions between home and work or work and non-work start to disappear. Companies no longer have 'employees' or staff, they have 'members' or 'associates' and the workplace is increasingly seen as the location for social as well as economic activities -

> team nights out, awards ceremonies, competitions and prizes, all aim to blur the distinction between work and life (Hyman et al 2001:5).

This research project in part seeks to examine these issues, considering how far such demands impact on workers (in relation to Objective 3), and also investigating how far 'private' emotion skills are utilised in such a public setting (in relation to Objectives 1 and 2).

3.3.3 Gendered Emotion

The idea that some types of emotion are linked to specific genders, and that there are feminine or masculine types of emotion has been discussed in the literature (Hearn 1993). There often seems to be a perception that the concept of emotion generally is linked to feminine traits, such as empathy. It is unlikely that someone would label a person showing aggressive (masculine) emotions as being 'too emotional'. Perhaps as a result of this, a considerable amount of the literature on emotional labour seems to be concerned with the gendered nature of emotion. Women are often considered to be generally more aware of their emotions and be more empathetic than men, while men are perceived as displaying more self-confidence and coping with stress more effectively than women (Goleman 1998:7). One reason given for the large numbers of female staff in the 'caring' professions is that women are thought to 'smile and display more warmth than men do' (Steinberg and Figart 1999). A similar finding was reported by Taylor and Tyler (2000:84) in their qualitative study of airline employees when the predominantly male staff selectors employed by a major airline explained that women were generally more 'natural' when interacting with customers and 'naturally' good at that sort of thing'.

Parkin's (1993) main reason for focusing on the public/private divide, as discussed earlier in the chapter, was to investigate the gendering of work – paid and unpaid. She suggested that 'in both spheres [public and private] men tend to dominate and women's caring and domestic role is devalued' (Parkin 1993:168). This idea of female roles being devalued is common in the feminist and more general organisational behaviour literature, based on factors such as similarity to unpaid domestic work, low wages, low status and the part-time nature of many feminised jobs. It does seem that few researchers are prepared to challenge such gender-based theorising. However, Hakim (1996) does dispute some of the more dubious examples

of common knowledge, or, as she puts it 'true lies' (Hakim 1996:203). Her interesting and controversial ideas largely reinterpret existing social and economic data to question feminist explanations of male domination. Although not disagreeing with many assertions (such as the dominance of men in the visible employed labour force), she asks whether this really is a result of all men having greater choice than is available to women.

She perceives a major weakness in feminist thinking that apparently sees all men as patriarchally seeking to dominate women and somehow having a better lot (with greater power potential in the capitalist hierarchy and more actual power within the personal gender relationships of heterosexual bonds). She suggests that men are also often 'forced into the full-time continuous life-long employment career whether they like it or not' (Hakim 1996:204) and should not necessarily all be seen as the enemy of all women. Not all men are lucky enough to find themselves in rewarding and fulfilling careers.

There does sometimes seem to be some unwillingness by many feminist writers to acknowledge that not all men are engaged in a ruthless battle against the female sex. For example, when reporting that male workers joined strike action to support female colleagues Cockburn (1988:35) asserted they only did so because they felt somehow '*obliged* to join them on the *despised* picket line [emphasis added].' The negative connotation of the wording certainly seems to show an unwillingness to see men as individuals, some 'good' others 'not-so-good', rather stereotyping them as a collective enemy. The use of rather aggressive language forms can also add to this image, for example Hey refers to 'monstrously efficient' barmen (Hey 1986:43) attributing a rather negative slant to a quality (efficiency) more normally considered positive. Her description of the 'popular cultural imagery' attached to pub barmen suggests that they 'wear dark suits, bow ties, shake cocktail mixers' (Hey 1986:43). This certainly seems at odds with much rougher and more down-to-earth images presented by writers like Smith (1985a; 1985b). Although this could be seen as illustrating the rather dated data that Hey reviews, it may rather provide a good demonstration of the heterogeneous nature of the public house sector and the differing perceptions and stereotypes held by individuals.

Such a strong use of language can be found throughout the literature (not just related to gender) and can present a rather biased view to the reader. Another example is the rhetorical tool of hypothetical examples which bear little relation to the specific

topic or research project presented. Cockburn (1988), for example, considers the strength of sexist behaviour when discussing gendering in the workplace and discusses the hypothetical use of a computer by schoolchildren. Of course the male children 'soon elbow the girls out of the way' (Cockburn 1988:38). Such examples often seem to be offered as a form of rhetorical evidence to the reader.

A number of other works have focused on the gendered aspect of emotions (e.g. Enarson 1993; Hall 1993; Hearn 1993; Timmers et al. 1998; Adib 2000; Taylor and Tyler 2000; 2001). There are a variety of theoretical orientations toward gender in such work. As suggested earlier, Hochschild herself shows considerable Marxist-feminist influences, while Taylor and Tyler (2001) investigated gender in their study of airline staff by considering the literature on ethics and customer service. They identify two differing philosophies of service. The 'ethic of justice' is seen as being championed by (largely male) management and exemplified by the dictum that the customer is always right. The 'ethic of care' relates more to a 'feminine concern with ethical responsibilities' (Taylor and Tyler 2001:65) and requires recognition of customers as 'concrete' individuals requiring empathy and flexibility to serve effectively. They equate the former with attempts by management to exercise greater control over customer contact workers, with managers taking the role of 'moral managers' (Taylor and Tyler 2001:74). They show the difficult and contradictory 'gendered emotional labour' (Taylor and Tyler 2001:75) expected of the largely female workforce who must see their customers as their managers' 'generalised others' while actually serving 'concrete others' as individuals.

Korczynski et al's (2000) study of call centres considered the same issue, suggesting that 'management actions are underpinned by the dual logics of customer-orientation and efficiency' (Korczynski et al 2000:671), stressing the contradictions of the rhetoric of customer orientation and the 'disembodied image' of customers. They highlight the potential dilemma of staff who must be concerned with interactions with individual consumers – trying to ensure their satisfaction – while needing to be aware of the practicalities of service and productivity. Thus employees 'have to be aware of the concerns of other customers waiting in a queue.' (Korczynski et al 2000:671). Here, bringing to mind Hey's (1986) use of the word, the term efficiency is equated with male-dominated management and is shown as somehow opposed to the human customer-oriented side of service, almost as if both could not fully exist together.

When considering gender and emotion it is necessary to recognise that masculinity and femininity are seen as reflecting roles based on social constructs (Joseph 1989:176). The sex-based traits highlighted above reflect generalisations or stereotypes that, although they may be based on empirical evidence, should not be seen as absolutes and do not necessarily stipulate the actual sex of actors. Goleman (1998:7) suggested that there are more similarities between men and women than differences, and that simplistic generalisations of differences can be misleading as with any other type of simplistic stereotyping. For example, not all women are more adept at empathy than all men, nor are all men more aggressively self-confident than women. Thus it is important that researchers try to take a balanced view of gender-based issues and avoid the trap of giving the appearance of only looking for data (and interpretations of data) that support a favourite stereotype or prejudice. Certainly there are examples in the literature of such apparent influences on investigations, some more openly admitted than others. For example, Hey (1986)[4] explains that she was inspired to study public houses after a number of unpleasant experiences in pubs. It is inevitable that much research will be similarly inspired by such personal experience or interests, and this shows the importance of academics identifying such influences when reporting their findings. In this particular case much of the evidence presented in the analysis is also rather old, published some years before Hey's (1986) monograph (itself almost twenty years old at the time this thesis is written). Thus a more up-to-date study would seem appropriate to re-examine the issues that she originally raised.

It is possible - and increasingly common - for women to work in traditionally masculine jobs and vice versa - for example, the 'masculine' arena of legal advocacy (Pierce 1996) has numerous female lawyers and paralegals, and the 'feminised' world of flight attendants (Hochschild 1983) also has considerable male representation. Despite this, such jobs do still seem to have a strong link with sex-based characteristics and stereotypes. For example, male cabin crew and waiting staff may be perceived as homosexual (Wood 1997) due to the similarly stereotypical view that gay men are predominantly feminine in nature.

From a wider perspective, societal culture is also likely to value gender-based emotions differently. It is perhaps significant that 'Masculinity-femininity' is one of

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[4] Hey's work is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Hofstede's (1980) four key cultural dimensions, and that the United Kingdom is seen as having a tendency towards high masculinity, generally valuing 'feminine' characteristics, such as caring, less than more aggressive or assertive 'masculine' ones (Mullins 1999:32).

It is possible to take this divide further, as Parkin (1993:169) does when claiming that organisations (presumably especially those operating in more masculine cultures) see women's 'sexuality' as a possible 'threat to organisational discipline'. Does this imply that patriarchal institutions devalue feminine traits as a result of fear for their male-based power structures? Examples to illustrate this threat to discipline are evident in the British armed services, both from the past when women were first admitted to front-line fighting warships amidst voiced fears of the possible repercussions of having mixed sex crews and, more recently, the ongoing debate regarding front-line female infantry. This is a different perspective to Adkins (1995) who sees women's sexuality as being exploited by male managers, customers and colleagues in the hospitality workplace, where females are seen as little more than sexual playthings for male staff and attractions for customers.

It has also been suggested that gender differences can be even more apparent in the expression of emotion than the type of emotion, indicating that women express emotions in different ways to men, and are often considered to be more expressive of their emotions than men. For example male demonstration of anger is often more aggressive, while 'women cry more when they experience anger' (Timmers et al 1998:974). The gendered nature of emotions is further considered in the next chapter concerned more specifically with working in UK pubs.

3.4 Identifying Emotion Rules in Organisations

As shown in the preceding chapter Fineman (1993a) asked some important questions relating to emotions in organisations. He cautioned against simply seeing the explicit instructions passed on to workers about 'how they should create the "right" impression in their various occupational settings or moments' as an organisation's feeling rules (Fineman 1993a:219). He asserted that feeling rules may often be more implicit, subtle and even invisible. He refers to such rules as being 'the subtle product of working conditions and the social history of the workplace' and proposed that 'we

could fruitfully explore how different settings become emotionalised in different ways' (Fineman 1993a:219).

Hochschild (1983:56-75) considers the nature of feeling rules at some length, seeing them as a making up a form of 'script or moral stance' (Hochschild 1983:56) towards feeling and a way in which a culture can influence the behaviour of its members. She suggests that the usual way to identify a feeling rule is by 'inspecting how we assess our feelings, how other people assess our emotional display, and by sanctions issuing from ourselves and from them' (Hochschild 1983:57) which suggests such rules are not normally easily identifiable, but implied by a variety of means. Her analysis of feeling rules develops to focus on the way in which such rules and associated emotion management can enter the workplace and be decided by management, thus becoming emotional labour. She describes a number of explicit rules that she identified during her research and shows how these rules are communicated by training communications, such as 'relax and smile training' (Hochschild 1983:105), and organisational rhetoric in advertising, for example 'on PSA our smiles are not just painted on' (Hochschild 1983:89).

However, not all emotion rules are as explicit as this. Putman and Mumby (1993:49) see implicit feeling rules as being 'a by product of the complex process of occupational training, client relationships, and organisational constraints'. They suggest that such rules derive from a variety of sources which seems likely to result in some level of discord if influences from different sources conflict. Indeed, the very concept of a wholly organisational feeling, display or emotion rule could be questioned given the diverse influences on emotions.

There is considerable commentary on the concept of role in the literature dealing with emotion and organisations. Hochschild (1983:132) herself suggested that definition and identification of self and work role are central to the nature of emotional labour. She shows how Delta Airlines' training practices encouraged flight attendants to internalise organisational feeling rules and thus reduce the need for surface acting. Indeed this is one of her key criticisms of such labour which she links to alienation and is discussed in more depth later in the chapter.

Any analysis of emotion rules in an organisation is challenging. Whether specific and generally accepted rules can be fully delineated by researchers is questionable, especially given the tacit nature of many of society's emotion rules. Researchers such as Hochschild (1983) identify explicit organisational feeling rules,

often in line with management rhetoric. However, it seems inevitable that society in general and individual 'members' (both customers and employees) will have an impact on such rules complicating any such analysis. Situational impacts are also relevant to the issue. Goffman (1972) discusses the nature of rules and norms in general human interaction and suggests that:

> Social norms are almost always couched in general terms, as if applying to a particular event because the event is one instance of a class to which the rule applies ... (this is not to say that the individual can formulate the rule in general terms upon request; ordinarily an act of deviance or an act of notable conformance is required before he can demonstrate a competency to make judgements as if geared by a rule) (Goffman 1972:126)

His argument is that interactive 'events' are unlikely to be homogeneous. Thus rules guiding them need to be sufficiently flexible and general to cover different situations. His second point is that such rules are relatively hard to explain by the actors involved (perhaps because of this generality). The rest of the chapter considers how issues relating to such emotion rules have been considered in the literature in relation to the study objectives.

3.5 Learning Emotion Rules for Service Work

Fineman (1993a) also asked how implicit feeling rules are actually communicated and learned within organisations. As explained earlier, he drew attention to the difference between explicit, clearly communicated instructions to direct service staff regarding appropriate emotions and more implicit emotion rules. Perhaps one key difference between emotional labour and more general emotion management relates to the clear and definitive nature of some of the emotion rules imposed by a specific authority (such as management). Hochschild (1983) provides further examples of this imposition within the training of airline cabin crew. However, to gain a helpful picture of the situation requires a deeper analysis of the processes of managing emotions as a part of a paid job.

3.5.1 Organisational Approaches to Learning how to perform Emotions

There is a growing realisation by managers that emotion performance in the workplace is of considerable business importance and requires employees to be

equipped with complex social skills. This is evidenced by work in prestigious mainstream practitioner journals such as the Harvard Business Review (e.g. Druskat and Wolff 2001) and more academic management publications (e.g. Ashforth and Humphrey1993; Morris and Feldman 1996), moving away from the earlier focus on sociological or psychological literature. It is interesting that the examples cited above are effectively reviews of the existing literature, albeit conceptual papers in the case of the latter two. This apparent reworking of the existing evidence and theory could suggest an abundance of empirical studies in the field. This is true to an extent, although there are some areas which have not been investigated as fully as they could be. One of these is the learning of emotional management at work. The literature often includes descriptions of emotional or social skills training, particularly discussing formal scripting (e.g. Deery et al 2002; Hall 1993) and oblique references to the internalisation of occupational norms by (James 1989) and organisational 'indoctrination' of (Leidner 1999:86-87) new employees, socialisation and other concepts. Hochschild (1983:195) links such training with the creation of a damaging false self which is 'overly concerned with the needs of others'.

As suggested earlier, in the past jobs involving such work were usually seen as unskilled, especially when the type of emotion required is seen as 'nurturing' or 'feminised' (such as hospitality service or nursing). Such jobs are often poorly paid in relation to more physical or mental labour (Steinberg and Figart 1999:10). Such societal attitudes towards particular service jobs could also have an effect on how far employers feel they have to plan and control elements of emotional labour. If the technical aspects of a job are seen as requiring little skill, by association the job holder often seems to be perceived as unskilled in emotion management as well and therefore requires detailed training and close control.

Fineman (1996) suggested that there are two key approaches to emotional management in organisations. Some organisations try to mould employees to conform to 'organisationally engineered' emotion rules (Fineman 1996:480), while others may be more prepared to rely on their employees' prior emotional socialisation that is socially rather than organisationally controlled. Thus, some service organisations have more formalised emotion rules than others. Fineman (1993b) showed how clear instructions to workers can be given about appropriate emotions, while Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) outline various less clearly defined, but expected, emotion rules which may not be so explicitly defined. Goffman (1972) also discussed the idea that an

individual can often identify abnormal or norm-breaking behaviour, without necessarily being able to explicitly verbalise which norm or rule is being broken. Perhaps these could relate to the more general culturally derived differences identified earlier; the emotive (or emotional) dissonance (Hochschild 1983:90) when someone thinks they should feel (and/or display) a specific emotion despite experiencing contradictory subconscious or habitual feelings.

In their conceptual review of the emotional labour literature Morris and Feldman (1996:995) suggested that the 'explicitness of organizational emotional display rules will be positively associated with frequency of desired emotional display'. The apparently reasonable implication here is that organisations will be more prescriptive regarding the regulation of employees' emotions if senior management perceive a competitive advantage in instilling clear emotion rules in their workforce. In such cases they may require deep acting rather than surface acting by employees (Hochschild 1983), reflecting the extent to which they expect service staff to internalise roles. For example, Seymour (2000) suggested that companies may choose to encourage workers to remember that they are only playing a part, whereas others expect their workers to actually become the part they are playing.

Leidner (1999) suggested two reasons why certain employers decide not to formalise emotion rules and the training such rules require. If an employer perceives a consistent need for the particular service offered, and that this demand is not likely to be affected by the nature and quality of staff interactions with customers, it is unlikely that they will feel a need to devise formal training programmes in the area. Likewise, if management believes their employees are both willing to and capable of performing a satisfactory level of emotional labour already, then training will be seen as unnecessary.

The latter of these attitudes towards workplace emotions assumes some acceptance that the management of emotions is important to the success of an organisation, but focuses on a supposed existing level of emotional skills among staff. Thus, such organisations stress the role of careful and effective recruitment and selection procedures, considering it as preferable to hire experienced, competent personnel rather than training inexperienced ones. Taylor and Tyler (2000:83) go further, suggesting that the airline they studied relied on the '"natural" skills and capacities' of their male and female employees. This implies that this employer perceives people as having a natural or instinctive, rather than learned, ability to

manage their emotions and that appropriate recruitment and selection can identify the most emotionally skilled. This idea seems rather important, and relates to the earlier debate on the influence of nature or nurture on emotions. It poses the question is it really true that women naturally have more appropriate emotion skills for the job of serving airline passengers, or are these skills developed as a result of life-long gender socialisation? Likewise, this perspective raises questions about whether such gendered assumptions on the part of management are valid or simply unjustified stereotypes. Such questions are important to any study of emotion management at work and the way in which it is learned, is discussed further later in the thesis.

Perhaps two additional scenarios could be added to these ideas. If an organisation is offering an extremely homogeneous product or service (as in any heavily branded service) it could be seen as advantageous to provide a similarly homogeneous 'corporate' emotion/personality to complement the nature of the service as a whole. Finally, it has been suggested that many hospitality (and other service) organisations' attitudes to training of any kind are primarily governed by cost (Goldsmith et al. 1997:8-9). Thus, it often seems that such organisations see almost any training not required by law as to be avoided, or as the privilege of more senior and longer serving staff members. A more critical view of this could even see it as a rather cynical management attempt to devalue the social and emotional skills of staff in order to justify the low financial rewards often offered in caring-oriented service industries such as hospitality, retail and nursing. In other words, employees who have not been through formal training in a skill are seen by definition as unskilled despite a lifetime of hard-learned socialisation.

Even when formal training is given in customer interaction it has been suggested that managers often delegate such instruction to other members of service staff. For example, Cheng and Brown's (1998) international study of hotel human resources management practices identified a formal buddying system with experienced employees mentoring new colleagues on an individual basis. They saw this as resulting in less 'information overload' (Cheng and Brown 1998:145) by spreading out the sharing of essential work information over a longer period of time than formal training sessions would allow. Woods (1991) also found that the most popular approach to training in the six restaurants he studied was following a more experienced member of staff for one or more shifts. Although this approach does seem to have various advantages as part of an orientation or socialisation process, it

also has a number of potentially serious implications for the service encounter. The manager could be seen to be relinquishing some of the control held over the new employees' development within the organisation. It could be perceived by staff as implying that management places a limited value on training per se, as it is not important enough to take up any of their valuable time. There is also a danger that such unsupervised training could be passing on advice, habits and attitudes contrary to management's intentions. Such an approach to training naturally has implications beyond emotional labour, but could be seen as important for learning an organisation's cultural and emotional norms.

Emotional labour training clearly comes within the boundaries of social skills training. Frosh and Summerfield (1986) pointed out that such social skills training is more often carried out by larger organisations that have well-developed personnel procedures. This is of particular relevance to the hospitality industry and pubs in particular, with large numbers of small businesses and geographically isolated units that may make such training more difficult. Price's survey (1994) found a link between the size of a hospitality organisation and its adoption of formal personnel policies generally, supporting the idea that smaller businesses are less likely to offer formal training programmes. Despite this, relatively little attention seems to have been given in the literature to the less direct or formal ways that staff learn about their jobs in the hospitality industry. For instance, little has been written about workplace socialisation in hospitality organisations, which seems rather strange given its apparent importance within the industry.

3.5.2 Socialisation or Training

Performing emotional labour seems to be learned through a variety of different means, including formal training and socialisation, both in and out of the workplace. Therefore, it could be useful to consider what difference (if any) there is between training and socialisation, as both approaches seem to be about facilitating some change of behaviour in an individual. White (1977:1) saw socialisation as including 'the acquisition of attitudes and values, behaviours, habits and skills transmitted not only in school, but through the family, the peer group and the mass media'. On the other hand, Dessler (2000:249) defined training as 'the methods used to give new or present employees the skills they need to perform their jobs'.

There are two major differences between the two concepts: First, the extent to which training is formally directed or organised. Socialisation is not necessarily goal orientated, beyond the goal of living 'in the company of others' (Kelvin 1970:271), while the objective of training is likely to be more clearly definable (such as learning the specific skills necessary to do a particular job). Thus, socialisation could be seen as a type of 'normative regulation ... shaping behaviour rather than dictating it' (Shott 1979:1321). Cook-Gumperz (1973:2) provided a slightly different viewpoint suggesting that socialisation is not only the means of 'becoming human' socially, but the transmission and continuity of culture from one generation to the next. This could be compared with the objectives of training. For example achieving competitive advantage in the marketplace could relate to continuity of corporate culture, but is equally likely to reflect major planned changes within the organisation. As such, it could be argued that socialisation is less planned (if at all) and more the preserve of all stakeholders (peers, subordinates, superiors and customers) while training is primarily planned and instigated (if not always conducted) by management.

The second key difference relates to the rewards and sanctions available to participants to control non-conformance. The techniques of reward and sanction available to managers tend to be more formal and overt, for example, through pay reviews, appraisals and disciplinary action. In contrast, socialised performance is open to both a wider range of punishments from a greater variety of actors, such as customers and colleagues. Given these distinctions, it could be argued that job (or any other type of) training is one part of an individual's socialisation. For example, socialisation could include training in a number of skills, especially those based on a group's shared values, such as raising a family, and regulating emotional display in line with societal (or organisational) norms.

The strength and effectiveness of such organisational socialisation and training are also likely to affect the level of internalisation of emotion rules. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) asserted that internalisation of an organisation's emotion rules is key to the impact of emotional labour on employees, implying that emotional dissonance is unlikely to occur if employees are socialised fully (including attitudes and values as well as behaviour) into such rules. Leidner (1999:87) pointed out that many orientation or induction programmes attempt to indoctrinate new employees into the organisational culture, using 'videotapes, books and manuals, classes, meetings, and ceremonies' to 'convey a sense of inclusion and commitment', teaching them about

the organisation's history and founder(s) to 'win the trust and identification of newly hired workers'.

It also seems likely that internalisation will be made much more difficult if the employer's feeling rules are significantly different to societal norms, or those of sub-cultures to which the employee belongs (Rafaeli and Sutton 1989). Given the importance of such internalisation, management-organised training sessions are unlikely to be sufficient, especially those that instruct rather than persuade. Employees are likely to take the behaviour and apparent values and attitudes of colleagues more seriously than management edicts, seeing 'social validation' by peers (Ashforth and Humphrey 1989:103) as more relevant to them. Hochschild (1983) outlined two approaches to training emotional labourers, intensive classroom based training - as in the case of Delta's cabin crew - and less formal on-the-job training - as with the bill collectors also included in her study.

Delta's approach to such training seems to be focused on empathy with difficult customers, looking for reasons to explain unpleasant behaviour and effectively taking away the right to be angry with customers (Hochschild 1983). Such attempts to justify emotional displays are thought to be more effective than simply instructing employees not to lose their temper or to maintain a happy demeanour. Lockwood and Jones' (1989:46) text on hotel management also stresses the importance of empathy with customers in service situations. They explain that 'social competence' (similar to emotional intelligence) is required on both sides of the service interaction - from customer as well as employee. As such, the social competence of employees is likely to have to allow for various possible levels of social incompetence (or possibly cultural differences) among customers, which would require considerable empathy and skill.

3.5.2.1 Learning Gendered Emotions

In addition to the general socialisation processes outlined previously, there do seem to be certain gender specific means of learning emotional skills, such as the feminine nurturing and caring emotions developed by girls by such activities as playing with baby-like dolls. However such sex-based activities are becoming somewhat blurred in today's society. For example, the popular medium of soap opera was originally primarily aimed at women and seen as a sort of 'litmus test for femininity' (Geraghty

1991: 40), although modern soaps are much more universal in appeal. Likewise, the public house was often perceived as a male-dominated domain (Hey 1986), with certain areas (such as the 'public' bar) being male-only areas serving to socialise their customers into 'masculine' behaviours and emotions. This area certainly has considerable relevance to the current study and is discussed more fully later in the thesis.

3.5.2.2 The Contradictions of Emotional Training

One area that has been given relatively little attention in the emotional labour literature is the apparent contradiction evident in some organisations' 'emotional' rhetoric and reality. For example, Taylor and Tyler (2000:82) discuss an airline whose senior management 'stress[es] the importance of flight attendant autonomy, spontaneity and 'natural personality' during interaction with customers.' Yet later in the same paper (Taylor and Tyler 2000:87) quotes from a training session where the same flight attendants are being given detailed instructions on walking 'softly', making eye contact with all passengers and smiling constantly. It is very easy for an observer to consider such a situation from a rather cynical standpoint, seeing that the flight attendants are empowered to do *exactly what management wants them to do.* Thus, surely it is equally easy for the employees to take a similar interpretation – as one of Taylor and Tyler's (2000:89) flight attendants explained 'they (management) either want us to be natural when interacting with customers or they don't, they can't have it both ways'.

3.6 The Emotional Impacts of Service Work

Perhaps the most obvious work involving emotional labour is that of professional acting. Sir Anthony Hopkins once referred to acting as a 'futile wasted life' due to spending many years in a 'false environment. Everything was fake' (Bradberry 1998:15). Such a negative outburst at his profession seems strange given the considerable financial and status rewards a successful actor such as he receives, and could be illuminating when considering the possible impacts of emotional labour on other less glamorous service workers. Such a view represented by a well-known actor with the financial and status trappings of success is noteworthy. If it is so 'futile' for such an individual, would it not be even more so for a low-paid, low-status employee such as a barmaid or barman? This short newspaper comment does raise the issue of possible impacts of emotional labour, but should be considered cautiously. Hopkins' statements could well have been made on a 'bad day' when his response to paparazzi questioning undermined his normal emotional management.

There appear to be two slightly differing viewpoints related to emotional labour in the literature. Researchers such as Hochschild (1983) seem to focus on the costs of emotional labour to workers, apparently seeing it as a generally negative concept, while others advocate a broader view, considering both its negative and positive aspects (Wouters 1989; Fineman 1993b; Tolich 1993). This debate does seem to be somewhat linked to the idea of public or private emotions discussed earlier, with 'private' seen as good and empowering and 'public' as bad, exploitative and commoditised.

3.6.1 The Commoditisation of Emotions as Negative.

One view of emotional labour as a negative practice relates to the apparent commoditisation of a person's emotions to enable capitalist organisations to maximise profit. The attribution of purely or mainly negative impacts to commercialisation, or commoditisation by some researchers does seem suspect. The very wording used in texts often seems to present a negative picture to the reader, with 'private' feelings being 'processed, standardized and subjected to hierarchical control' (Hochschild 1983:153). Her suggestion is that the organisation may be seen to actually own the emotion, or at least emotional display, of its workers, and thus alienate such workers

from their emotions and the service they provide. Korczynski (2002) considers this assertion at some length, asserting that it 'does not pertain to the *subjective* experience of emotional labour by front-line workers [emphasis original]' (Korczynski 2002:143) because it does not allow for differences in the situation, attitude or experience of individuals, rather overgeneralising in an attempt to identify an 'objective' conceptualisation of alienation.

In some ways Hochschild's (1983) view of emotion at work as representing a cultural concern influenced by what Reddy (1999) saw as the West's 'preoccupation with individual autonomy' (Reddy 1999:258). Such a perspective could result in the perception that individuals who are particularly concerned with protecting a separate, autonomous identity would be more likely to see their emotions as needing to be more private and central to the self than in cultures where collective groupings are seen as more important to society. In this case, the organisational attempt to control employees' emotions is likely to be less problematic or damaging to the individual in more collectivist cultures as emotionality is seen as more closely linked to the group rather than the individual. For example, if a social grouping (such as family or friends) is seen as owning the emotions anyway, there seems to be less of a leap to employing organisations also having a share of ownership.

Hochschild (1983) also stressed the particular importance given by the middle classes to emotion work in private life. She suggested that this could lead to a reaction against being trained and 'managed' in organisationally imposed emotion rules for financial gain when such workers think they are capable of performing already based on their existing emotional competence. The idea that involving profit in an aspect of socio-cultural life is undesirable and fraught with problems is not new. For example, in the field of tourism research much of the sociological and anthropological writing shows a distinctly negative perception of the tourist and tourism as harming a host population's society (Sandiford 1997). Greenwood (1989:181), for example, asked if tourism's 'cultural manifestations [are] always negative' as suggested by numerous researchers, including himself, when evaluating the first edition of his well known book chapter 'Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization' (Greenwood 1978), which was extremely critical of the changes wrought in tourist receiving areas. This discussion does not seek to suggest that commoditisation of culture or emotion is problem-free and has no negative

impacts. The assertion is rather that an investigation of such negative consequences should be balanced with any possible positive results.

There are a number of other possible explanations for the increasing and often negative attention given to emotions at work. From a gender-oriented perspective, this sector of the literature often appears to be influenced by a Marxist-Feminist reaction to 'women's subordination ... [to] the needs of capitalism' (Jones 1993:76). The focus on 'feminine' emotions in relatively low paid service jobs offers credence to this perspective, with the exploited female domestic worker now being equally economically abused by commercial organisations.

The movement towards the human rights and primacy of the individual and perhaps a growing sense of cross-cultural awareness may also have been important in encouraging and valuing authenticity and personal expression in areas such as emotion, as illustrated by Wouters (1992). Finally, developing this line of thought further; management theory has been encouraging an increasing level of empowerment at work, encouraging a greater sense of ownership of work roles, commitment to and internalisation of organisational culture. This would also see any type of close control at work (whether emotional, physical or mental) as disadvantageous.

3.6.2 Other 'Negative' Emotional Impacts

When considering the negative impacts on service staff attributed to emotional labour Hochschild (1983:187) identifies three key orientations to or suggested causes of problems:

> In the first, the worker identifies too wholeheartedly with the job, and therefore risks burnout. In the second, the worker clearly distinguishes herself from the job and is less likely to suffer burnout; but she may blame herself for making this very distinction and denigrate herself as "just an actor, not sincere." In the third, the worker distinguishes herself from her act, does not blame herself for this, and sees the job as positively requiring the capacity to act; for this worker there is some risk of estrangement from acting altogether, and some cynicism about it – "We're just illusion makers."

Hochschild (1983:132) suggested that being expected to sell 'natural niceness' makes it difficult for service staff to separate their personal (private) self from work (public) self because the two are not 'estranged enough'. This implies that if

emotional performance at work requires similar emotions to personal ones it is difficult to separate the work from private life. It is also significant that young people are considered more susceptible as 'their identities are less formed' (Hochschild 1983:132), given the large amount of young people employed within the hospitality industry. An extreme example of the potential impacts was given by Goffman (1971) who described a couple who ran a Shetland hotel. He explained how they appeared to actually adopt the roles that they had originally merely performed for the benefit of their guests. The suggestion seems to be that this type of shift in outlook demonstrates a personal evolution of personality, and that 'starting with a lack of inward belief in one's role' (Goffman 1971:30), individuals may gradually adopt that role more personally. In other words Goffman is suggesting that the performance of a role, such as is required by emotional labour, may often result in a significant change in a customer contact worker's overall personality to reflect the work role.

The other orientation to emotional labour's negative impacts takes the opposing view, suggesting that great differences between work and personal emotions can result in major levels of emotive dissonance when:

> Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or by changing what we feign. When display is required by the job, it is usually feeling that has to change; and when conditions estrange us from our face, they sometimes estrange us from feeling as well. (Hochschild 1983:90)

Hochschild (1983) suggested that dissonance is experienced when required emotional displays differ from what the individual feels, suggesting that surface acting can lead to considerable strain in the service worker. A considerable proportion of the literature does consider the nature of such dissonance, although with differing foci. For example, Abraham (1999) surveyed 100 customer service staff from the telecommunications industry and found emotional dissonance adversely affected the levels of job satisfaction reported by the sample due to increasing job tension and emotional exhaustion and reducing self-esteem. It could be argued that any such problems with formal emotion rules could be accentuated by the often implicit nature of emotion rules and other norms of human interaction, perhaps making it more difficult for individual employees to identify clearly any discrepancies beyond a general feeling of unease and dissonance.

Jansz and Timmers (2002) take the analysis to a deeper level. They see dissonance as occurring when the 'emotional experience is evaluated as threatening the individual's identity' (2002:87). They consider this in relation to the person's perceived role where such dissonance 'touches his professional identity' (2002:80) in the work setting, and more generally in the personally constructed (but culturally influenced) self-concept. This approach to the subject of dissonance suggests that, far from being a wholly negative concept, dissonance could be seen as serving a valuable purpose within the 'emotion process' (Jansz and Timmers 2002:87). Early in their paper they suggest that emotional dissonance, although presenting itself as a 'feeling of unease', and therefore uncomfortable, should be seen as 'an important source for emotion regulation' (Jansz and Timmers 2002:84) helping individuals cope with emotionally problematic situations. This view of dissonance as being a part of emotion management rather than simply as a negative consequence of emotional labour is also suggested by Morris and Feldman (1996:992) who conceptualised emotional dissonance as 'the fourth dimension of the emotional labor construct'. Their managerial perspective takes a very different view to researchers such as Hochschild and Abraham, perceiving emotional dissonance as merely suggesting a greater need for 'greater control, skill, and attentive action' (Morris and Feldman 1996:992) to be exercised. Indeed, it could be argued that it is not so much as a part of emotional labour, but a central element of any emotion process, certainly not limited to the workplace.

The main difference between the two perspectives outlined above seems to be, to some extent concerned with the level of internalisation of role characteristics. For example, it seems unlikely that emotional labour would result in such emotional dissonance if the work emotion rules were effectively internalised and completely accepted into his or her own approach to emotions, and vice versa. However, such total internalisation would be unlikely given other, non-work cultural and societal influences on the individual. It would certainly seem worthwhile to further investigate workers' self-concept in some depth as a means to understand more clearly how different roles could influence their emotional conduct with customers in the workplace.

3.6.2.1 Emotions and Stress

As suggested in the previous discussion, emotional dissonance in itself is not necessarily a negative result of emotional labour. However, the literature introduces a variety of other concepts which are often considered to be directly linked to such dissonance.

One area which is often linked to emotional labour is that of job stress, as there does seem to be a possible link between the two concepts. Dobson (1983:97), for example, sees stress as actually being 'one of the negative emotions.' Hochschild acknowledges a variety of other sources of stress relating to the physical work environment, but returns to her alienation thesis when she asserts that:

> There is also a general source of stress, a thread woven through the whole work experience: the task of managing an estrangement between self and feeling and between self and display' (Hochschild 1983:131).

An example of the second of these (self and display) was highlighted by a waitress from Whyte's (1948) study who explained:

> The trouble is, when the guests get nasty with you, you can't tell them off. You have to keep it all inside you. That's what makes it so nerve-racking [stressful?]. It would be much easier for us if we could talk back (Whyte 1948:471).

The waitress describes how 'nerve-racking' she found it to maintain the display required and not show how she really felt by answering back. Hochschild suggested that this sort of situation leads to more stress and possible burnout when an emotional labourer is 'not so good at depersonalizing inappropriately personal behaviour towards her' (Hochschild 1983:187).

Adelmann (1995) attempted to test for a connection between emotional labour and stress, using a questionnaire survey of waiting staff. Her study does seem to offer limited support to some of the findings of more qualitative studies (such as Hochschild 1983), especially related to the consonance/ dissonance between emotional expression and feeling. Two fifths of the sample surveyed were found to experience extreme emotional dissonance and it was also suggested that 'given the nature of such jobs that even the most harmonious of emotional laborers experiences an unpleasant degree of dissonance from time to time' (Adelmann 1995:379).

A number of other researchers have investigated the possible links between emotional labour and stress. A variety of analyses have been presented in the

literature. For example, Mann (1999:94) suggested that 'the more emotional labour experienced, the more stressed the individual is likely to be' going on to explain that she found that when workers needed to hide more of their emotions from customers they felt themselves to be more 'strained' (Mann 1999:94) and stressed. One aspect of this idea was originally considered by Hochschild (1983:121) who suggested that one of the problems with the emotional labour demanded of service workers relates to a speed-up of service work. She argued that the reduction in the time available for actual service interactions and a greater quantity of such encounters presents employees with an increasingly demanding job to do given that the quality of service and emotional labour expected by management customers remains the same or even increases.

Certainly the first idea of the quantity of emotional labour as resulting in stress is supported by Harris (2002:572) who found that barristers who were subjected to 'prolonged emotional display' were at risk. What Hochschild (1983) describes as a speeding-up of service work could be seen to be exacerbated by developments in areas such as airlines resulting in larger aeroplanes and longer haul flights, leading to the need for flight attendants to be on emotional duty for increasingly long periods. Such findings could be questioned by asking whether it is simply working long hours rather than the emotional labouring which results in high stress levels. However, Wharton's (1993) research included a control group of 'nonperformers' (Wharton 1993:225) with regard to emotional labour. Her resultant data suggested that 'spending more hours at work increases job satisfaction among nonperfomers, but lowers performers' levels of satisfaction' (Wharton 1993:225) which does seem to support that prolonged emotional labour can be, if not necessarily more damaging, at least less rewarding for employees.

Weatherley and Tanisk (1993) took a slightly different view of stress and customer contact, examining role stress as a key factor. Their work focused not so much on the concept of emotional labour, but on control and conflicts within the service encounter. They consider the 'boundary spanning' nature of service roles and suggest these can lead to role conflict and stress in service workers when elements of role ambiguity are present. They cite an example from their data of an interviewee who exclaimed that 'I'm damned if I do; damned if I don't. You just can't win. Either Tom [a pseudonym for the boss] is mad at me, or the customer is' (Weatherley and Tanisk 1993:5). Although this does not specifically refer to emotional labour, it does

seem to have a particular relevance to the subject with workers having to deal with angry responses from either customer or manager. Researchers such as Hochschild (1983) seem to focus on managerial control of employee emotional labour, whereas such role stress seems likely to be accentuated if customers are also seeking to exercise control over the service encounter. Johnson and Coupe (1999) briefly consider this 'triadic service relationship' (Johnson and Coupe 1999:36) by taking the negative aspects of customer service encounters further, and showing how sexual harassment by customers within hospitality organisations often results in female staff feeling obliged to 'just play along. There's really nothing you can do it's just part of the job' (Johnson and Coupe 1999:39).

The literature does contain many accounts of customers seeming to expect more and better emotional service from workers. Drawing on two studies of a variety of service organisations, Cherniss (1995) introduces a few examples of criticisms made by the served-public of doctors that 'lacked compassion' (Cherniss 1995:4); nurses 'only partially responding to superficially expressed feelings'; teachers putting 'their idealism "on hold"' and lawyers who appeared 'venal, insensitive, and self-serving' (Cherniss 1995:5). He sees such indicators as representing a fundamental shift in customer (and societal) expectations, with the served demanding more from their servers and thus making their work more demanding and potentially stressful.

3.6.2.2 Stress and Emotional Exhaustion and Burnout

The literature does include suggestions that workplace stress should not be seen as an inevitably negative occurrence, rather that it has the potential to cause harm if '*excessive* levels of unresolved stress begin to affect the productivity of the workforce' (Faulkner and Patiar 1997:99).

The difference between emotional exhaustion and burnout is not immediately apparent. Wharton (1993:213) briefly discusses the concept of emotional exhaustion, simply defining it as respondents' feelings of being 'used up' at the end of the workday. This meaning does seem rather simplistic and could refer to other, less emotional aspects of exhaustion. However the idea that a person could become exhausted in an emotional sense does sound credible and could bear further examination. Another idea that seems relevant here is that performing emotional labour could, in extreme circumstances, lead to 'an inability to feel emotion' (Wharton 1993:209) in private life as well as at work. Such a definition of emotional

exhaustion would help differentiate the concept from that of employee burnout. The latter is concerned with one aspect of burnout (emotions) in both the workplace and private life, while the latter is primarily concerned with the workplace and includes other aspects of the job.

Wharton (1993) suggests that work involving emotional labour does not necessarily cause higher levels of emotional exhaustion than other types of employment. She found that individuals with 'high job autonomy' are less likely to suffer ill effects of emotional labour (Wharton 1993:227), which is an idea common in the literature (e.g. Abraham 1999). However it seems unlikely that such autonomy alone should be seen as a panacea. Cherniss (1995:18) points out that 'the new [service] professionals often *didn't* know what to do [emphasis original]' or how to act towards customers in their work environment. In such cases it could be argued that too much autonomy could be even more problematic than too little. Wharton (1993:227) refers to the additional concept of 'self-monitoring abilities' as reducing emotional exhaustion among her respondents. There is an implication here that such self-monitoring skills, applied to emotion management, could perhaps be sought during recruitment and selection of new staff or addressed in training and development programmes rather than focusing on prescriptively instructing workers in which emotions to display in the many possible service situations.

Abraham (1999) took the study of emotional exhaustion further in her self-styled 'only empirical examination of emotional dissonance' (Abraham 1999:18), exploring its relationship with emotional dissonance. She surveyed a sample of 103 customer contact workers from four service industries in the USA. She sought to measure five specific aspects of her sample's work experience namely: emotional dissonance; burnout; job satisfaction; self-esteem; job-induced tension. The study's findings suggest that emotional dissonance induces job tension which leads to emotional exhaustion. However, it is unclear how the data generated by the questionnaire scales could identify a causal, rather than a simple correlational, relationship between the two concepts.

Ledgerwood et al (1997:31) focus on the concept of burnout in relation to emotional labour, suggesting that 'employee burnout' in the hotel industry comes as a result of 'chronic emotional strain of dealing with other people.' Cherniss (1995) outlines his perception of burnout and its link to the stresses of customer service work thus:

> In the process of coming to terms with the stresses and frustrations of their work, the new [caring] professionals began to change. They became less caring and committed. They began to see many of their clients as adversaries rather than innocent victims of misfortune, what began as a calling became nothing but a job (Cherniss 1995:37).
> The motive again was to protect themselves from the stress and strain that they were experiencing in their jobs. Dropping out was a way to cut the emotional losses (Cherniss 1995:43).

These ideas develop from his analysis of the increased societal demands on service workers, as discussed earlier, and lead him to make the suggestion that such individuals 'began to lose their compassion and commitment [and] withdraw psychologically' as a result of the 'frustrations and disappointments' (Cherniss 1995:47) of their work.

Masalach and Jackson (1985:837) defined burnout as 'emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment' and linked it to such issues as employee turnover, absenteeism and poor work performance. Meyerson (2000:169) provided a somewhat clearer definition, seeing burnout as 'an emotional condition that was typically embedded in the context of care-giving relationships' specifically referring to social work. The suggestion was that burnout includes conditions such as emotional exhaustion, 'depersonalization' and reduced 'personal accomplishment'.

Seeing emotional exhaustion as one factor involved in employee burnout is helpful in differentiating the two concepts, especially if the first is seen as relating to a personal state, while the second is usually seen as more closely linked to work. Emotional exhaustion could be seen as leaving a person emotionally numbed both in and out of work, while employee burnout implies that an employee specifically loses the ability to do a particular job.

Meyerson's (2000) study is of particular interest to an understanding of burnout given the different perspectives reported. Two groups of social workers were studied, with one group seeing burnout as a disease that occurred when workers did not have sufficient emotion skills to cope with the job, thus representing a lack of professionalism. The second group, on the other hand, saw burnout as a 'normal consequence of their work' (Meyerson 2000:170). These opposing views were apparently influenced by the work environment and subculture. The first group was apparently primarily concerned with a control culture, where professionals are expected to control their emotions, and burnout is seen as failure to do so, while the second subculture regarded such control as impossible and undesirable, considering

emotional response as an integral part of their work. Indeed, it could be argued that 'the capacity to feel for clients and develop empathy' (Meyerson 2000:171) was seen by group one as a weakness, whereas it was seen by the other culture as a strength. Although this study focused on social workers, it would be interesting to consider the relevance of these findings to the pub environment.

3.6.3 Positive Emotional Impacts of Service Work; Pain or Pleasure?

As shown earlier, Wharton (1993:227), similarly to Wouters (1989), makes the reasonable point that research into the impacts of emotional labour on workers should not solely concentrate on its negative effects, but should include any possible positive effects.

Wharton (1993) investigated levels of job satisfaction among emotional labourers working for a North American bank and a teaching hospital. As explained in the previous section, she found that such satisfaction was influenced by perceived job autonomy and self-monitoring. Her data also suggested that women 'express significantly higher levels of job satisfaction than their male counterparts' (Wharton 1993:227). This may seem to detract from Hochschild's (1983) ideas regarding gender and emotional labour, although Wharton (1993:224) does suggest that this could be because 'women's socialization prepares them better than men for, and instils a greater propensity to seek out, roles requiring empathy and attentiveness than others' (Wharton 1993:225). Thus, the idea that women express greater satisfaction than men in occupations requiring emotional labour could be also demonstrate that a patriarchal society has long since been preparing them for such service-orientated roles. An alternative view of socialisation is that being emotionally acculturated into a strong culture and expected to perform commoditised organisational emotions does not have to be seen as negative. Flam (1993) explained that such strong cultures offer employees 'a sense of belonging and with a sense of social identity neatly placed in a symbolic universe of meaning and action.' Such a sense of belonging or 'social community' (Seymour 2000:167) in service work could also provide the customer contact worker with support from colleagues when performing emotional and other types of service work.

Riley et al (1998:166) actually suggest that 'the chance to interact with other people' is an attribute of service work so precious to many employees that they are

often prepared to endure less pleasant aspects, such as poor pay, and to retain relatively high job satisfaction. Although this is seen as a rather general aspect of service work rather than specifically concerned with emotional labour there does seem to be a link here, at least in so far as work contacting and serving customers involves emotional labour. Tolich (1993:371) takes this idea further, analysing the relationship between servers and served in supermarkets. He shows how workers demonstrate possessive feelings towards customers within what he refers to as 'the "my clerk" and the "my customer" relationship'. Tolich (1993:372) considers that this type of relationship, which is valued by interviewees from his study, causes Hochschild's (1989) more negative analysis of emotional labour to lose 'its utility'. He explains that it draws attention to positive attributes of emotional labour and emotional aspects of service work in addition to the 'emotional estrangement' that he sees Hochschild focusing on. Again, the language used when analysing the issue bears scrutiny. Seeing customers in this possessive manner ('my customer') or as people, rather than customers, seems to show how staff can recognise and value the 'social embeddedness' (Korczynski 2002:143) of the service encounter rather than focusing on the 'unequal, deferential, relationship with the sovereign customer' (Korczynski 2002:144).

Perhaps the difficulty in research and theorising about service work comes in striking a balance between the two views of this server-served relationship, further complicated by the position of management. Tolich (1993:368) refers to 'stressful satisfaction' when customers are viewed simultaneously as both 'stress-producing' and the source of 'their most pleasurable and satisfying moments in the work day' (Tolich 1993:368).

Cherniss (1995) also considers the basic nature of service work, especially in the caring or helping professions, pointing out that such employment:

> has always been regarded as "a calling." Those who turn their backs on more lucrative occupations to enter a field like nursing or teaching are doing so because they want to help others. Meaning is at least as important as money. They want to work for more than just a paycheck or a special space in the corporate parking lot. (Cherniss 1995:4)

This idea does seem to make a certain amount of sense, although whether the same can be said of all service work seems questionable. Whether other occupations such as waiting tables or serving in bars could be seen as a calling or vocation seems rather less likely.

3.6.4 Dealing with the Emotional Demands of Service Work

One area that is important to understanding the demands and impacts of emotional labour is the way that service workers react or attempt to cope with the situation. This section outlines a number of such mechanisms from the literature. These are related more fully to the findings of this study in Chapter 11.

There are various possible behaviours that occur, both within the service environment and in an employee's life away from work, that may (or may not) be related, in part, to emotional labour. The literature highlights and describes a number of such behaviours but there does not seem to have been much of an attempt to provide a full, theoretical model of coping mechanisms, rather relying on brief examples, often in an apparent attempt to highlight the potential problems of emotional labour.

One way of categorising such methods used by customer-contact workers could relate to the staff member's approach to coping with emotional labour. A number of the behaviours described in the literature could be seen as reactive in nature, while others appear more proactive. For example, Whyte (1948:470) discussed a 'crying waitress' describing what had caused her tears saying: 'I could have screamed [at an unpleasant customer], but what could I do?' In this situation the waitress' tears are a release for negative emotions, rechannelling such feeling that ca not be shown to customers. A more proactive approach to dealing with the emotional demands of such encounters would be to avoid or minimise unpleasant customer reaction to a situation, perhaps by engaging customers (asking for help) in the service provision in an attempt to distract them. Whyte (1948:470) suggested that experienced waitresses are skilled at keeping 'her various customers occupied' while serving them. Table 1 shows a selection of employee behaviours in relation to such service challenges.

Table 1. Addressing the Challenges of Customer Service

Reactive Behaviour	Proactive Behaviour
• Emotional redirection – 'crying waitress' (Whyte 1948) • Reacting to the client (Hochschild 1983:127) • Retreating 'off-stage' to withdraw from unpleasant characters	• '"Neutralising" the strong emotions of others' (Lashley 2002:256) • Engaging customers – keeping customers occupied (Whyte 1948) • Actual avoidance of contact, especially eye contact, or cutting off telephone callers (Taylor and Tyler 2000:89)
• Talking to passengers in a 'distant', 'disinterested' manner (Taylor and Tyler 2000:89) • 'Withhold service information' from rude customers (Taylor and Tyler 2000:89) • 'Social support' from colleagues (Morris and Feldman 1996)	• Focus on attractive aspects of the job (Leidner 1993:36) • Educating the client (Hochschild 1983:127) • 'Parodying roles' exaggerating a stereotyped role (e.g. male cabin crew 'acting' as if homosexual) (Taylor and Tyler 2000:89)
• 'Emotional deviance' Mann (1999:69)	• Depersonalising the service encounter (Hochschild 1983:132)- use of honorifics such as 'sir' and 'madam' to separate self from the work role (Nikolich and Sparks 1995:5) • Use of props - such as relying on scripts or uniforms (Seymour 2000) to distance staff from customers and/or the work role • Actually trying to change emotions (deep acting) rather than feigning or hiding them (Hochschild 1983:90)

These examples of coping mechanisms also suggest another possible approach to categorisation related to the level of the employees' awareness of emotive coping. For example, the first example suggests that the waitress is crying as a result of an emotional stimulus (perhaps frustration at dealing with unpleasant and demanding customers and not being permitted to answer back), while the second suggests a more cognitive or rational approach to dealing with emotions. Whyte's (1948) experienced waitresses have developed a sort of strategy for avoiding unpleasantness. The level to which such strategies are consciously thought through and developed does not seem to have been considered in the literature generally and would bear further investigation.

There do seem to be a considerable variety of coping behaviours available to staff, although these probably have a varying acceptability to management. For

example, it seems unlikely that avoiding eye contact so as to evade customer demands or complaints would be a popular approach with the management (or customers) of any service provider, although a level of depersonalisation by use of honorifics, such as Sir or Madam, would probably be an actual requirement in certain, more elitist organisations.

The former could be seen as a type of resistance to emotional labour rather than directly coping with its effects. In her discussion of the 'speed-up' of emotional labour Hochschild (1983:126) suggests that resistance can also be shown by staff slowing down their emotion work and increasing detachment. She identifies such a slowdown as having honourable precedence in other areas of work, being 'a venerable tactic in the wars between industrial labour and management'. Such an approach would seem be less obviously problematic for customers and managers than simply avoiding contact, as the more tangible elements of service (such as prompt attention and delivery of food or other needs) would still be provided, although without the difficult-to-define emotional personalisation. However, perhaps the conceptualisation here is not as simple as it first seems. Whether this is actually resistance to the demands being made or an emotional defence mechanism as a means of coping with the overall demands of the type and amount of work is not really clear.

'Emotional deviance' when 'displayed emotion is the same as felt emotion but different from expected emotion' (Mann 1999:69) takes the idea further, although is more likely to be unplanned by the worker. If such actions are taken by service workers in encounters with customers then a study which does not investigate them further would hardly be generating a full picture of emotion at work.

3.6.4.1 Emotional Authenticity in Service Encounters

Another concept or idea related to emotional labour, briefly introduced earlier in this chapter, is that of authenticity. Hochschild (1983:127) suggested that, with the air stewardesses she studied, 'smiling is separated from its usual function, which is to express a personal feeling, and attached to another one – expressing a company feeling.' This raises the question; is it really the service provider smiling, or are employees' work expressions merely symbolic of the organisation itself smiling, and (if the latter is true) how authentic could such a 'second-hand' smile be? The statement also makes a rather broad assumption about the nature of smiling, which

seems to move away from her own earlier paper (Hochschild 1979) discussing the wider nature of emotion work outside the narrower concept of emotional labour. Is a smile in the 'private' world outside work any more likely to be an expression of a personal feeling? Smiling could have many more functions than expressing feeling, such as actually covering up any less than happy feelings or attempting to cheer up a friend or family member.

The concept of 'insincere' or 'inauthentic' emotion has been raised in the literature (Wharton 1996) and seems to be seen as a problem associated with the performance of emotional labour. Hochschild (1983), for example, suggested that the North American (and, by implication, more generally Western) culture has 'begun to place an unprecedented value on spontaneous "natural" feeling [emphasis original]' (Hochschild 1983:190). Although this may appear reasonable on the surface, it implies that personally (or privately) managed emotion is necessarily sincere and authentic, which could be seen as rather simplistic. Wouters (1992:229) provided an apparently more complete analysis, suggesting that emotions have gradually become subject to cultural '*informalization*, [emphasis original] in which behavioural, emotional and moral codes have relaxed and differentiated.' The key concept here seems to be that of differentiation for, as has been shown in previous sections of this chapter, feeling and display rules are important in all areas of society and do not just relate to the commoditisation of emotions at work. The very concept of emotional intelligence as discussed earlier, implies that everyday life - both private and public - requires management of emotions. This raises the question of how far any emotion can be clearly identified as either wholly authentic or the result of culturally inspired deep acting in a thoroughly socialised individual.

There are numerous examples of dramaturgical metaphor in the social and service interaction literature (e.g. Goffman 1971; Mangham and Overington 1987; Wiley 1990; Sijuwade 1996) which see those involved as actors, putting on a performance for those around them. This suggests that individuals perform differently in different environments and with different groups (e.g. with work colleagues, in the family, with friends etc.). This raises the question of which of these social situations enables (or requires) the actor to show (or feel) authentic emotions? It could be argued that each situation requires some level of inauthenticity. The key indication of emotional inauthenticity seems to be whether or not an emotion worker feels 'real' (Hochschild 1983:94), although there seems to be relatively little evidence

as to how people feel about authenticity of their private emotions, perhaps performed for friends or family.

Even if the concept of authenticity can be satisfactorily defined, the idea that customers require staff to display and feel 'authentic' emotions is a rather dangerous assumption. Wood (1995:105), for example, claimed that customers eating out expect 'that restaurants will satisfy deeper emotional desires for status and belongingness' and that this is achieved by emotions becoming part of a standardised product making up the meal experience. Although this may initially sound vaguely contradictory, the argument posed was that customers could easily fit into the environment because they know, at some level, what to expect and how to behave with no real danger of feeling out of place. He also suggested that customers accept and expect scripted delivery from service staff for the same reasons. Finkelstein (1989:5) goes further and believed that dining out allows customers to act 'without need for thought or self-scrutiny' apparently seeing the diner as actively avoiding 'authentic' social interaction. This suggests that people actively seek an element of pre-programmed or scripted behaviour and emotional display and, to some extent, avoid authenticity. How far such a thesis is valid is questionable, especially given the focus on authenticity placed on emotions by employers such as Delta airlines (Hochschild 1983).

This argument, though rather extreme, does encourage a further examination of the concept of authenticity in service encounters. Perhaps a form of staged authenticity (MacCanell 1973) could be rather more relevant and useful to such interactions, providing an argument in favour of a certain level of social de-skilling (or disempowerment) and scripting, and raises the question of what is authenticity anyway. The answer to this question seems to depend on the point of view of each individual, whether employer, service staff or customer. Ritzer (1993) also supports this idea when discussing the success of McDonald's food, suggesting that reliability is a prime concern for customers who are prepared to sacrifice exceptionally good food (or service) because they know they will not be surprised by terrible food (or service). More recently Ashforth and Tomiuk (2000) considered the question of authenticity in relation to emotional labour, devising a simple model linking authenticity to level of emotive dissonance. They suggested that there are two types or levels of authenticity, 'surface authenticity and deep authenticity' (Ashforth and Tomiuk 2000:194-195). The first is seen as occurring when the service provider

displays the feeling actually experienced, while the second refers to the display of an emotion appropriate to the worker's role, even if it is not actually felt at the time. These terms (surface and deep authenticity) seem relatively problematic, given the use of Hochschild's (1983) 'surface' and 'deep' acting in the literature, and they do not seem to particularly add value to the earlier concept of 'staged authenticity' that equates well to the meaning of 'deep authenticity'.

A final word on authenticity comes from Hochschild (1983). As discussed in the section of this chapter dealing with the impacts of emotional labour on service staff, it is important to consider the position of customer-contact workers. Whether or not it is true that customers do not necessarily demand authentic emotions, Hochschild suggested it is often important to the staff themselves. The Delta flight attendants she studied supposedly disliked the feeling of 'being phony' (Hochschild 1983:134) adding the employees' perspective within the service relationship.

3.7 Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the concept of emotional labour, differentiating it from similar ideas such as emotional intelligence, emotion work and emotional management. Some of the subjects broached in the previous chapter have been further developed, especially by applying the influence of culture on emotions to a more commercial and organisational setting. A number of important issues have been discussed, providing a focus for this study and from which the research questions and objectives were derived. It was suggested that the theoretical and societal orientations of researchers could account for some of the views of emotional labour demonstrated in the literature. For example, it was suggested that Feminist Marxists would be likely to take a negative view of the nature of the practice of emotional labour. This issue is of considerable importance to this research as it influences the basic view held by individuals of a concept such as emotional labour. In this chapter the nature of emotional labour is considered, and it is argued that its practice should not necessarily be seen as negative in itself, although some theoretical perspectives do seem to see it as so or at least focus on its more negative attributes. The significance of such perspectives is also considered in the chapter considering the philosophical and methodological implications of research into emotional labour as well.

The sources of formal and informal, explicit and implicit emotion rules have been considered, as have methods by which they are learned by employees. The clarity and explicitness with which emotion rules are defined is addressed further when discussing this study's findings, considering how far explicit emotion rules can really be said to exist as such. Likewise the processes by which elements and norms of emotional labour are actually learned is worthy of more consideration. This study addresses the nature of learning of emotion management and performance by employees in the pub sector. Here it is suggested that the differences between formal training and on-the-job socialisation are used by different organisations in the learning process. The latter are seen as more likely when emotion rules are more tacit in nature, while formal training could be more doctrinaire in approach.

These areas are integral to the initial areas of interest outlined in the introduction and will help to develop a fuller picture of emotional labour generally, providing a useful background to the discussion of staff reaction to and coping with emotional demands at work. The literature on emotional labour and emotions in organisations in general includes a wide variety of service industry sectors, often focusing on those workers described by Cherniss (1995:18) as the 'new professionals'. This study could be seen as an investigation into how far the ideas generated in the literature apply to the public house sector. In order to do this the triadic relationship between customer-worker-management needs to be examined within public houses.

The issue of the divide between public and private emotions seems to be especially relevant to pub work with the practice of managers and workers often living-in on the premises. There does seem to be considerable need to understand more clearly the nature of living in the workplace, considering whether there is a wider issue of separating private from public or private life from work. This again brings the focus back to the issue of emotional costs in customer service. The negative impacts of such work largely to be linked seem to issues of estrangement and alienation from personal emotions when commoditised. Research has offered limited support for such a thesis, but often seems rather situational, especially in relation to what Hochschild saw as a stressful speeding up of service encounters. Such an intensification of service also seems to come from management demands for greater efficiency or productivity. When examining the more positive emotional aspects of service, this position is also relevant. Literature on staff satisfaction in services and

social inclusion among co-workers considers the pleasure of working 'with people' and this could be seen as being in danger if the quality of such interactions is affected by such demands for faster and shorter encounters. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that the literature includes resistance to certain aspects of emotional labour as well as a number of more acceptable (to management) coping techniques and strategies.

The emotional nature and impacts of service work are considered from the perspective of a variety of pub employees when discussing the study findings in later chapters, in an attempt to contribute to the developing understanding of managing emotions at work. A key question inspiring this study does ask how far it is reasonable to concentrate research efforts on such 'costs' as reflected by the predominantly negative focus of the literature in the field.

4 Working in Pubs and Inns

> The pub at its best may be a place for drinking and talking (or, better still, for talking and drinking), but it can also be a place for eating, for games and sports, for music (jukebox or live, all tastes catered for), for striptease, or drag, or theatre. It can be any of these things, or a little of each, so long as it remains a pub. To be a pub, it must cater for those people who want nothing more than a drink; it must serve them at regular prices, and without charging for entry (Jackson 1976:162).

4.1 Introduction

Relatively little academic literature considers public houses and the nature of employment within them. This seems rather strange given the economic and social importance of this part of the hospitality industry. However, some relevant research has been conducted and this is discussed in relation to the current project. This builds on some of the key theoretical areas discussed previously and applies them to this large and diverse sector of the hospitality industry.

The main objective of this chapter is to provide an introduction to British public houses, with a brief historical and cultural background to the pub phenomenon to help illuminate some of the issues discussed later in the thesis. This background is felt to add to what Erlandson et al (1993) referred to as 'referential adequacy materials' which seek to 'support credibility [in naturalistic investigations] by providing context-rich, holistic materials that provide background meaning to support data analysis, interpretations and audits' (Erlandson et al 1993:139). Thus such material provides the reader with a broad background to the public house sector and helps to contextualise the analysis of emotion rules within it, which follows in the latter part of the thesis.

4.2 The British Pub

The concept of the British public house, or pub, covers a variety of different types of establishment. The quotation above demonstrates some (though by no means all) of the activities associated with pubs, although perhaps the first two call to mind the most commonly held images of the pub as a place to drink alcoholic beverages - especially beer - and socialise with friends and meet strangers. It also illustrates the

changing nature of pubs, which have developed through major socio-cultural-legal shifts in English history – the idea that pubs do not charge for entry may have been valid in the mid nineteen seventies, but is not always true today.

There has been relatively little academic research conducted in the public house sector in recent years. This seems to be rather strange given the size and visibility of this part of the hospitality industry, with more than 58,000 pubs to be found in the United Kingdom (Williams 1996). Almost every town and village has, some sort of 'pub', and the importance of pubs within the community has been highlighted by their prominent place in television and radio soap operas (the Queen Victoria in *Eastenders*, the Rovers' Return in *Coronation Street* and the Bull in *the Archers,* to name a few) and commercial advertisements. In addition to the social importance of pubs, Williams (1996:63) claimed that in the early 1990s the pub industry generated more income than the UK car industry, earning an estimated £19.6 billion annually, showing a significant economic role.

4.2.1 Some Historical Notes

Although this thesis will not become preoccupied with a full historical analysis of the public house in Britain (there are numerous texts dealing with this in some depth, e.g. Williams 1996 and Haydon 1994), it would be useful to provide a brief background to the sector. This is intended to help understand how pubs have developed into the different forms they take today and thus contextualise the present study setting.

The story of pubs down the ages could be seen to reflect the social, economic and political history of Britain as a nation. Public houses have a long history in Britain and have evolved from and into various different forms, including Coaching Houses, Ale Houses, Gin Palaces, Country Inns, Dram Shops, Cider Pubs, Circuit Pubs, Estate Pubs and many more. Williams (1996) traced back the history of pubs to the eighth century taverns which were opened to cater to travellers, offering refreshment and accommodation in the days when travel was a long and dangerous undertaking. Haydon (1994:11) however demonstrated that the pub has roots back as far as the Roman occupation of Britain, when 'Mansiones' and 'Diversoria' were used to refresh travellers on the new system of roads that had been constructed. Indeed many of the early commercially operated outlets seem to have been related to travel. Pilgrims were catered for on the roads to Christian shrines in lay and religious

hostelries (or inns) before the Reformation of the Church - helping the religious orders gain the reputation for brewing still reflected in beer brands, such as Abbot Ale, today. These hostelries were gradually taken over by the coaching inns that became more widespread as other types of travel replaced the pilgrimages halted by the Reformation.

There is rather less discussion in the literature about the origin of the village pub, not catering for the traveller so much as the local residents themselves, although some reference has been made to them. Haydon (1994), for example draws attention to an early reference to alehouses by highlighting an 1189 London by-law banning any alehouse not made of stone as a fire safety measure, but there is little mention of such commercial establishments earlier than this. Prior to the Industrial Revolution alehouses would often offer numerous other services which were gradually taken over by 'tobacconists, grocers, chop shops and ordinaries, even purpose-built brothels, doss houses and gaming houses' (Haydon 1994:110).

Industrialisation and urbanisation resulted in other usages for the pub. Many early trade unions held meetings in urban pubs which often offered the only public place that they could gather together - a trend reflected by numerous pub names still evident today. Even more 'respectable' institutions such as Jacobite clubs and Masonic lodges would adopt taverns for their meetings (Haydon 1994:110).

Although there had been various attempts to regulate and license British pubs prior to the twentieth century, it was not until the licensing policies of the early 1900s that today's strict approach to licensing pubs took form, resulting from a 'hangover' from Victorian temperance groups and the restrictions related to the 1914-1918 war. Duty on alcoholic drinks was increased dramatically, and has remained a popular source of government finances ever since, and it was not until very recently that pub's permitted opening hours were extended.

Perhaps this wide variety of roots in the public house sector goes some way towards explaining the diverse nature of the industry today. It does seem impractical to carry out a full study into English pubs generally given this diversity. There are inevitably exceptions to almost any 'rule of thumb' that can be drawn.

4.2.2 Organisational or Occupational Culture

The importance of culture to emotional labour suggests that this should be considered in this study. Guerrier (2000:14) asserted that there is a 'strong occupational culture within the licensed retail industry regardless of whether there is also a strong organizational culture', implying that the nature of the work may lead to a stronger sense of identification with a work role than to a particular employer. Perhaps such a culture is related to the role that the sector seems to have taken within the community, although the nature of the work may have an influence too, with long unsociable hours requiring staff to work while most people are at leisure. Guerrier (2000:14) links the strength of occupational influence with '"dirty work" occupations'. However, many white-collar occupations (such as accountancy, the law, academia etc.) have equally strong cultures, if considerably different in content. Perhaps the key difference could relate to the level of formality of the culture, with white collar working cultures being more heavily influenced by explicit cultural rules and codes of conduct imposed by practitioner and/or external governing groups.

The status of pub workers could also be important when considering their occupational culture. This is an issue that has been given attention, but has not really been investigated in much depth. One of Guerrier's (2000:14) pub managers asserted that work in the pub sector generally, and 'community pubs' in particular, 'carries a stigma'. Again this seems to be linked to the idea of 'dirty work', possibly indicating a middle class perspective from her interviewee. The introduction of social class into the equation seems particularly important as other managers she interviewed saw their position as considerably more desirable than other careers they could have followed given their personal background and education. From their point of view they probably enjoyed relatively high status among their customers, much as landlords and landladies of popular soap operas, such as Eastenders and Coronation Street, seem to among their respective communities.

4.2.3 Social Class in Pubs

Mass-Observation (1970:66) provides an early and interesting analysis of the importance of social class in pubs, suggesting that the landlord – regular customer relationship is interesting because 'there are no class distinctions between the landlord and his customers ... they meet on terms of outward equality'. Mass Observation

contrasted this relationship to that of parson and church congregation, suggesting that the parson is usually seen as representing a higher class than parishioners, while comparisons with other types of hospitality work, such as in hotels or restaurants, is likely to see workers in much more subordinate roles representing lower social class. Thus, the idea of a pub landlord being of equal class with customers is worthy of further consideration as such a situation does seem somewhat unusual, if not unique in the service encounter. In part, this could be based on a stereotype that pubs are still often seen as working class institutions and the landlord needs to be able to entertain customers in a very particular way. The relevance of this view to today's pub sector is questionable, given the enormous variety of pub types (the senior management of the pub chain that participated in the study, for example, sees itself as a predominantly middle class organisation as will be shown in later chapters). So, although pubs have long been predominantly associated with working class culture, the various changes in the market place have led to a certain fragmentation of the sector. This has resulted in a number of different types of pub, ranging from the more 'traditional' working class outlet such as described by Mass Observation (1970) and Smith (1985b), to the middle-class inn, such as epitomised by Fothergill (1987). Others include the urban 'circuit pub', the 'lunch venue', the 'estate pub', the village drinkers' local, the restaurant pub and the country inn with accommodation, not forgetting the popular 'Irish' theme pub, the sports pub (facilitated by the rise in satellite television) and 'gay pubs' – the list seems to be growing all the time.

No single study can hope to do justice to the plethora of pub types, so this study is focusing on the country inn approach, investigating a growing independent chain that seems to represent one significant trend – the apparent 'middle classisation' of a considerable part of the pub sector. One example of the differences resulting from the changing class structure of usage in such pubs was provided by Hunt (1989:252). He suggested that class differences can affect approaches to pub usage, showing how middle class women tend to see the pub as a 'staging post for other activities', having a drink before going on to another leisure destination (such as a restaurant or the theatre). Conversely working class women, in his study, were more likely to see pubs as the main venue for 'going out'. Such differences in attitudes towards pubs are of particular interest given the apparent changes in class usage, with management needing to consider the needs of a changing target market.

4.2.3.1 Pub Types and Ownership Categories

Another related area of importance to the current study relates to the ownership of public houses. The sector includes brewery owned units, some of which are directly managed by brewery employees, the remainder being leased to tenant publicans who are contractually 'tied' to the brewer to buy products, especially beer, from the brewery (Williams 1996), often at higher prices than independent publicans. The remainder of the sector is made up of these independents, including both single operators and multiple chains.

The status of publicans in today's society, briefly discussed earlier, seems relevant to the ownership and type of pubs today given the apparent attempt by certain of the newer pub chains and free-house owner-managers to make their pubs more respectable or 'middle class'. This trend that could perhaps be traced back to 'pioneers' like John Fothergill who seemed intent on 'upgrading' the clientele of the Thame *Spreadeagle* from the working-class locals to 'either intelligent, beautiful or well-bred people' (Fothergill 1987:36).

Perhaps the most significant antecedent of the recent acceleration of this middle classisation was the Monopolies and Mergers Commission's (MMC) 1989 investigation into the pub sector (Williams 1996). This was a reaction to the rapid growth of large, national breweries after the Second World War, and resulted in some major changes in ownership patterns including:

1. The forced disposal of large numbers of tied pubs by the country's biggest breweries.
2. A dramatic reduction in the number of tenanted pubs.
3. A significant increase in the number of brewery managed pubs, especially at a regional level.
4. The closure of many less profitable units.
5. A major increase in the number of small and medium sized chains (such as the chain being investigated in this thesis).

The increase in managed pubs, whether owned by independent chains or breweries has led to an increased level of branding within the pub industry often developing a strategic 'theme' in an attempt to increase competitiveness. This seems to be related to the increased opportunities for smaller entrepreneurial organisations to enter the market (Knowles and Howley 2000) and a growth in the competitiveness of

the sector generally. However, it could also be related to the movement towards middle class style pubs, with uniformed staff respectfully addressing customers as 'Sir' or 'Madam', instead of the more informal, often relatively scruffy and informal stereotype of publican and bar staff.

Perhaps such an increasing level of formality could be influenced by the decrease in tenanted pubs and the related increase in managed pubs, both brewery and independently operated. Pub management seems to be taking a more bureaucratic nature than in the past. As recently as 1998 Riley et al (1998:166) cited the '*non-bureaucratic* [emphasis added]' nature of pub work as a key factor causing methodological problems when researching the sector. Heaton (1973) showed how tenanted pubs only required a limited number of support visits from a single brewery representative, while managed properties required the attention of a number of different brewery (or independent chain) officials, such as local supervisors, area managers, cellar inspectors and stock-controllers to name a few. Such a situation would surely lead to an increasingly complex and formalistic approach to the relationships within the organisation.

Another possible influence on this tendency towards respectability in some areas of pub culture is the decline in heavy industry and growth of the service economy resulting in a change in the customer profile of many pubs towards a more white-collar, middle class clientele. Williams (1996:67) suggested that brewers have joined in with the attempt to make pubs more respectable, trying to move on from the 'laddish' image of beer being the staple of 'beer-swilling football hooligans' by promoting expensive premium beers.

This movement, together with other innovative approaches to operating pubs such as the growth in pub food and accommodation, with a multitude of different types of pubs such as theme pubs, circuit pubs, estate pubs, 'female friendly' (Williams 1996) bars such as All Bar One, has led to the sector becoming a particularly heterogeneous pare of the hospitality industry. Indeed, it has been shown that pubs became the third most popular type of eating out establishment in the UK some years ago (Mintel Publications 1991).

4.3 Women and Pubs

Women have been involved in the brewing and service of beer in the UK for hundreds of years. Haydon (1994) explained that 'ale wives' were originally the main brewers in most villages (monks were considered more skilled but were primarily concerned with catering for pilgrims) until men realised that considerable financial profit could be made from beer production. Such a situation could be seen as reflecting society's approach to gender differentiation at work, with women's work often valued less in monetary terms, so that when financial gain was possible men would take over. Thus 'it was women's work to provide the village with liquid sustenance; it was man's work to extract a profit from the same task and produce the modern industry' (Haydon 1994:19). This idea is reminiscent of the Feminist-Marxist perspective considered earlier, with the history of brewing seen as yet another example of patriarchal capitalism at work, with profitable production jobs masculinised, while apparently *feminine* (caring) tasks are left to women and valued considerably less (Jones 1993).

Hey (1986) developed this idea further, seeing modern day public houses as 'male "playgrounds" to which women are "invited" on special terms' (Hey 1986:3). Hunt (1989:252) seemed to agree with this conclusion, seeing women in pubs as 'guests' of the men and not customers there by right. Hey (1986) offers a damning thesis on pub culture, suggesting that 'it is still practically impossible for single women to consume pints of beer in a pub without their activity being read as a sexually deviant or defiant action' (Hey 1986:30). Hunt (1989:257) supports this view by suggesting that there are a number of symbols of the male ascendance in pubs, including the type of drink consumed (pints of beer for men, half pints of lager for women) and the purchasing of 'rounds' by men, symbolically controlling the female consumption of alcohol. Within this apparent bastion of male dominance, at least one 'type' of female has long played an important role. Hey (1986:43) saw barmaids as representing 'classic token women. A perfect construction of male fantasies – maternal *and* sexual [emphasis original]'.

The gendered implications of drink size, with half-pint glasses seen as feminine and pints (especially 'pint pots'[5]) perceived as masculine, could be investigated more fully. A number of questions arise from the earlier literature on pubs, such as: Are women who drink pints still seen as somehow deviant? Is the

[5] Heavy Tankard like glasses with handles.

'ladies drink' still considered smaller than a man's? There certainly could be some exaggeration of this, after all men do often have a greater tolerance of alcohol[6]. So, focusing on such apparently questionable data could be problematic without more empirical evidence. Certainly the male dominance of the 'round' system of drink purchasing could be more telling, signifying symbolic and actual control of both situation and money.

There is considerable evidence of gender stereotyping in some of the earlier (twentieth century) literature on public house management that seems to support Hey's assertion. For example, in a mid twentieth century pub management text, Philips (1946:138-139) warned:

> Anyone who has had much experience of managing or trying to manage, female staff knows how intense is the jealousy which exists between the various grades as to who shall have precedence on all sorts of what to the male mind are inconceivable occasions ... happy is the manager who has a housekeeper to whom he can turn over these matters.

However, without intending to denigrate Hey's work out of hand, it is worth pointing out that much of Hey's evidence seems to be rather dated. For instance she discusses Harrison's (1971; 1973) work on Victorian pubs and the Mass Observation (1970) study, that was carried out before 1943 on pubs in Bolton, in some depth, while much of her more recent evidence recounted represent personal vignettes of anti-female behaviour in pubs which could hardly be seen as representative. For example, on an anecdotal level, this researcher is able to recall numerous personal experiences as a pub customer providing very different scenarios to the ones she presented long before beginning this study demonstrating the danger of relying on everyday personal experience. Hey (1986:5) herself acknowledges that her research was inspired by a desire to better understand pubs after 'several personal encounters, visits to pubs which were disturbing'. Hunt (1989) also drew attention to the usually cold, disapproving attention given by pub customers to single women drinking unaccompanied. However, in his two-site study of local community pubs, Franklin (1985) found that the all-male pub was in decline thanks to a combination of women's

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[6] Popular guides to alcohol (e.g. Readers Digest 1996) recommend considerably less alcohol intake for women, although these are rather general and do not account for variations in body mass and metabolism. Thus if most females drink less than males, they are likely to drink smaller measures if they wish to keep in the 'round system' with male acquaintances. Despite this, as explained later in the thesis, a considerable number of females drinking in the pubs investigated did drink 'pints' and many males would drink 'halves'.

increasing economic activity and attempts by pub managers to extend their clientele base in a more competitive environment.

Another question that arises from Hey's work relates to the apparent paradox of matriarchal culture often exhibited by British soap operas, long populated by well known landladies such as Annie Walker and Bet Lynch of Coronation Street, and Peggy Butcher/Mitchell of Eastenders. These two perspectives of women as second-class guests and respected matriarchs seem to be an interesting and potentially useful avenue for investigation in a study of emotional aspects of pub work.

4.3.1 Sex Typing and Roles at Work

Aspects of female roles are often derogated by society and considered outside the realm of paid employment – 'Many a woman has said "I don't work; I'm just a housewife"' (Johnson and Hall 1996:369). Whether this is because a patriarchal society seeks to inflate the importance of male roles over those of women or because many of the traditional female tasks were unpaid is debatable, although the result seems to be that masculine roles tend to have higher status in the workplace. Thus, when 'feminine' tasks – notably within the 'helping and serving professions' (Johnson and Hall 1996:369) – are incorporated in paid work they are often attributed low status by society. There are exceptions to this, when tasks previously regarded as the responsibility of women become masculinised, for example brewing, as discussed earlier, and cooking, often considered a job for unpaid, unskilled women but also associated with highly skilled and predominantly male chefs.

As explained earlier, Haydon (1994) suggested that this attitude change in gendered work could be attributed to a recognition of the commercial worth of a job, giving the example of beer brewing, and also explaining that such changes would probably result in an increase in status related to the task. In other words, jobs traditionally associated with women are often seen as low status and unskilled, but if such jobs become more masculine perceptions of the level of status, associated skill and worth, reflected in remuneration increases. Like the masculinisation of tasks, it has been suggested that other jobs (in such areas as clerical work) have become feminised, leading to reduction in the social perception of status, skill and reward. Even in such feminised sectors men still seem to dominate the powerful positions. For instance, Grint (1998:209) pointed out that although women make up about 60% of

the staff of British clearing banks, only a tiny proportion of managers are women (between 1.8% and 4.3% in 1986).

Purcell (1997:41) highlighted three useful categories of employment types when considering gender in the workplace:

1. 'Contingently gendered jobs' are carried out by a large proportion of women, but the nature of the work is not gender typed.
2. 'Sex-typed jobs' are those when gender related attributes are explicitly or implicitly included in the job specification. Joseph (1989:177) showed how society seems to stereotype women's work as, among other things, only semi-skilled in nature, while men's work involves technical skill, suggesting that any job involving perceived low levels of skill, in which a large proportion of women are employed quickly become feminised in the mind of society.
3. 'Patriarchally prescribed jobs' are governed by the doctrines of male dominated society. Examples of these would be casting women in the (devalued) role of carer and nurturer (e.g. nurse or waitress) and men in the (highly valued) role of 'head of the family' (e.g. doctor or hotel manager).

The first of these categories – Contingently gendered work – seems to be most closely related to the demand for cheap, unskilled and/or flexible labour, and for a variety of reasons women present lower labour costs to management. As such it could be quite difficult to differentiate this from sex-typed work. If an occupational sector has a visible increase in female employment that results from increased demand for such workers, perhaps due to technological advances leading to de-skilling and lowering labour costs, it seems likely – as suggested above – that such work will become increasingly sex-typed in nature. The part-time nature of many hospitality and pub jobs (due to seasonal and/or time-of-day variations) has particular relevance here. Women with domestic responsibilities seem more likely to require such flexible or part time hours because of other commitments, such as child care, yet such flexible work is, by its very nature, usually less stable and secure for employees, which seems likely to offer less financial reward and status.

Another area of importance that has been highlighted in the literature is the potential dissonance experienced by individuals of the 'wrong' sex in sex-typed or patriarchally prescribed jobs. Whyte (1948:97), for example, suggested that waiters were 'seriously disturbed' by the feminine (and, by implication, low status) role they were playing at work. This could be partly attributed to dissonance caused by the role

itself, and partly by the role demands, as the assumption is that women would be better equipped to deal with the service interaction as a result of female socialisation processes generally. Such association with 'feminine' roles could help to explain the stereotypical association of hospitality with a high level of homosexual employees, which assertion has no compelling evidence to support it beyond unconvincing 'folklore ... and coy references to homosexuality in the academic literature' (Wood 1997:22).

4.4 The Emotional Experience of Working in Pubs

The public house environment seems likely to require a considerable amount of emotional labour when dealing with customers due to the importance of alcohol consumption that takes place because this drug does lead to some 'disinhibition' (Smith 1985a:32) of customers behaviour. This could result in a wider emotional gulf between sober staff and less emotionally and behaviourally inhibited customers. The presence and relatively easy access to alcohol could also result in staff developing drinking problems, which may affect their work performance generally and emotionally. In addition to such disinhibition, it seems that alcohol has been ritually and symbolically important for humans since earlier civilisations such as those of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria and the Levant (Joffe 1998).

Pub landlords and landladies (either employed managers, tenants or owners) seem especially susceptible to the demands of emotional labour as it can be argued that 'the publicans' sociability and relational network is focused around the "regulars" who form the dominant group of users' (Smith 1985a:24), suggesting that the publican's social life is dominated by work contacts. This was further demonstrated by Smith (1885b) when describing the publican of a 'rough working-class pub' who 'was behind the bar less often than in front of it' with his regular customers (Smith 1985b:295). Guerrier (2000) suggested that the pub managers from her study saw their position as more than a job, or even a career, but rather as a 'life style choice' (Guerrier 2000:7). She explained how live-in pub managers (and other staff) can be seen as actually living in the workplace and working in the home. She pointed out that such managers often seemed to have difficulty differentiating between work and play. The implications of this idea for emotional labour among pub managers and other live-in staff are considered in the following extract:

> For live in managers there is no clear boundary between the workspace and the home space, or between work time and leisure time. There is no sense in which one can control one's emotions at work because ... there is, virtually, no outside arena within which to be oneself [Because the pub premises are so central to the manager's personal, as well as professional life] (Guerrier 2000:15).

This links quite closely to the earlier suggestion that pub work provides a strong occupational culture, which organisations, such as Guerrier's (2000) Eastender taverns, try to develop into organisational commitment by encouraging emotional ties with the employing company, although not always successfully. There certainly seem to be similarities with Hochschild's (1983) analysis of the type or worker orientation encouraged by Delta's training. Thus, beyond the practicalities of security, licensing law and the physical design of most public houses, this shows another important reason for pub companies to encourage and/or require managers to live on the premises.

4.4.1.1 Gender and Emotions in Pubs

Given the gender debate introduced earlier, it would probably also be useful to consider whether female pub workers have considerably different emotional demands than male. Women make up an important part of the workforce in UK pubs and bars in particular and the commercial hospitality industry in general. Purcell (1997) presents a breakdown of employment in various sectors of the tourism and leisure industry that shows libraries, museums and art galleries as being the only category of work employing a greater proportion of female staff (70.8% of the workforce) than public houses and bars (67.5%). She explained that 'caring for the comfort and welfare of others' (an important part of the hospitality industry) is seen as women's work to the extent that it is developed during the general socialisation of most females (Purcell 1997:37).

Elkins (1976:96-97) gives a graphic (if not very politically correct) description of a landlady's role which highlights a number of particular areas of emotional labour within a rather stereotyped vision of the female side of pub management:

> Pub landlady is a title of respect and one which should conjure up images of vivacious, friendly women ... healthy personalities who understand men when men are thirsty, lonely, hungry, raucous, cold, bawdy or tipsy ... the most interesting drinks dispenser in the world ... she masters the art of theatre more

than the film producer on his set; or the circus master in his ring ... she is a social leaning post. Someone to talk to in times of good fortune and bad, preventing the need in our society, indeed our part of the world, for too many psychiatrist's couches ... must have the gust to liven up the bar in mid-evening, moulding together wise-guys, smart Alecs, swankpots, introverts and Romeos into good company ... while silently and secretly running her own private home and caring for the needs of her husband and family. She is always faced with one particular hazard of a trade which exposes her husband to the glamour of the barmaids he employs - one day he may well run off with one of her perfumed rivals, a deed which has a high incidence rate in the pub.

Interestingly, this image does not describe any of the landladies – or indeed female bar staff in any of the units studied.

Hunt (1989) drew attention to another area of emotional demands on female staff, suggesting that the 'publican's wife' of one village pub was subjected to sexual jokes, and suggested that 'the role of barmaid provided a licence for a more overt hostile sexual relationship than the one which was acceptable among the customers' of either sex (Hunt 1989:254). Adkins (1995:162) agreed that wives employed as part of a management couple are often 'sexual attractions in pubs', performing a type of 'sexual labour'. She also saw the employment of heterosexual couples as yet another way to exploit women by an unseemly coalition of employers (gaining cheap labour) and husbands (who she saw as gaining direct control over their wives' pay-packet and having access to an uncomplaining worker to take over from them when they chose not to work).

In this environment of sexual labour it is necessary to discuss the relative position of male pub staff. If so much of the work revolves around feminine emotions and whether men experience any level of dissonance related to their role or emotional well being as suggested by Whyte (1948). Another relevant question relates to specific jobs within pubs. For example, how far does the situation in British pubs reflect Spradley and Mann's (1975) findings when they identified a clear division of labour, or segregation, based on gender within American cocktail bars? They clearly identified that women employees were predominantly employed in low status positions waiting on tables and serving customers while high status male bar staff remained physically separated by the bar itself, and merely provided the drinks for them.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter has introduced some of the literature dealing with the pub industry. A number of explanations for the dynamic and increasingly heterogeneous nature of the sector have been considered, demonstrating some of the social, economic and political influences on British public houses. This provides a useful framework for considering the chain of pubs investigated, helping the reader understand how and why such an organisation was able to enter this diverse marketplace.

The latter part of the chapter began to apply some of the key theoretical ideas that were introduced earlier in the thesis. Gender issues are of great importance within pub culture, and have been given some attention by researchers in the field although much of this seems out of date given recent developments. Few investigations have focused on the emotional demands on pub workers, demonstrating a clear gap in the literature. Later chapters will address these two issues within the chain studied in an attempt to address this gap and help to develop a greater understanding of these important topics.

It is important to investigate some of the pub stereotypes relating to gender issues highlighted by studies such as those of Hey (1986) and Mass Observation (1970). Gendering and sexualisation of work are of particular relevance to this study given its common association with emotional labour in much of the literature. Social class within the public house sector is another area worthy of investigation given the suggested broadening of pub clienteles away from the 'traditional' working class institution. This is also relevant to the study of emotions at work in general and emotional labour in particular given Hochschild's (1983) suggestions that such work is more likely to be carried out by middle class employees.

5 Choosing an Appropriate Methodology

5.1 Introduction

There are a number of research approaches and techniques that could be followed in order to address this project's objectives. This chapter aims to outline the reasons for which the eventual methodology was selected, considering some of the key epistemological concerns that affect research into human experience.

Jones (1993:114) provides a useful insight into the challenge of selecting a methodology, explaining that particular research methods or techniques have 'little *inherent* quality [emphasis original]'. This suggests that the value of such methods is closely related to the individual researcher's aims and orientation (both theoretical and philosophical). He summarises this idea succinctly:

> To understand the use of data collection techniques, we have to understand the context in which they are employed; this context is often revealed by understanding the *ontological* and the *epistemological* interests of the researcher [emphasis original] (Jones 1993:114).

Therefore, the main task of this chapter is to provide a rationale for the methodology chosen for this study, highlighting such philosophical concerns.

5.2 Objective Knowledge of Society?

When trying to understand individuals and the societies and cultures in which they live there appear to be a number of factors that differentiate such study from the hard or natural sciences. The rules (such as shared behaviours and values) by which people live vary from culture to culture, and their relative importance often differs between individuals in a single culture (Douglas 1984) making it challenging to generalise and theorise about them. These rules are also constantly changing; as Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) pointed out, people living in different eras essentially belong to different cultures. Thus, a social researcher is not only faced with differences between concurrent cultures and societies, but with a constant cultural evolution. Another difference is that stated or implied rules are not necessarily absolute – 'cultural' rules or laws can be broken in a way that 'natural' ones (e.g. the speed of light barrier) cannot. This suggests that universal laws of society do not exist, as rules vary according to numerous variables, such as 'social

meanings, intentions, motives, attitudes and beliefs' (Ersser 1997:59), but even if there are core laws in human society generally, it seems highly unlikely that these can be found without examining and comparing culturally specific rules from different societies.

The philosophical work of Karl Popper appears to have a double-edged relevance to this project and social research in general. The questions he raised regarding the 'problem of induction' (Popper 1979:1) seem to need considerable thought when planning any research into social phenomena, although his resultant championing of the hypothetico-deductive approach has been criticised as suspect in various areas. For example, falsification of a hypothesis still requires subjective interpretation to ascertain what part of the assumptions inherent in the theory being tested is false (Hammersley 1989).

Popper criticised the 'commonsense view' of the world, resulting simply from '*repeated* observations [emphasis original]' (Popper 1971:3) as being unscientific and resulting in potentially inaccurate assumptions. However, it seems that this could be an important way by which people acquire their view of the social world, as 'only a very limited group in any society engages in theorizing ... but everyone in society in society participates in its "knowledge" in one form or another' (Berger and Luckmann 1970:50). Indeed, if this were not so, it would cause huge problems in day to day life where such common knowledge plays an important role and allows people to function in complex societies.

Much emphasis seems has been placed on the value of objectivity in research, although there is a growing acknowledgement of the value of subjectivity[7] and reflexivity in some areas of research into human societies. Pratt (1978) provides an interesting critique of this stance, reflecting a point of view increasingly adopted by advocates of phenomenological or social constructionist research philosophies. He

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[7] Hatch (1998:83) defined objective researchers as 'neutral observers of the world' not concerned with 'morality or ethics, nor should they be motivated by anything other than the pursuit of knowledge.' However, subjectivist thinkers suggest that 'all knowledge of the world ... is filtered through the knower' (Hatch 1997:47-48), suggesting that knowledge is inevitably influenced and altered by 'cognitive and/or social and cultural forces' (Hatch 1997:48). Thus objectivity is seen as an unrealistic aim by an idealist, or 'idea-ist' (Hospers 1967:507), researcher. This indicates a focus on ideas and consciousness rather than objective and universal reality. Showing the relevance of the debate to a study of emotions, Hochschild (1983:31) points out that 'the word *objective* [emphasis original], according to the *Random House Dictionary,* means "free from personal feelings." Yet ironically, we need feeling in order to reflect on the external or "objective" world. Taking feelings into account as clues and then correcting for them may be our best shot at objectivity'.

outlines some simple examples to highlight the influence of personal values even in the social science of economics, and explained that:

> If values do of necessity enter into the results of any social inquiry, then from this viewpoint there is something very embarrassingly "non-objective" about them: whether people should in reason accept them will depend on whether they happen to share the values with which the results are informed. If they don't, nothing in reason can be said (Pratt 1978:97).

He goes on to suggest that one way of approaching this is for social researchers to acknowledge the problem, and strive to communicate any values that were influential on their work. This in itself presents a considerable challenge (if it is possible at all), and requires careful and honest reflexive effort. Such introspection, or being 'aware of being aware of' something', and 'self-consciousness' (Russell 1967:26-27), has been dismissed by some logical positivists as not only subjective, but uncontrollable and unverifiable (Schutz 1978). However, by denying such influences on their own work researchers are potentially endangering their own findings and subsequent theorising. For example the positivist approach to naturalism would be advised to recognise the pressures of fieldwork as being:

> emotional, physical and ethical ... [which] obligates him or her to take seriously their own introspections and reflections on the social process, as that process is recorded, perceived and acted towards. [In part because] This methodology immediately opens for sociological analysis all of one's daily actions and conversations as sources of data on the self and the joint act. Recording one's behaviour permits the observer to be both objective and subjective [emphasis added] (Denzin 1978:41).

A number of approaches to social research stress the value of a reflexive approach. For example, the output of ethnography (written ethnographies) has been described as 'thick description' (Geertz 1975:6), which relies heavily on the researcher's interpretation of observed cultural situations. Merely describing what is observable seems inadequate as this would ignore the meaning attributed to it (Hughes 1990), thus any reader would be required to interpret the text through his or her own cultural knowledge, which could be very different from that of the culture described. Thus, the ethnographer intends to discover and isolate cultural facts from the society studied, despite any tacit cultural knowledge, attitudes, norms and values held about his or her home culture. So, effective ethnography relies on the fieldworker recognising other cultural and personal influences not directly related to the studied culture. One striking example of reflexive participant observation was provided by Cavendish

(1982), with the author providing a very clear introduction to herself, her political beliefs and reasons for carrying out her study of female factory workers early in the text. The honest self analysis given leaves the reader in no doubt as to the key personal influence on her work, and is continually reinforced throughout the monograph.

It can thus be argued that all knowledge is to some extent socially constructed (whether common-sensical or scientifically theoretical) and therefore that 'objective reality' cannot be completely and unequivocally presented in written form as 'language creates a particular view of society' (Richardson 1995:199). In other words, the act of describing something, through language, is influenced by the rhetorical, grammatical and narrative structures utilised, and so can not be seen as wholly objective.

In addition to these concerns, there seem to be two more particular attributes that separate the study of people and the societies in which they live from other forms of research. First, at the present time it is still impossible to actually observe the thought processes and feelings of an individual human beyond the effects of such internal experiences on their physical being, calling for (often culturally specific) interpretation of something – a physical reaction. The other, and perhaps most important, difference is the ability to communicate with research subjects in words. It is possible to actually ask someone the question why. This seems to present both a huge advantage and a potential minefield of problems to researchers regarding issues such as honesty and a researcher's actual understanding of responses.

5.2.1 Validity and Reliability

It is important to recognise that the validity of interview data is not beyond question. As suggested above, interviewees may not always be honest, whether intentionally or not. In addition to this, often they are likely to have difficulty identifying and verbally elucidating tacit cultural knowledge. The latter was particularly evident in some of the interviews carried out in this study, as one of this study's respondents explained:

> I'm finding this [the interview] really difficult. Again that's another difficult question. I'm not really, I've not really been conscious of thinking about that sort of thing, you know.

Hammersley (1992:69) discussed the concept of validity at some length, seeing it as synonymous with 'truth'. This demonstrates the difficulty of presenting ethnographic findings – or indeed those of any social science – as clearly or incontrovertibly valid if such truth is socially constructed in the first place. Wolcott (1994) also considers this issue suggesting that ethnographic data should not be seen as social facts in themselves and can often be contradictory and subjective. As such, he claims that the rigour of the analysis is especially important in establishing credibility with the academic community.

Lindlof (1995) defines the concepts of reliability and validity as 'canons of evaluation' (Lindlof 1995:238) based on 'objectivist assumptions' (Lindlof 1995:237) and suggests that they do not really fit within the interpretivist perspective given the assumption of the fluidity of human experience. He draws attention to a number of issues relevant to researchers when considering an evaluative framework for their research:

> The interpretive paradigm recognises the constantly changing character of cultures, perceptions, and forms of action. Because what can be observed of a scene is profoundly contingent on time, and on the individual human-as-research-instrument (whose properties change as time in the field increases). Little is gained from trying to achieve reliability. Applying the concept of validity to qualitative inquiry is also difficult. A world consisting of multiple, constructed realities does not permit the researcher to identify any single representation as the criterion for accurate measurement. And because the inquirer operates reflexively as a participant, it is doubtful whether the usual way of conceiving internal validity has much relevance. Finally, the qualitative researcher studies social action and cultural sensibility situated in time and place; the more to generalize in the traditional sense is neither warranted nor particularly desirable (Lindlof 1995:237).

Hammersley (1992:70-72) goes on to outline three possible criteria to consider the strength of ethnographic assertions, ranging from issues of 'plausibility and credibility' similar to content validity, to quality of evidence and the 'type of claim' being made, particularly distinguishing between describing, defining, explaining and theorising. He explains that any judgement of validity requires the reader to carefully identify the 'main claims' or key findings of a study, whether quantitative or qualitative. In either case any such evaluation is likely to be personal to the reader, and thus relatively subjective in nature. Similarly Lindlof (1995:238) concludes his discussion by suggesting 'credible' and 'dependable' as more appropriate concepts than valid and reliable, when evaluating qualitative data and analysis. He stresses the

difference between the ideas of coming to 'right interpretations' within such criteria, and having a single 'right interpretation'. Thus he argues that such researchers recognise that there is no single correct interpretation but a multitude of differing points of view. Likewise it is both practically and conceptually problematic to seek reliability when concerned with qualitative social data. It is challenging in purely practical terms to generate a large, representative sample, if only due to the time and expense required to carry out and analyse large numbers of long, semi-structured interviews. Conceptually the same issues of social constructionism and cultural influences make generalisation in positivist terms almost impossible. This is because a single contradictory response to a question would not necessarily disprove an idea in the same way that a single such case in a carefully controlled experiment would in 'hard' science.

It therefore seems reasonable to postulate that the reporting of research findings involves the complex personal interpretations of respondent, writer and reader. It is necessary to be selective in what aspects of a situation require written attention, as social situations can be seen as 'descriptively inexhaustible' (Hammersley 1989:163). Thus the writer must choose what to include in any writing, whether dealing with qualitative or quantitative data and, as such, any 'knowledge' reported is surely based on incomplete information. If this is the case, then an insistence that research must be objective in order to be 'scientific' seems rather misplaced. Thus realist researchers (Van Maanen 1995) from ethnography and a number of other disciplines could benefit from those perspectives (such as phenomenology, postmodernism and symbolic interactionism) that recognise the inevitability and usefulness of subjectivity when seeking to understand people and attempting to integrate the perspectives of both researcher and researched (Manning 1995). For example, Geertz (1975:9) acknowledged that ethnographic data could be described as 'our [researchers'] own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to', which could scarcely be seen as objective.

In order to address this issue researchers like Lincoln and Guba (1985) often prefer the concept of trustworthiness which recognises that truth can be a subjective concept based on numerous possible realities, and that '"Reality" is now a multiple set of mental constructions' (Lincoln and Guba 1985:295). Thus positivist principles based on falsification of hypotheses are not necessarily always applicable in social research as it is concerned with different individuals' constructions of reality. So it

has been argued that, rather than relying on traditional reliability and validity measures:

> The naturalist[ic researcher] must show that he or she has *represented those multiple constructions adequately,* that is, that the *reconstructions* (for the findings and interpretations are also constructions, it should never be forgotten) that have been arrived at via the inquiry are *credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities* [emphasis original] (Lincoln and Guba 1985:296).

Erlandson et al. (1993:161) provide a detailed table of techniques for establishing such trustworthiness in naturalistic research. They refer to a variety of ideas including the following: prolonged engagement in order which helps to develop rapport; persistent observation which is essential to obtain accurate, in-depth data; triangulation which enables the researcher to build a picture based on 'different or multiple sources'; referential adequacy which helps to contextualise the research setting and 'provide a slice of life; and reflexive journals which document researcher decisions. Such techniques were of particular importance to this particular study.

5.3 Research: Philosophy, Approach, Method or Technique?

When designing the methodology for a qualitative research project researchers seem to be faced with a bewildering number of choices, made more difficult by the apparent interchangability of terms. For example, the term phenomenology seems to mean very different things to different people. Is it a philosophy, an approach to research, or does it refer to a particular data collection technique or a type of analysis? For instance, Wood (1999) equates phenomenology to interpretative research in general, thus including all types of research that could not be referred to as positivist in nature Alternatively, Lester (1984:37) stressed the need to recognise that the philosophy of phenomenology should be distinguished from sociological phenomenology, which he saw as a 'social science perspective'. Similarly ethnography refers to both 'a particular form of research and its eventual written product' (Davies 1999:4), and, as a method, ethnography could be seen as made up of a variety of specific ethnographic techniques, including, but not limited to, participant observation and ethnographic interviews (Sandiford and Ap 1998).

Researchers, therefore, have a number of questions to ask when planning a methodology for a particular research project. Such questions address various issues relevant to the proposed study, for example, what is the philosophical approach best for the project? What are the underpinning theoretical perspectives? What types of data would best address the research objectives? What specific data collection techniques should be utilised? How will the collected data be analysed?

The main problem to be solved seems to be selecting a methodological approach appropriate for the study objectives that will enable the researcher to answer the research questions. For example, Aunger (1995:97) argued that statistical methods are important when attempting to 'determine the influence of abstract effects on events' while more qualitative, narrative techniques are more appropriate to follow the 'causal development of a single case.' The key proposition here is that no single research method can answer all possible questions.

5.4 Researching Emotional Labour

5.4.1 Selecting a Methodology

This project is specifically concerned with felt and displayed emotion, relating to both individual experiences and cultural norms within a single organisation. Culture is particularly relevant to emotion management in an organisation because it 'consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members' (Ward-Goodenough cited in Geertz 1975:11).

Ethnography often seems to be equated with qualitative research. However this can be misleading, as quantitative measures and techniques have often been employed within ethnographic studies (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994; Freedman, 1978). Perhaps the key distinguishing characteristics of ethnography are the subject matter of culture (Wolcott 1980), the data collection processes (that include a number of possible techniques, but are usually built around a framework of participant observation) and product (written ethnographies which provide a 'thick description' of the culture investigated; Geertz 1975:6). The key research technique utilised in ethnography, participant observation, has also been used as an interchangeable term with the overall approach, although it should be stressed that this is often used in non-ethnographic research too.

A number of methodological problems were identified when reviewing past research in emotion research, helping the researcher design an approach that addresses some of the key issues raised. All the available data collection techniques seem to have some advantages while also demonstrating weaknesses. For example, questionnaire surveys are beneficial when researching a large sample and when reliability is of particular importance, but are less likely to provide the depth of information to develop full understanding. Alternatively, semi-structured interviews may be better at providing detailed data, giving researchers the opportunity to probe interviewees more deeply and ask for detailed explanations of responses, but are expensive and time consuming, usually necessitating smaller samples and thus suffering in reliability (Sandiford and Ap 1998).

The study of emotions in particular seems to be problematic for a number of reasons some of which have been introduced earlier. First, whilst there is some evidence that emotions and some elements of their expression are innate, particular cultures do apparently encourage differing display rules (Ekman 1998; Kemper 1981).

This makes it difficult for researchers to investigate such emotions given the tacit nature of cultural norms and possible variation between innate and learned emotions. Secondly, as suggested in the previous section, it is not possible to observe 'inner experience' (Hopfl and Linstead 1993:80) thus researchers must either interpret the physical display or expression of emotion or rely on subjects' verbal accounts of their internal feelings.

Another area of concern with the study of emotions relates to their apparently communicative nature. For example, Darwin (1998:14) suggested that the 'sympathy' generated when observing expressions of emotion in others renders 'close observation' difficult, implying that emotional responses to emotions communicated by others can interfere with such study. Thus, although observation is useful, indeed it could be seen as essential in a study of emotions and emotional display at work, caution needs to be exercised as emotive communication is likely to colour the observer's reaction and interpretation.

These difficulties have been tackled in a variety of ways by researchers. For example, Hochschild (1983) used a combination of observation of training sessions and semi-structured interviews in her study of flight attendants while Pierce (1996) employed longer-term qualitative fieldwork to investigate emotions in law firms. Wharton (1996) carried out a series of in-depth interviews when exploring the emotion work carried out by female sales staff of real estate firms in making their customers 'feel good' (Wharton 1996:217). More quantitative methodologies have also been used in the field. For example, questionnaire surveys were conducted when investigating the consequences of emotional labour in restaurants (Adelmann 1995) and a hospital and bank (Wharton 1993). Other techniques evident in the literature include the use of photography and videotapes (Ekman 1998).

The use of questionnaires has been championed in emotion research by a variety of individuals (e.g. Adelmann 1999; Wallbott and Scherer 1989; Wharton 1993; Mann 1999). Wallbott and Scherer (1989) justify the use of questionnaires as providing the opportunity for self-reported accounts of emotion, avoiding the artificial environment of the social-psychological experiment. They go on to suggest that a self-administered questionnaire may be preferable to in-depth interviews or interviewer administered questionnaires due to lower cost in the case of the former, and greater anonymity than both alternatives. This justification appears rather unconvincing especially as they recognise the 'subjective experience' (Wallbott and

Scherer 1989:55) of emotions. Self-reported questionnaires do seem to make it difficult to probe for details of such subjective experiences. The questionnaire that they actually provide as an example of good practice does include some open-ended questions eliciting qualitative responses, but is mainly framed around pre-coded answers for respondents to choose from. Some writers actually recommend against such open-ended questions on the grounds that they:

> invariably achieve only a low response. For example, in an interview, respondents will often give expansive answers to questions such as 'Do you have any comments to make on the overall management of this facility?' But they will not as readily write down such answers in a self-completion questionnaire (Veal 1992 105).

Such quantitative methodologies used by appeared rather inappropriate to the current study, although they certainly have value in other types of research projects. It did seem that the objectives of this study could not really be met by such approaches given the tacit nature of emotion which calls for somewhat more in-depth questioning than is possible from non-participant, systematic observation or questionnaire surveys. This would enable the fieldworker to probe respondents and encourage them to reflect on their experiences, rather than simply answering a rigid and pre-written questionnaire or pre-coded observation plans.

5.4.1.1 Ethnography and Emotions

An ethnographic approach seemed particularly appropriate to the research given the availability of numerous data collection techniques and its focus on cultural situations investigated in a natural setting. This naturalistic approach to social research stresses the importance of 'observing what is happening naturally rather than hypothesizing about it beforehand' (Brewer 2000:33). Johnson (1975: 82) went so far as to assert that 'it is only participation in society that allows one to make sense of the activities routinely encountered in everyday living'. This seems to equate well with some of the problems highlighted earlier regarding emotion research. The ability to observe (and even experience first hand) emotional phenomena as they happen, with access to the people experiencing the emotions as they happen, provides researchers with the opportunity to ask about what is experienced as it happens rather than only rely on memories that may be coloured by other influences.

Fetterman (1998:1) described ethnography as 'the art and science of describing a group or culture.' It relies largely on participant observation (observation by a field-worker who takes part in the daily life of the society being studied) for data gathering, although numerous other methodological techniques can be used to supplement the research, developing a rich and varied database. This is based on the idea that, by striving to find the locals' point of view the field-worker will be suitably equipped to understand why individuals within a social group do what they do, not simply recount observations (Narayan 1993). This focus on culture is also relevant to this particular field study given the assumption, outlined earlier, that emotion as, at least partly, a socio-cultural experience.

Fetterman (1989:27) also suggested that 'the concept of culture helps the ethnographer search for a logical, cohesive pattern in the myriad, often ritualistic behaviours and ideas that characterise a group'. He goes on to stress the value of actually living in the culture studied as helping the fieldworker gradually learn the intricacies of the group, such as 'how people feel about each other, and how they reinforce their own cultural practices to maintain the integrity of their system (Fetterman 1989:27). As Hammersley (1990:2) explains, 'ethnography is not far removed from the sort of approach that we all use in everyday life to make sense of our surroundings'. In effect, the ethnographer is being acculturated into the new group. However, as a researcher, the fieldworker also seeks to learn about the culture at a cognitive level so as to be able to describe, analyse and understand it rather than simply seeking to live within it. Thus a balance between the tasks of participation and observation is required, as is discussed more in the next chapter.

Ethnography also allows for the gradual accumulation of data with a step-by-step increase in focus based on a number of observations-as-participant and interviews (in the form of both informal day-to-day conversations and pre-arranged formal sessions), rather than the single snap-shot provided by a survey or experiment. As Fineman (1993b:22) points out, an ethnographer can track individuals over time and in their natural environment, thus 'capturing emotion in process'. This process is also very much influenced by researcher enculturation and reflexivity (requiring a sort of analytical interpretation in selecting and pursuing particular observations and ideas in the field), and informant explanations in both formal and informal semi-structured interviews.

Another advantage of ethnography with its multiple methods is that of triangulation, defined by Lindlof (1995:239) as 'a comparative assessment of more than one form of evidence about an object or inquiry'. Perhaps the most obvious type of triangulation for ethnographers is 'data-source triangulation' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:230) which refers to comparing data gathered from different sources about the same or similar occurrence. This approach is less important in the current study. Although different data sources were utilised (for example, fieldworker, various interviewees and different public houses) and comparisons are made during the analysis the sample size does not allow for generalisations. Indeed the research objectives are concerned with identifying and analysing emotional processes, situations, impacts, reactions from an employee perspective. It is the focus on staff perceptions that is important here, as the comparative rather than evaluative nature of the triangulation is central to the research. Temporal triangulation can also be helpful, especially when dealing with emotions as differing moods are likely to affect a fieldworker's writing at different times. The latter is demonstrated by the nature of the field diary with the weekly reflective entries which revisit experiences from a greater temporal distance (as demonstrated in Appendix 2).

Data-source triangulation is similar, but qualitatively different to technique triangulation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 231), when the data generated by different data collection or analytical techniques can be similarly compared. In this study the main techniques were participant observation and semi-structured interviewing, although these would vary in emphasis from time to time, with activities such as observing, participating, informal interactions and questioning, socialising with colleagues and customers and reflecting on experiences each requiring a slightly different approach. The value of these two main data sources is demonstrated in the latter part of the thesis where a rich variety of data from both interviews and field-notes are exemplified.

Triangulation can be a great help to the ethnographer, although Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:232) caution against taking a simplistic and 'naively "optimistic" view' that triangulation is straightforward and taking 'data at face value'. They suggest that interview data do not necessarily nullify differing field diary data, nor would identical data sets necessarily demonstrate absolute authority. It is important to point out that ethnographic triangulation differs from more positivist triangulation as it is not as much focused the concept of proof. One datum that is not supported by

another is not necessarily discounted, but investigated by further probing. For example, in their discussion of naturalistic triangulation, Erlandson (1993:138) explain that 'each piece of information in the study should be expanded by at least one other source, such as a second interview or a second method'. Thus the primary benefit of ethnographic triangulation is that of encouraging deeper analysis rather than aiming to support or disprove another finding, again linking to the issues of socially constructed truth considered earlier. This is demonstrated, by implication, in any written ethnography by the type of data being discussed and presented. Field-diaries of participant observation inevitably make up the bulk of raw data, but the probing interviews which question the fieldworker's observations and experiences often make up a greater proportion of directly reported or quoted data in resultant written reports. Indeed it could be argued that for such triangulation to add to the trustworthiness of such documents, greater use of the raw, reflexive field-diary entries would be beneficial in many cases. Thus, the strength of ethnographic data is its richness and focus on context which enables researcher and reader to build an intricate and deep picture of a culture based on a variety of perspectives and interpretations. Bourdain's (2001) explanation of how he kept informed about the busy New York restaurant sector provides a clear and striking endorsement of the value of utilising multiple data sources:

> I like to hear different accounts of the same incident from different sources. It adds perspective and reveals, sometimes, what a particular source is *leaving out*, or skewing to leave a particular impression, making me wonder: *Why*? [Emphasis original] (Bourdain 2001:190).

This quotation highlights both the triangulation and explanatory detail provided by ethnographic practice.

5.4.1.2 Ethnography and Organisations

One advantage that ethnography as a methodology brings to organisational research is the broad perspective ethnographers bring to their study. Schwartzman (1993:28) explained that 'the place of formal organizations within the larger social and economic structure of modern class society is of particular interest to many researchers in this field'. Such an approach seeks to investigate work and the workplace as social institutions, recognising the influence of the cultural and societal

norms on them. This broad approach to the subject seeks to avoid narrowly focused research that may lack the flexible scope of ethnography to pursue varying lines of investigation based on data uncovered during the fieldwork in an ongoing manner.

In some ways gaining access to a work based organisation can present fewer problems to a fieldworker than a less formal social setting, such as a community within an 'alien' cultural setting which is often seen as a more traditional subject for ethnographic study. For example, the researcher had previously researched a small village in Hong Kong, and found it very difficult to gain trust and acceptance from many of the locals, in part due to his obvious outsider status (being a white Englishman in a Chinese community). When studying an organisation such as a pub company as a full participant, provided formal access is agreed by senior management, the researcher has the opportunity to demonstrate a genuine role as a bona fide member of staff. This provides a 'real' role often helping participants (who become colleagues rather than suspicious researchers) to identify with the researcher more.

5.4.2 A multiple Case Study Approach?

The practical framework within which the researcher is working in this particular study could perhaps be described as a multiple case study of five individual pubs. However, at another level, this could also be seen as a single ethnography (case study) of a single organisation, or, taking another route, a wider collection of multiple case studies, focusing on a number of individuals within the four pubs and the single organisation. This question seems of some importance when designing, conducting and analysing the results of a multiple case study approach, as the approach to such a study is likely to influence the resultant findings.

This particular study is predominantly exploratory in nature, and it seems inappropriate to attempt to generalise any findings[8]. Rather the researcher is

[8] Hammersley (1992) draws attention to two potential types of generalisation often attempted by ethnographers; empirical generalisation (Hammersley 1992:86-91) and 'theoretical inference' (Hammersley 1992:91-92). The former certainly appears more suspect than the latter, suggesting that 'what is said of the particular setting is true of all or most of the settings of the aggregate' (Hammersley 1992:86) which relies on this 'aggregate' being sufficiently homogenous to warrant such an assertion. The concept of theoretical inference suggests rather that ethnography can add to theory in a variety of ways. Hammersley particularly refers to ideas of 'theoretical insight', 'critical cases' that can support or disprove along the hypothetico-deductive model (Hammersley 1992:91) and 'analytic induction' suggesting that great depth of investigation is of more relevance to theory formulation than quantitative

concerned with generating a rich database of situations, experiences, observations and respondents' perceptions relevant to the research questions. Thus any comparison between cases must be treated cautiously. The public houses to be researched belong to a single chain, thus it was expected that there would be some similarities between them, although they are not completely homogeneous – for example, being situated in diverse geographical areas and managed by individuals with some degree of managerial autonomy. The main rationale for studying more than one outlet was that the researcher wanted to develop a wider perspective than a single case is likely to permit, given such differences, rather than triangulate data from different sites. Thus, to develop a 'comparative' study (Yin 1989:52) is not the objective of this project, and the suggested replication criteria of multiple cases (whether 'literal' or 'theoretical'; Yin 1989:53) seems inappropriate in this case. Given this approach to the project, it seems more appropriate to refer to the study as a single case, spread over a small number of periods of fieldwork within a single company.

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter has considered various philosophical issues related to human research, especially focusing on emotions. Potential difficulties of researching human emotions are highlighted, leading to a discussion of their possible solution. For example, the problem of objectivity is considered, leading to the suggestion that a reflexive approach, seeking to identify and communicate researchers' personal values would show readers possible subjective influences on the research design, data collection and interpretation. This should go beyond apologising for such subjectivity, seeking to celebrate the individuality of research.

The value of an ethnographic approach to this kind of study has been shown, discussing some of the advantages of ethnography in social, emotion and organisational research. Ethnographic fieldworkers have the opportunity to learn the cultural rules of a group first-hand rather than simply relying on respondent reports. This was seen as particularly important when investigating culturally derived emotion rules which can be broken, unlike 'natural' laws. Experiencing (by participation), observing and discussing the existence and maintenance of emotion rules provide

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'probability statements' (Hammersley 1992:92). This latter argument seems to rely on an assertion that the reliability of statistics is often outweighed by potential invalidity of data and/or their interpretation.

three types of data for the researcher to analyse and interpret. The theoretical focus of ethnography is also helpful to a researcher given the emphasis on cultural and social aspects of human life. Thus it was felt ethnography is likely to be an appropriate research approach when investigating the nature of socially shared emotion rules within public houses in line with the study objectives.

6 Study Design: An Ethnography of Emotional Labour

6.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to provide a detailed discussion of the research design, highlighting and demonstrating the value of the key data collection techniques utilised. The chapter also explains the approach to data analysis, showing how this used a mixture of formal techniques of data reduction and less formal reflection and interpretation. Towards the end of the chapter a reflective evaluation of the research method provides a useful means of considering some of the strengths, weaknesses and limitations of the project and its approach. Throughout the chapter a number of issues important to research into organisations and other social institutions are raised. For example, the need to gain access to research subjects is of great significance at all stages of such a project, as are the ethics of researching human beings, especially when related to overt versus covert approaches.

6.2 Data Collection

6.2.1 Achieving and Maintaining Access to the Company

Access should be seen as rather more than obtaining authorisation to conduct research. It involves gaining the support and co-operation (and preferably interest and enthusiasm) of all (or at least most) individuals within the group to be investigated. Whyte (1984) highlighted a number of different routes to achieving access in various setting, suggesting that, in America, it is often relatively easy to enter work organisations as an employee/researcher, as suggested in the previous chapter. This was certainly found to be true in this British based study. After approaching the Managing Director of a chain of public houses, a meeting was arranged with one of his directors who gave formal permission for fieldwork to be carried out in within the chain and provided useful information during one of the earlier formal interviews carried out. He also helped arrange each period of fieldwork, identifying outlets that seemed to meet the project's requirements and had vacancies for temporary staff.

This director did express some interest in the study, and the researcher offered to provide a copy of the final thesis for the company. Support and cooperation were offered, although there was little evidence of enthusiasm for the project or its

objectives. The researcher was given the impression that the company was happy to provide the opportunity for the fieldwork, but that the main perceived benefit to the company was some temporary and inexpensive labour in some units. This attitude actually proved unproblematic for the project as there was no evidence of interference from head office, with their only participation being introducing the fieldworker to a variety of unit managers. This also resulted in the research and researcher not usually being identified too closely with head office by managers and colleagues (except for on one occasion that will be considered more later). Thus, the company was kept up-to-date with the project's progress and requests for introductions but rarely instigated communication with the researcher.

As suggested earlier, researching any social group requires more than simply gaining official permission to conduct a project, and a number of informal 'standard contract[s]' (Lindlof 1995:110) need to be made with each individual informant. In this study the key gatekeeper was the director from head office. Although this gatekeeper gave permission for the fieldwork to take place, and organised placement leads with various outlets, it was necessary to follow these up at a local level and arrange terms of access with individual pub managers. At the final level access also had to be negotiated with individual workers within each outlet in order, in the most basic way, to be accepted into the team by colleagues as a participant observer, and more formally when interviews were conducted.

The different levels of access provide various challenges to the fieldworker. For example, utilising a formal gatekeeper at head office level can result in various practical problems. There is a danger that outlets suggested or selected for study by head office may not have been representative of the company as a whole (the fieldworker was told by a number of contacts in the company that one of the outlets studied had been the company's 'flagship' unit). However, this was not of major concern to the researcher as the study was exploratory in nature and he did not seek to generalise its findings. Rather the concern was to develop a rich database of relevant emotional situations and experiences in an attempt to understand how the individuals who participated in the study perceived and dealt with the emotional demands of their work.

6.2.2 Participant Observation

Perhaps the most compelling value of participant observation was suggested by Douglas (1985) when discussing interview technique:

> It is most fruitful for us human explorers to begin by immersing ourselves in natural situations and observing ourselves and others a great deal before presuming that we know enough to ask significant questions about the experience (Douglas 1985:12).

Thus, observing as a full participant enables field-workers to gain first hand experience in the culture being studied, not just observing others, but reflecting on their own actions, thoughts and feelings.

As explained in the previous chapter, participant observation is often seen as the main technique utilised by ethnographers. The advantages of observation as a participant are numerous and well documented. At its most basic level, actual observation of a living culture provides a researcher with information about it – as well as possibly offering a means of triangulation of interview data. However it is argued that to obtain an accurate view of a culture and its workings it is important for researchers to approach their work from the locals' point of view (Narayan, 1993). Participating in (and actually being acculturated into) the everyday life of the society studied seems to offer an opportunity to better understand individuals within such a society and empathise with them by experiencing first-hand some of what they do and feel. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) also pointed out that being seen as a participant can help develop rapport with informants prior to interviews, thus easing the interview process.

Participant observation was the main data collection technique utilised in the study, giving the opportunity to actually experience the situations and resultant emotions studied. After securing the co-operation of the pub chain and specific unit managers, the fieldworker was able to secure actual employment within a number of individual outlets within the chain.

Working thus as a member of staff in a number of different pubs helped the fieldworker get close to other workers, becoming a part of the team and providing the opportunity to observe and talk with colleagues over several weeks. However, the fieldwork did raise a number of important issues that require consideration here and later in the thesis. For example, Narayan (1993) drew attention to the value (such as utilising existing expertise) and danger (such as holding preconceived ideas and bias

which will inevitably affect fieldworker enculturation) of being a native ethnographer, when a researcher formally investigates her or his own culture. Certainly, with considerable prior experience in pub work the fieldworker should be considered as such a native ethnographer with some existing knowledge of this type of environment. Quite apart from any such bias or research error, the influence of the participant observer on the individuals and culture studied is also an issue in the study of people. Although ethnographers should seek to minimise any such influence or impact, it seems unreasonable to expect that such participation can avoid at least some such 'reactivity' (Hammersley 1992:163).

Care must also be taken by researchers conducting participant observation, especially when defining the field-worker's role in the society studied. Reinharz (1997:5) identified a number of researcher selves, each of which has a particular type of influence when in the field. These selves were categorised in three areas: 'Research based selves,' – relating specifically to the research role (e.g. being an observer); 'brought selves' – which are more personal and provide a sense of individuality; and 'situationally created selves' which may or may not be related to the research project (e.g. being a temporary member of the studied group). When reading the field notes it was often possible to identify when specific selves had dominance over others. There were times when the situationally created self as a member of bar staff was predominant, especially when dealing with either difficult or 'good' customers (or colleagues) or at busy times when work demands could sometimes take temporary precedence over observation.

Such dangers of participant observation are well documented, and require consideration by fieldworkers. Questions of fieldworker role identification are relevant here. For example, is the predominant role observation or participation (observer-as-participant or participant-as-observer)? It may be rather presumptuous for an ethnographer to claim to take only one or the other role type throughout the fieldwork experience, much as it is difficult to clearly delineate which 'selves' are dominant at any one time. This is where a reflexive approach to writing ethnography can help both writer and reader. In the next chapter the fieldworker reflects on the early stages of the data collection, and later in the thesis a reflexive account has been incorporated into the discussion of the findings to consider these considerations further.

There were four distinct periods of participant observation, carried out in five different pubs. Each of these periods lasted for about six weeks and went through certain distinct stages. The first few weeks allowed the fieldworker to settle into the new working environment, learning any different systems used and getting to know new colleagues and customers. These periods were spread over an eighteen month period, allowing for considerable reflection, analysis and planning between each, thus maximising the value gained from each outlet. Observations became increasing focused during the period, supplemented with informal interviews with colleagues, often taking place when working or socialising after shifts.

Although entering five different pubs in such a relatively short time may seem unrealistic from an employee's point of view, it is not unusual in the industry given the sector's high labour turnover. The fieldworker found that it was possible to fit into the team within a period of six weeks. This is possibly due to the relatively transitory nature of employment in public houses with staff often only staying with any one employer for a short time. The fieldworker could then carry out most of the more formal semi-structured interviews in the last two weeks of the fieldwork, having already achieved some rapport with colleagues[9].

As the fieldworker had considerable previous experience in pub work, it was relatively easy to gain access to the work groups in each of the pubs studied. Whyte (1984:28) suggested that when cultural differences between researcher and study subjects are small, researchers are likely to be accepted more readily than when colleagues perceive a large cultural gulf. Jauncey (1999) supported this idea, claiming that such insider status helps researchers engender trust with industry colleagues and any existing shared understanding would add to the depth and quality of data gathered. It is important, however, to realise that this does present some potential difficulties. For example, other participants may occasionally be bemused by the apparently naïf questioning of an ethnographer, especially knowing of her or his prior work experience in the type of work that they are engaged in.

In this project the main difference between the fieldworker and other employees was his recent academic background and overt role as researcher. In fact, some newer colleagues had considerably less experience in the pub sector. Although such native status usually seemed predominant to colleagues, there were a number of

[9] The issue of rapport will be discussed more in the next chapter, 'The Pilot Study'.

occasions when this role of researcher did seem to take precedence in colleagues' minds. For example, when a member of staff encountered personal problems, a fellow colleague approached the fieldworker and explained he was worried that the details should not be included in the research as he was concerned about confidentiality issues and didn't want his friend's problems published. Such situations were, however, quite rare, and it often seemed as the researcher's role was forgotten, or at least dismissed as non-threatening.

Pubs and bars seem to provide a number of noteworthy advantages and challenges to researchers. One key issue was the importance of alcohol and its use in the environment. The consumption of alcohol has a number of symbolic uses in pubs, especially related to the buying of rounds and reciprocity. On many occasions the fieldworker would sit down to drinks with colleagues and/or customers when off duty. In order to be considered a participant it was generally unacceptable to not participate in such behaviour (often after refusing a drink, a colleague would buy one anyway and put it in front of the person who said 'No'). During such useful informal discussions and interviews the effects of alcohol were certainly an influence on resultant data, and on a number of occasions stretched long into the night. On one or two occasions, when working on a breakfast shift the next morning it was not possible to sleep at all.

6.2.2.1 The Field Diary

The primary type of data for the participant observation was a reflexive field diary recording specific observations and the experiences, thoughts and reflections of the fieldworker. Certainly at the end of the fieldwork this document (or five documents – one for each unit investigated) made up the bulk of the data, despite the numerous interview transcripts. Due to the nature of participating as a full time member of staff it was difficult to write notes during work shifts, thus most of the diary entries were made after each work period. These daily records were largely descriptive, documenting specific observations and thoughts. When more time was available, such as on days off, the writing took a more reflective approach. At such times the fieldworker would reread previous notes and think more deeply about the various issues raised. This exercise helped revisit and clarify various data, as well as planning

subsequent data collection (especially relating to more focused observation and interviewing) and analysis.

It is perhaps ironic that, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:176) point out that, despite field-notes being essentially the key source of ethnographic data, they are rarely made directly available to readers. Certainly in this project the field diary was often written in a personal style of shorthand that would be little help for other individuals. However, some examples of these notes have been included in Appendix 2 and illustrative quotations are utilised throughout the rest of the thesis. Some notes were originally written with word-processing software, while others were wholly or partially written manually with informal annotations and reflections in the margin. As well as recording events and thoughts, and guiding the project's development, these notes provide a useful reflexive resource. The combination of the descriptive and more reflective types of record enabled the fieldworker to recall various aspects of the fieldwork during analysis, including specific observations, personal feelings and thought processes from the time.

6.2.3 Interviews

In order to build a valid understanding of 'other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to' (Geertz 1975:9) observation alone, whether participant of not, seems inadequate. Researchers need to uncover hidden meanings, values and other cultural attributes that cannot be directly observed. As such, the ethnographic interview, seeking to find 'cultural meanings which exist within a social group' (Sorrell and Redmond 1995:1118) – in this case the public house company – is an appropriate data collection technique. Most of the pub employees, at every level, were very happy to talk about themselves and their experiences – indeed some participants themselves pointed out that pub people are an especially talkative group and enjoyed the opportunity.

Ethnographic interviewing requires a number of skills as uncovering a culture's (or an individual's) social constructions is not easy. For example, Znaniecki (1969:127) suggested that 'a word symbolizes logical extension rather than comprehension'. His implication is that people are primarily concerned with using words to represent 'objects or processes' (Znaniecki 1969:128) at a relatively simplistic level, rather than considering a potentially complex and thorough definition

of individual words. If this is so, as seems reasonable, people often use words in everyday life without a great deal of conscious thought as to what they really mean. So, an important part of the ethnographic interview could be described as probing for such information, encouraging interviewees to think about the words they use every day. The same is also necessary when relating to other cultural situations, such as people's actions and reactions to different stimuli – why, for example, do people from one culture do something in one way rather than another?

There are two key approaches to ethnographic interviewing, both of which were utilised at various stages of the fieldwork. Virtually unstructured interviews take place throughout fieldwork. These could be seen as approximating 'naturally occurring conversation' (Davies 1999:94) which are most likely to take place when the ethnographer is seeking information from an informant in the field about a question generated by a specific observation. Thus, it is likely that both participants have some prior knowledge of each other. Formal semi-structured interviews are more likely to have prior planning, perhaps with questions or specific topics prepared for discussion and arrangements being made with the interviewee in advance, often away from the field.

Conducting any interview provides a challenge to any fieldworker and there are a number of skills to master, including a certain emotional proficiency in putting interviewees at their ease and encouraging them to be as open and informative as possible. The fieldworker had considerable experience in different interview styles. As a Master of Philosophy student, researching the social impacts of the new Hong Kong airport development (Sandiford 1996;1997), he conducted a series of ethnographic interviews (often through interpreters) providing an opportunity to put into practice what had previously been read and discussed at undergraduate level (Sandiford 1994; Sandiford and Ap 1998). The fieldworker was also involved in additional consultancy and contract research projects requiring him to conduct semi and fully structured interviews and train junior researchers in interviewing techniques (e.g. Ap and Sandiford 1998; Wong et al. 1998).

6.2.3.1 Interview Strategy

Throughout the fieldwork various informal conversations and interviews with colleagues and customers were carried out, and more formal, tape-recorded interviews were held with key staff members towards the end of the data collection period. Most of the informal interviews resembled Davies' (1999:94) 'naturally occurring conversations' as a result of an observation or experience during the fieldwork. A notebook was carried at most times, but, as mentioned earlier, it was not always convenient to make extensive notes while working, with most writing taking place at the end of each shift in the field notes. Thus, utilising direct quotations from this sort of interview was not always possible.

The more formal interviews were semi-structured in nature, and were designed to follow up issues raised in the informal conversations, fieldworker observations and reflections and the academic literature. As mentioned in the section on participant observation the interviews were conducted towards the end of each period of fieldwork. A number of key informants were selected based on their position within the unit, aiming to achieve a sample with representatives of most types of service employee (including managers, assistant managers, full-time and part-time, live-in and live out staff). Interviewee selection was also based on the fieldworker's perception of, among other things, their differing levels of relevant experience, work skills and attitude towards their jobs and the industry. Some aspects of this sampling were quite problematic from a practical point of view, with part-time live-out employees more difficult to interview due to difficulties of scheduling. Meetings had to be arranged outside of work hours with individuals who often worked only during the evening and wanted to go home immediately after finishing their shifts. On the other hand, full-timers were more likely to work at during quieter times of the day when the manager would be happier to permit an interview during work hours and live-in staff were usually 'around' the unit and more likely to be available when not actually working.

An interview plan was prepared for each interview to help guide the fieldworker. An example of such an interview plan is given in Appendix 3. To demonstrate how the plan was developed and used the appendix includes italicised annotations. These plans were relatively flexible, being intended to serve as a reminder of key issues and topics to be discussed without being overly prescriptive. A

limited number of specific questions were usually included in these plans, but again these only served as a rough guide. As Stake (1995) pointed out, the same questions are not necessarily relevant to different interviewees, as each participant 'is expected to have had unique experiences, special stories to tell' (Stake 1995:65). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:152) supported this approach suggesting that fieldworkers are more likely to prepare for interviews with 'a list of issues to be covered' They also recommend that the interview structure should be flexible and respondent led. As a result of the fieldworker's prior experience administering ethnographic interviews the interview plans were framed around specific topics, with a number of possible 'probes' for the interviewer in the form of either questions or specific issues. The primary intention of each interview was to allow interviewees the opportunity to develop their own ideas on the topics discussed with little control from the fieldworker, although it was necessary to ensure that the key issues were raised and considered and to prevent excessive irrelevancy.

It was useful that interviewees were not unaware of the fieldworker or the nature of the research project. The interviewer had been working together with all the interviewees for at least a month before questioning them, except for the case of the company director. A good example of the value of this approach was highlighted by a manager who had originally been very suspicious of the fieldworker's role early in the participant observation. However, these fears appeared to have been successfully allayed by close contact with the fieldworker over the weeks preceding the interviews. This was demonstrated by a gradual change in attitude towards the researcher and his project, exemplified by a friendlier and more relaxed tone taken in conversations as the fieldwork progressed.

When interviewing informants the fieldworker needed to probe beyond simple interview responses that often appear to display either simplistic or mythological assumptions. One objective in this study was to encourage respondents to think about and describe situations that would normally be dealt with on automatic pilot, as 'expert' members of that culture. This calls for a certain instantaneous analysis of data as it is generated during an interview (considered more in the section on data analysis), enabling deeper probing of respondents. At another level, ideas raised during interviews helped to guide later sessions and consider any such concepts more fully.

One of the key advantages of these interviews was that they were carried out physically away from the main bar area, although within the pub building. This enabled interviewees to feel comfortable and on familiar territory, while being able to consider themselves to be temporarily divorced from their work role.

6.2.3.1.1 Critical Incident Technique

During the in-depth interviews the fieldworker introduced some elements of critical incident technique (CIT) (Flanaghan 1954; Callan 1998). Flanaghan (1954:327) defined CIT as being:

> any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act … [and] where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects.

Interviewees were asked to recount situations that had resulted in them experiencing strong emotions, both positive and negative during contact with colleagues and/or customers. This gave the opportunity to focus the interview around real incidents clearly recounted by the interviewees themselves, as well as enabling us to develop a database of different types of incidents considered important by participants. As Hort et al (2001:7) explain, the 'narrative is not merely a literary form but an epistemological category: a mechanism by which we know and make sense of the world'. Thus, it was felt helpful to encourage participants to recount specific and self-selected critical experiences in their own words and reflect on their experiences with further probing from the fieldworker. It served a similar purpose to survey and grand tour questions (Spradley 1979; Fetterman 1989) which could be seen as asking for a 'verbal snapshot of some component of the cultural scene' (Seelinger 2000:36) and providing descriptive data that could be considered in more depth during the latter part of an interview.

CIT also seemed to be useful in engaging the interviewee with the interview and the concepts discussed therein. The researcher realised that some interviewees may experience difficulty when asked to reflect on and explain emotional experiences given the largely tacit nature of emotion as considered in the previous chapter. The intention of encouraging individuals to recall specific experiences, initially in a

descriptive manner, enabled a certain gradual and gentle increase in probing and reflective content. This approach also encouraged respondents to take a certain ownership of the interview, although being guided by the researcher. This cemented the ideal of striving to analyse the informant's point of view, with the criticality of incidents being decided by interviewees rather than interviewer.

It is important, however, to point out that CIT does have some important weaknesses. For example, Gyimóthy (2000:29) shows that the reliance on 'critical' incidents can divert attention from more 'neutral' incidents, and could encourage respondents and researchers to focus on 'abnormal events' thus leading to an unbalanced view. She also suggests that 'descriptive verbal accounts are difficult to standardise' and generalise from (Gyimóthy 2000:29). CIT has also been criticised because of its retrospective nature, with such 'historical contemplation' seen as endangering the 'reality' of respondents' recalled incidents (Brooks 2003:65). Of these three issues, the former appears most important to this study. There is no intention to generalise findings, rather to explore the emotional experiences of the pub workers being interviewed within the research objectives. The issue of respondents' potentially inaccurate recall is of relevance to any retrospective data collection technique, whether interview or questionnaire based. Indeed, it could be argued to have less significance in this study than most as the emotional consequences of past experiences are potentially ongoing rather than remaining in the past.

Gyimóthy's (2000) first point regarding criticality as potentially abnormal does seem to be of more relevance to this research project. However, although the analysis of specific incidents did offer an additional means of understanding respondents' experiences by referring directly to their stories, the main purpose of CIT was to engage them with emotional reflection. Although it is not always clear how authors such as Hochschild (1983) strategised their own interviews, it is perhaps of interest that the data described often seems to have a similar feel of criticality, with stronger negative and positive experiences and emotions being more visible in such work or at least in the examples given when reporting their research.

Participants were able to recount numerous relevant situations (although some accounts were more detailed than others) that they considered important rather than relying on the interviewer's evaluation of importance as proposed by Callan (1998). This gave them the opportunity to lead the content of the interview, basing the discussion on their own personal experiences. This seemed to help them analyse their

own behaviour and emotions more fully than would otherwise be possible. It also served as an icebreaker in the relatively formal setting of the interviews which could otherwise be rather intimidating to inexperienced interviewees. A number of the participants did explain that they were initially nervous of the expected interrogation, and that they were pleasantly surprised at how the discussion developed, often finding it a rewarding experience to talk about their work experiences. Appendix 8 provides one example of a full interview transcript to demonstrate the interviewing approach more fully.

6.2.3.2 Documentation and the Literature

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:159) mention the importance of formal and official documentation available to ethnographers. However, it is not always easy to differentiate between the two. For example, when does the scribbled 'aide-memoire' written by a receptionist become formal documentation as it is informally adopted by other colleagues and even management? A limited number of examples of this did occur during this study. In most of the units investigated the fieldworker and other colleagues were referred to such documents which were unofficially adopted as 'scripts' for a variety of functions, from answering the telephone to ensuring that all essential tasks were completed when opening or closing the bar and similar activities.

Likewise, the divide between the academic literature and a study's data is not always clear. A piece of writing such as this thesis is expected to have a discrete literature review, as is demonstrated most clearly in chapter 3 (as chapters 2 and 4 are intended as general background rather than critical reviews). However questions may be asked as to how far much of the literature contained there is external to the case under investigation. Is it reasonable to consider other ethnographies and other research reports as additional sources of data for analysis, thus making up another, secondary type of data contributing to the multi-method, triangulatory approach of ethnography. The practice of Mass Observation (Mass Observation 1970) is a good example of this – should the many accounts of everyday life given by the different fieldworkers be seen as mini-ethnographies (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:163) in themselves, or data for a wider ethnography?

The 'thick description' (Geertz 1975:6) ideal of ethnography does seem to present researchers with a slightly different literature to that developed by other types

of academic research, such as the causal or descriptive output of positivists. As such it is perhaps inappropriate to outline an ethnography's findings other than in close relation to other similar studies. Thus, this thesis presents its findings in three discursive chapters followed by a shorter reflexive discussion that addresses a variety of key issues from a more personal perspective.

6.2.4 Sampling Strategy

In any sort of social research, whether quantitative or qualitative, the sampling strategy is of great importance. The predominantly qualitative nature of ethnography inevitably results in relatively small samples being utilised, which would suggest how such samples are selected is crucial.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) identified two levels of sampling within ethnographic research. At a fundamental level they discuss case selection which, in this project, would represent the choice of the pub company. The other form of sampling they discuss takes place 'within cases' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:45) and refers to sampling decisions relating to time, people and context. The case selection was largely based on convenience sampling, although the company chosen needed to fulfil certain basic criteria. The pub chain required enough units to provide a variety of different types of outlet, although with some level of corporate identity to provide some focus for the study. The chain selected had more than 150 units spread over much of England managed from a head office in London, which fulfilled the core needs of the study.

Within case sampling was somewhat more based on a type of non-probability sampling. This can be seen as attempting to build a detailed picture of something by using a relatively small sample of respondents who, rather than necessarily being representative of themselves, are 'knowledgeable about the process [or other phenomena] under consideration ... taking into account a number of *different* perspectives and experiences' (Hornby and Symon 1994:169). This is exemplified in ethnographic studies such as this one by the use of 'key informants – informants who have special detailed knowledge which they are willing to communicate' (Hornby and Symon 1994:169). This latter concept highlights the two key drivers of the strategy followed during this study. For example, the periods of participant observation gave the fieldworker the opportunity to select and gain personal access to interviewees who

had the experience to help understand the nature of emotional labour and were prepared to participate in the interview programme. Table 2 identifies the individuals who were sampled for formal interviewing, with a brief description indicating the variety of respondents' backgrounds and experience.

Temporal sampling was also an important consideration. As with most UK full-time PhD programmes the project was allocated a period of three years for completion. Allowing for proposal preparation and writing up about eighteen months were available for data collection and analysis. As already explained, six weeks was considered appropriate for each session of fieldwork, and five different units were investigated – including the pilot study. The fieldwork periods were divided between different times of the year – some taking place in the summer some in the winter. There was an element of convenience sampling here as well, as it was easier to gain access during busier times of the year, but this seasonal timing did also fit in with a purposive sampling (Silverman 2000:104) approach too, because busier times such as the summer or Christmas offer more opportunity for experiencing and discussing emotional work situations.

Context sampling seems to be more difficult to strategise in a study such as this. When discussing a study of staff-room behaviour in schools Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) highlight this problem particularly well. They explain that 'behaviour typical to the staffroom may not occur while visitors, or even the headteacher, are there' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:52). Thus, the study required participants to perceive the fieldworker as an insider rather than a 'visitor' despite knowing of his researcher status. In the event a number of emotional working experiences were experienced first hand by the fieldworker, most of which were followed up and confirmed during both formal and informal interviews.

Table 2. Interviewee Summary

Location	Interviewee	Brief description
Head office	Operations Director	Initial contact with units, 'gatekeeper'
The Bell	Assistant manager	First participating unit, before move to the Ship
The Ship	Unit Manager	Recent move to pubs from hotel management with large chain
	Assistant Manager	Recent move to pubs with his old manager (above)
	Part-time barmaid	Young mother, prior experience in hotel line management
The Royal Oak	Unit Manager	With the company for some time.
	Unit manageress	As above
	Male assistant manager (single)	New arrival with the company, prior pub management in city centre
	Male assistant manager (couple)	New arrival with no pub experience
	Female assistant manager (couple)	Overseas worker, some bar experience
	Male assistant manager (couple)	Considerable prior experience in pub management
	Male part-time barman	With the company for some time, first job in pubs
The Cricketers	Female unit manager	Prior experience in hotels and restaurants
	Male unit manager	Previously a chef
	Male bar manager	Experience in night-clubs
	Female part-time barmaid	Student supporting studies. Considerable prior experience in pubs
The Chequers	Female unit manager	Prior experience in hotel management
	Male unit manager	Previously a chef
	Male barman	Student on holiday job

6.3 Data Analysis

How collected data is analysed is of great importance in any research project and plays a major part in answering the research questions. Johnson (1990:36) pointed out that the nature of qualitative research programmes can produce 'radically different assessments ... by researchers using the same data,' because individuals have different questions to answer and tend to emphasise particular themes. This study takes a relatively structured approach to analysis, following the general framework outlined

by Spradley (1980). This section outlines and explains the approach to data analysis taken for this project.

Data analysis is often seen as a discrete stage within a research project whereby collected data is processed and made sense of with tried-and-tested formulae. However, it is often difficult, if not impossible to clearly differentiate between analysis (especially the reflective and interpretative aspects of analysis) and other stages of research, such as planning and data collection, whether dealing with quantitative or qualitative methodologies. Miles and Huberman (1994:10) suggested that data analysis consists of three elements, 'data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification', and asserted that these themes apply to any research project. If a researcher is attempting to find meaning in data, surely the analytical process should involve interpretation, and not just techniques for categorising and summarising data.

Although there do seem to be some similarities between different types of analysis it should be recognised that particular techniques may be more appropriate to different types of research. The scope and/or objectives of different projects are likely to have considerable influence on the techniques used. For example:

> The products of naturalistic research are different from those of much conventional social research. Whereas the latter is concerned with the identification of causal, or at least correlational, relationships among a set of abstract variables, naturalistic research aims at a description of processes of social interaction in their context (Hammersley 1989:162).

Quantitative analysis has access to numerous statistical tools, while qualitative and case-study researchers have a number of analytical techniques available to them, although 'unlike statistical analysis, there are few fixed formulas or cookbook recipes to guide the novice' (Yin 1989:105). Perhaps as a result of this, researchers describing qualitative projects often seem to ignore or oversimplify analytical techniques utilised. For example Masberg and Silverman (1996:21) described phenomenological analysis as merely requiring a researcher to 'read and reread [interview transcripts] until a set of comprehensive categories and themes emerged from each question,' a definition that gives little useful guidance to other researchers.

6.3.1 Approaches to Qualitative Analysis and Techniques Available

Veal (1992) agreed that little help is offered by research papers reporting qualitative research, suggesting this may be because it is difficult for researchers to explain how they analysed their data. Indeed, in his own book on research methods for leisure and tourism, Veal (1992) spends about two pages introducing qualitative data analysis, while devoting two whole chapters to statistical analysis. It does seem that claiming it is difficult to explain qualitative data analysis is a rather weak excuse for researchers to rely on. This is especially so given the availability of a number of excellent, if generic, texts that discuss qualitative analysis in some depth, usually focusing on a specific research approach (e.g. ethnographic interviews, Spradley 1979; participant observation, Spradley 1980; Ethnography, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983; grounded theory, Strauss 1987).

Possibly the best known generalist work on qualitative data analysis was written by Miles and Huberman (1994) This text is a user-friendly source book for researchers involved in any form of qualitative research and goes some way towards helping researchers overcome such difficulties. Hampton (1999) attempted to provide a similarly useful qualitative data analysis guide specifically for hospitality researchers. This work encourages researchers to carefully consider analytical approaches and techniques although incorporating specific examples from a real research project would have helped illustrate some of the key points made.

Miles and Huberman (1994:9) suggested a variety of 'analytic practices' which appear to cover most of the main tasks of analysis, and could be summarised as: coding data, reflecting on data, sorting data, identifying patterns in data, moving towards generalisations and developing theories/conceptualising. A number of these seem to apply equally to quantitative data analysis as well. For example, coding is essential in order to 'reduce' data to numbers for the statistical techniques used to identify quantitative patterns. It could also be argued that even the most statistically orientated research requires an element of qualitative analysis in order to interpret numerical 'results' and thus add to theory.

There are a number of different approaches to qualitative analysis which may not include all the practices outlined above, and appear to be largely dependant on the research philosophy adopted. For example, phenomenologists do not seek to provide generalisations, rather focusing on how each *individual* 'interpret[s] experience[s],

grasp[s] the intentions and motivations of others, achieve[s] intersubjective understandings, and coordinate[s] actions' (Holstein and Bubrium 1994:263).

Hampton (1999) also breaks down the analytical process into a variety of stages (see table 3 for details), which begin with the researcher having some primary data (ignoring the pre-fieldwork analysis discussed by Hammersley and Atkinson 1983), but seemingly including all of Miles and Huberman's (1994) tasks of analysis.

Table 3. Stages of Qualitative Analysis

Number	Stage of Analysis	Summary
1	Preparation of data for analysis	Converting data into clear, written form for convenience
2	Familiarisation and discovery	Ensuring that data has been thoroughly reviewed is familiar to researcher
3	Coding and display	Creating appropriate categories for data labelling and lower level sorting of data
4	Ordering and display	Building more integrative and comprehensive taxonomies of data
5	Developing interpretations and verification	Drawing conclusions, developing theoretical models, auditing research (data and interpretations)
6	Presentation and Writing	Reporting research to different audiences.

(Developed from Hampton 1999)

6.3.2 The Current Study

In this study the primary data were made up of a combination of a comprehensive field diary and audiotapes and notes of in-depth interviews. Table 4 provides a simple summary of the key stages and types of analytical tasks and techniques used in this project in relation to the stages outlined in table 3.

As previously explained, the field diary contained a record of daily events during the participant observation and deeper weekly reflections on situations observed and experienced. Considerable reflection was also carried out immediately after each period of fieldwork, using diary and interview transcripts as key sources (Appendix 2 gives an example from the field diary and appendix 8 provides one example of a full interview transcript). The data could then be re-visited while the fieldwork was still fresh in the researcher's mind, reflecting on the data and its collection at a relatively informal level and guiding future activities. Such reflection could also be seen as the first stage in analysis of primary data, and, in this case,

generated a number of ideas that were further investigated by the increasingly focused fieldwork observations and interviews that followed.

All the interview tape recordings, field notes and reflective entries were fully transcribed onto computer documents making it easy to read, move and cross-reference material. Although transcribing is time consuming, and some researchers may be tempted to hire professional audio-typists to do such work, the process of carefully listening to and writing out each interview can be very useful. In this case it gave the opportunity to develop considerable familiarisation with the data. It was felt that simply listening to tapes and reading transcripts would not allow a researcher to achieve the same level of 'closeness' to the data.

During this re-familiarisation with the field diary and interview transcripts reflection continued. Some researchers do this by making notes in the margins of manuscripts or keeping a separate written record. In this case the reflections were treated as an additional (but separate) part of the field diary and included some early interpretations and suggestions of emerging themes.

Table 4. Summary of Analytical Activities

Analysis type	Activities	Type of data and approach	Stage [1]
Informal	Writing field notes	Largely descriptive. Some minor reflection. Selection of events.	1
Informal	Weekly reflective notes	Analysis of field notes and medium term memories. More reflexive in nature.	1, 2
Informal	Formal interview	Working with interview plan and ongoing data collection - guiding discussion. Question selection.	1
Formal	Transcribing interview	From audiotapes. Familiarisation with data.	1, 2
Informal	Post fieldwork reflection	Analysis of field notes/interview results/longer term memories. Putting fieldwork into context.	1, 2
Formal	Domain analysis	From written materials. Systematic deconstruction of all data written forms into key categories.	3
Formal	Taxonomic analysis	From Domain analysis. Identifying patterns within domains.	4
Formal and informal	Theme identification	From Taxonomies and literature. Conceptual leap' from organised data - reconstruction. Interpretation and Conceptualisation.	5
Formal and informal	'Writing up'	Data at all levels. Final level of interpretation - *think as you write*, academic papers, dissertation. Explanation and justification of key ideas to an audience.	5, 6

[1] Refers to number given in table 3

The data were coded into relevant domains (Spradley 1980) during and after the data collection, allowing fieldwork to be increasingly focused on areas found to be important and relevant to the participants. This also helped develop an extensive, accessible and flexible database for future analysis, rather than relying on the rapidly growing and increasingly cumbersome collection of interviews and field notes. The domains were developed by systematically going through all the written data, following up some of the ideas generated in the reflective diary entries, and creating a number of different sub-categories based on the content and context of each extract.

These domains were data led, evolving from field notes and interviews, thus relating to emergent themes rather than specific objectives, as ethnography focuses on the data collected. They are developed to assist the researcher in both sorting data into a more manageable form and focusing the study and examining important issues. Indeed it was during this stage of the research that the additional objectives (outlined in the introduction and appendix 1) were defined.

The next stage of analysis was to develop fuller taxonomies of key domains, which provided a more detailed breakdown of the phenomenon being researched, and led to the interpretation necessary to answer the research questions and fulfil the research objectives. Appendices four and five provide examples from this stage of the data analysis, giving examples of domain categories and entries within them.

In addition to building the domain analysis the critical incident vignettes were sorted into four loose categories: positive emotional encounters with guests; positive emotional encounters with staff; negative emotional encounters with guests; and negative emotional encounters with staff. This part of the analysis is an example of Hampton's (1999) familiarisation and discovery stage of analysis. Although not central to domain development, this additional loose database gave the researcher an additional source, albeit of the same raw data, which could be referred to as an easily accessible resource to audit context from the domain entries without scanning long interview transcripts every time. Thus, apart from the original intention of using the incidents to help interviewees describe and explain their feelings, they were also useful as personal accounts of a variety of emotional situations in which employees found themselves. This was thought to be of helpful in a project based on public houses, where staff turnover is high and member checking could be more difficult where the context of interviewee accounts is clarified by their descriptions of specific situations. These stories have a clear relevance to the study objectives, with informants almost reliving incidents which they participated in, outlining reactions to emotion rules (perhaps breaking one or keeping the rule with some discomfort) or coping with an immediate emotional trauma (which often led to a discussion of how the individual 'coped' with a situation in the longer term). These vignettes are also helpful in data presentation, providing readers with examples as experienced and described by interviewees.

The interpretation of data is probably the most difficult stage to describe and explain – although it is arguably the most important. This could be compared with

theme analysis which could be defined as identifying the 'cognitive principles' (Spradley 1979:186) or internal (as opposed to universal) generalisations that make up a culture. Such themes are likely to usually be made up of tacit cultural knowledge, and it is the ethnographer's main objective to uncover these.

There seem to be no clear recipes for interpreting data, although there seems to be an assumption that a sort of conceptual jump is necessary. Strauss (1987:267-8) suggested that 'line by line' analysis and data coding helps stimulate provisional answers to the research questions. This implies that by carrying out thorough and systematic lower level analyses, such as those outlined above, higher level conclusions come almost naturally as long as the researcher is 'intuitive and reflective' (Hampton 1999:299).

Verification of interpretations requires considerable attention by qualitative researchers, and designing a systematic audit trail is a useful approach. Member checking, whereby respondents are asked for feedback on interpretations and conclusions, is a common verification tool among ethnographers. In the present study member checking of interviewee data was carried out by asking respondents to check interview transcripts, although longer term checking was less straightforward as it was difficult to keep in touch with past participants given the high rates of staff turnover. As a result it was decided to use the final stage of fieldwork for more auditing, focusing interview questions more on the findings of previous fieldwork periods.

Research projects are usually presented in written or oral form to a number of possible audiences. This investigation was conducted as a PhD programme and, as such the primary report is this thesis, although there are a number of additional reporting techniques that need to be utilised. Conference and internal presentations have been given in order to share research ideas and findings with other academics and practitioners. A wider audience is available through journal papers, enabling other researchers to hear about methodological and theoretical advances. Such publications and presentations also gave the researcher the opportunity to obtain feedback on his work from colleagues with different types of experience in the field of study.

6.4 Reflecting on the Research Design

It is of great importance to continually reflect on all aspects of a research project, considering strengths and weaknesses in order to improve practices. As already explained, during the fieldwork, days off from work were useful in such reflection on the previous week's work. A considerable amount of time was also spent revisiting notes and interview transcripts after each completed period, considering the data collected in relation to the research questions and possible ways to improve the next period of fieldwork. This regular reflection was found to be an essential activity in guiding the data collection, serving also to remind the fieldworker of the basic reasons for the study. Keeping focused on the objectives is crucial during a relatively long-term project, requiring researchers to continually revisit the study aims.

It is very easy to be disheartened when problems seem to be constantly put in a researcher's path, however when looking back on incidents that caused difficulties it is often possible to see benefits for the research or your personal development as a researcher. A good example of this can be drawn from one of the latter stages of fieldwork. One of the unit managers (the suspicious manager mentioned earlier) was very concerned with the use of audiotape in interviews with his staff, and insisted that they should not be recorded. As a result the interviews at his pub were recorded by hand written notes. This resulted in learning a 'new' research skill that is not usually required in these days of technology based research.

The critical incident technique did appear to be of value when initially engaging interviewees with the topic of their emotions, as they all expressed some level of difficulty when verbalising various emotional processes. This was especially so when explaining how they interpreted the feelings of customers and colleagues. Asking respondents to identify and describe emotive situations followed the ethnographic principle of gathering data from the interviewees' point of view.

Even with this approach, some of the interviewees could not fully explain some of their emotional experiences – a number of responses could be summarised by the musing of a relatively inexperienced barman: 'That's a good question – I hadn't really thought about that. I can't describe it.' This demonstrates the usefulness of participant observation as fieldworkers can observe – and often actually experience – many of the things that colleagues may have difficulty putting into words.

Another interesting idea to come from the fieldwork relates to the value of being interviewed from an interviewee's perspective. A number of responses related to the research itself. For example, a number of interviewees explained that they found many of the questions 'good' or 'interesting' and covered ideas that they hadn't thought about before and helped them to think about their work roles from a slightly different perspective. This was especially so when they were questioned on tacit cultural knowledge that was not given much – if any – thought during their work.

6.4.1 Ethical Dilemmas: Can Overt Social Research Work?

Research ethics is an increasingly important area of social research and universities seem to be paying considerable attention to the issue. For example, the researcher's University (Oxford Brookes University) recently reviewed its policies towards research involving people, although this happened after this project's fieldwork was completed, thus this research did not go through the new process. The resultant code of practice focuses on the premise that research involving people should do no harm and preferably should benefit participants, although the latter is rather hard to evaluate in cases such as this study. Issues such as openness and honesty with research subjects and anonymity and freedom of access to published material are also discussed. In the past there have been a number of well-known studies utilising covert fieldwork (e.g. Mars and Nicod 1984) and there has been a long running debate about the advantages versus the ethic problems of this.

Osman (2001) developed a summary of ethical guidelines relating to primary research which are outlined in table 5.

Table 5. Ethical Issues for Primary Research

1 Providing information about the true nature of the research.
2 People's involvement is with their knowledge and consent.
3 Participants are not compelled to participate.
4 Avoid deceiving participants.
5 Avoid coercing participants to commit acts diminishing their self-esteem or confidence.
6 Treat participants fairly, with consideration and respect.
7 Avoid exposing participants to physical or mental stress.
8 Avoid invading participants' privacy.
9 Avoid withholding benefits from some participants.
(Osman 2001:101)

This project sought to keep to these guidelines, although it is debateable how far human research can avoid invading participants' privacy to some extent, and some level of mental stress seems inevitable in interviews which require respondents to engage in relatively deep reflection on experiences that were not always pleasant

The researcher was very open about this study and its aims with the staff and customers of the pubs sampled, and generally received favourable and enthusiastic assistance. There was, however, one notable exception to this – the pub manager who was referred to earlier. He was initially convinced that the fieldworker was working as a spy for head office which raised immediate questions as to whether the fieldwork at his unit should continue, in case he was harmed by such concerns. However, after discussing the matter with him, his partner and the fieldworker's supervisor it was decided to continue. The manager himself explained that he wasn't worried by the possibility of being spied on as he had nothing to hide. He protested that he was happy for the fieldworker to continue, if only as a source of cheap labour. Thus it was decided to carry on with the research there and monitor progress. By the middle of the fieldwork the manager's doubts seemed to have been allayed, and his earlier suspicions were treated as a joke by all concerned, making it possible to interview him along with a number of his staff. The change in his attitude towards the researcher and the study can be illustrated by the following excerpt from the field notes from the third week of this phase of fieldwork:

> I finally seem to be feeling like a part of the team. I am getting on much better with Damien (and Janine for that matter) and they seem to be trusting me more. Janine got me to do lock up tonight and didn't even go round after me checking up as she always did before (the others [colleagues] all have to put up with the same). Things certainly seem to be looking up.

This showed the advantage of carrying out participant observation over a few weeks, as the relationship that develops between fieldworker and colleagues gives the opportunity to allay any negative feelings about the research and help advance a feeling of trust prior to any formal interviews. It was also reassuring to observe that the couple's often erratic and untrusting behaviour was equally aimed at other members of staff who had worked with them for much longer than the fieldworker.

Confidentiality and respondent anonymity were carefully maintained throughout the research. The only time a subject mentioned the matter was the incident briefly mentioned earlier when a colleague experienced an unpleasant personal situation and asked if this would be included in the thesis. It is inevitably difficult to avoid some leakage in this respect. For example, there are only so many chains of public houses that exist, and the knowledgeable reader could probably identify which is being described through idiosyncrasies and peculiarities mentioned in the text. Likewise, it is probably impossible to completely obscure individual units and people, especially among those people familiar with them anyway. The issue has been addressed in the current study by providing alternative names for each of these factors (company name, unit name[10] and individual employee/manager) and individuals are referred to in general terms as often as possible (e.g. manager, assistant manager, part time barman etc). In addition to this individuals are not generally referred to except in the most general terms, except in cases where the outlet type is relevant to the discussion. This is especially so in cases of situations and behaviours which are likely to be more sensitive (such as abuse of alcohol during work hours or breaks in company rules or indeed the law). Such techniques proved to be useful in protecting the identity of participants, although others discussed in the literature seemed less appropriate. For example, Lipson (1997:47) suggested changing 'demographic data not central to "the story"'. In this type of 'social' research it seems at best inappropriate, at worst misleading for a researcher to decide what sort of information to not only withhold but modify. It would potentially result in data being skewed based on the biases and assumptions of the researcher.

The issue of exposure to sensitive or unethical behaviour introduced above did cause some soul searching on the part of the fieldworker. Certainly it is not the job of

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[10] Pub names have been replaced by random names within the researcher's experience and *not* with similar contexts (e.g. if a unit was called the 'Dog and Duck' it would not be changed to the 'Dirty Duck).

an ethnographer to criticise or inform on illegal practices (such as diluting or re-filtering beer), but the question may arise as to whether it is ethical to follow managers' instructions to participate. It is important for the participant observer to avoid intrusion on the culture investigated, despite the sometimes-great temptation to interfere, especially when the ethnographer is to some extent an expert fieldworker such as in this case.

In addition to the overt/covert debate the concepts of nonmaleficence (Do not harm) and beneficence (do good) are important to research involving people. The former relates especially to the sensitive conduct of researchers in the field, as well as when reporting findings. In this study the former was not very problematic, as the research took place in a public setting (pubs) with the main participants being aware of and generally supportive of the project.

The issue of beneficence was also considered at some length. The fieldwork – especially the interviews – was considered by a number of the participants to be both interesting and rewarding. Interviewees were requested to reflect on and describe a variety of incidents from their own experience in a way that few had considered before. The interviews were sometimes long and tiring for both parties, but almost invariably there was a feeling of learning something about each other, the job and greater self-knowledge at the end of each. The following 'findings' chapters and reflexive discussion provide a number of specific examples of the conduct of relationships within the research environment which should also be considered with respect to these ethical issues.

Another important ethical consideration is that of 'telling the truth' (Johnson 2002:116) and the question of who decides what the truth is when multiple perspectives and interpretations are seen to exist in a complex social world. There are no easy answers to this issue. One possibility could be to member-check the resultant research findings and publication(s) with participants in the study, as considered in the discussion on data analysis. However, Johnson (2002) points out that even this approach is fraught with difficulties, not least of which is that 'the goal [of such research] is not necessarily to seek a consensus, but to open a dialogue on what has been written about them [the people investigated]' (Johnson 2002:116). The question also arises as to whether such consensus would be realistically attainable anyway.

6.4.2 Research Support Systems

During the research project a number of support sources were available to the researcher. The support offered by supervisor and co-supervisors was invaluable at all stages of the study, especially during the fieldwork itself. When problems arose during the data collection, the fieldworker often contacted his supervisor to discuss progress and problems. The type of support ranged from listening to him 'getting something off his chest' to discussing possible solutions. A good example of this was during the period of fieldwork with the manager who was convinced of a head office plot against him and that the fieldworker was a spy. On a few occasions long telephone calls went a long way to persuading the fieldworker to 'stick it out' and keep trying when the first reaction was to pack up and leave as soon as possible. The very idea that someone was following the progress of the project helped allay any of the feelings of isolation that sometimes surfaced.

While still carrying out the research, a number of conference and internal departmental presentations were given, sharing important ideas with groups and individuals not directly involved in the project. This gave the opportunity to obtain feedback on various aspects of our work, especially related to methodology and theoretical issues that helped guide certain aspects of the project's development.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the data collection and analysis methods utilised in the study, demonstrating the strengths and weaknesses of the various techniques. Participant observation was supported by numerous in-depth interviews, most of which were audio-recorded to ensure no data were lost. The interviews were conducted towards the end of each period of fieldwork, enabling a measure of familiarity and rapport to be built up with the various participants, even where this did not always exist earlier in each period. The overt nature of the research was also useful, with colleagues demonstrating an interest for the fieldworker's objectives that usually resulted in their enthusiastic cooperation. A number of different types of informal and formal data analysis were used during the study becoming increasingly focused as the project developed over the eighteen months of fieldwork.

7 The Pilot Study

7.1 Introduction

A pilot study was conducted as the last stage of preparing for the main periods of data collection as suggested by Yin (1994) to test the data collection and analysis techniques in the field and help identify relevant themes to be examined in more detail during the later stages of the project. The objective of this chapter is to reflect on the pilot study, considering its value to the research as a whole and discussing some of the key issues that were identified during this early part of the project.

It is perhaps worth explaining why the term pilot study was used here. It may seem unusual to ethnographers to refer to an ethnographic pilot study. Indeed the activities carried out do seem similar to what Fetterman (1989) describes as the first or survey stage of ethnography when the ethnographer has finally entered the field for the first time. However, the principle of the pilot study is a useful one for any researcher, especially in a multiple-unit study where it possible to see each part as separable to an extent. For example, any serious errors made in the early stages of an ethnography carried out in a single venue could affect the whole of the remainder of the study much more than when investigating different sites within an organisation. In this case any methodological problems could be learned from without necessarily prejudicing future participants against the fieldworker or the study itself. This chapter shows the potential value in carrying out such piloting and seeks to show how qualitative researchers such as ethnographers could benefit from the exercise.

The pilot study was conducted in the winter of 1998-1999. The researcher spent six weeks of participant observation, working as a live-in member of bar staff in a village pub owned and managed by a national chain. Access was granted through contacts with a manager of another pub from the chain and an area manager. This chapter provides a brief discussion of the use of qualitative pilot studies generally and reflects on the value gained during this particular study.

7.2 The Value of Pilot Studies

There are a number of advantages to conducting pilot studies for both qualitative and quantitative researchers. Wilson (1996) suggested that pilot studies offer a variety of

advantages when designing interview schedules or questionnaires dealing with various aspects such as generating possible responses for closed questions, testing the clarity of question wording, checking the structure of a questionnaire and ascertaining the amount of time respondents need to answer all the questions.

The value of pilot studies to more qualitative projects has been acknowledged by some researchers, although there seems to be rather less literature devoted to the subject. Yin (1994) and Janesick (1994) summarise a variety of the benefits of pilot studies for qualitative researchers, mainly relating to testing methodology, although they also recognise the value of uncovering relevant data that may help guide the subsequent research as well. In addition to such refinements of methodology, the pilot study can also provide researchers – especially inexperienced individuals – with a valuable opportunity to learn and practice some of the skills they need before the main study (Mason 1996). Stake (1995:65) goes so far as to say that 'Trying out the questions in pilot form, at least in mental rehearsal, should be routine.'

7.3 Reflecting on the Pilot Study

The agenda for this particular pilot study included a number of the points covered above. The study gave the opportunity to try out the planned methodology, identifying and improving appropriate data collection techniques, and recognising potential problem areas. The data collected provided the opportunity to pre-test some of the analysis procedures with 'real' data. It also generated a number of ideas and concepts of relevance to the research questions, providing an early, if loose, framework of domains that were developed during the later stages of the project.

7.3.1 Rapport in the Field

Rapport can be seen as:

> the ability for both parties to empathize with each other's perspective ... it means that, for *this* occasion, conditions are right for disclosing thoughts and feelings more readily [emphasis original] (Lindlof 1995: 180).

Six weeks of participant observation did seem to be sufficient for the researcher to become accepted as a genuine colleague and develop a good level of rapport with customers and other members of staff. This is likely to seem a rather bold assertion as

there are few, if any, ways of ensuring that participants are prepared to share open and honest personal information with a fieldworker. Tolich (1993) briefly considers the issue of trust, asserting that 'a sense of trust was easily established' in his study of supermarket employees in the USA. Indeed his evidence to support this claim was that:

> The clerks appeared to accept that I was writing a book, and they seemed willing to talk to me at length in the clerks' lunch room at the beginning or end of their shifts or during breaks. The store's management was also helpful, allowing me to stand in the "front end" of the store where the clerks checked out customers' groceries (Tolich 1993:363).

Certainly this study has at least the same level of evidence to suggest that participants' trust was achieved by the fieldworker, with cooperation and enthusiasm towards the study demonstrated by colleagues and the company, the latter agreeing to employ the fieldworker, thus going beyond the observation afforded to Tolich by participants. However, whether it is appropriate to see such this as demonstrating trust is debatable. It does seem that rapport is a more fitting concept to link to Tolich's evidence as trust is a much more problematic trait to establish clearly. Lecompte and Schensul (1999:11) also point out the difficulties in building rapport and caution against overconfidence that trust is easy to achieve. They stress the need to 'foster and enhance intimacy between researcher and the community in question' which may seem rather strange to researchers from other fields who are likely to have been advised to maintain 'detachment or impersonality' (Lecompte and Schensul 1999:11).

Although the research conducted in this project was not covert, and he was open with all the staff about his activities, there was little evidence of the fieldworker being seen as an outsider intruding in their workplace, which was encouraging. Most of the staff, however, did express an interest in the project and were enthusiastic about taking part in the study, sharing and discussing relevant experiences. It is not easy to demonstrate that trust was developed, however there was a variety of evidence to suggest that a sound level of rapport existed between fieldworker and most of the other study participants. This took two forms, work-based and leisure based. There were few examples of tension in the workplace during the pilot study beyond what appeared to be everyday issues of working in public houses, and the fieldworker regularly engaged in out-of-work-hours socialising with a number of his colleagues.

Although there is no guarantee that participants in the study did not act differently than they would normally for the benefit of the researcher, working and, in some cases, living together would make it rather difficult to maintain such behaviour indefinitely. At work the researcher was involved in joking, arguments, moaning about customers, management or colleagues, feuding and other aspects of pub life in the same way as any other colleague in the unit. None of the other service workers had been working there for long, and few were local, so there was no question of the fieldworker being excluded as an outsider. Indeed, in an early reflective field-diary entry following the first week of the study, the following question was considered:

> Do I like pub work as it is usually so easy to feel as if I belong and am acknowledged as part of a group? The regulars (most anyway) already greet me by name and, if they don't always involve me in conversation, take it as natural when I join in.

This gives a glimpse into the fieldworker's experience at the time, showing a positive emotional reaction to the fieldwork and the experience of feeling a part of the work team. Similar field-diary excerpts relate to relationships with employees at work and leisure. For example, the following was written about a late night encounter after closing:

> After the customers left, sat down with James [manager] and Kevin [part time barman] for a beer – the subject of relationships among staff came up. Kevin talked about a couple who used to have big public arguments, James said it is 'unethical' to argue in public, and went on to condemn as 'unprofessional' to publicly yell at a member of staff - he 'always' takes them aside (off stage) for that.

The sort of encounter reported above could be seen as simply a friendly conversation, although as Spradley (1979:58) pointed out 'skilled ethnographers often gather most of their data through participant observation and many casual, friendly conversations while introducing a few ethnographic questions'. Thus the opportunity to talk to colleagues over drinks after work was important in both developing rapport and gathering data.

7.3.2 Further Reflections

One worry that the fieldworker had before beginning the field work was how far he would be accepted by colleagues and customers. A key issue was how they would react to the nature of the research and whether he would be seen as somehow different to other workers. The following excerpt from an early, reflective field diary entry shows that the fears were apparently unfounded:

> Being in a new place with 'strangers' has thrown me in at the deep end. No worry of being a privileged spare part here – although James [manager] is very solicitous and makes life here O.K. long hours but flexible.

The main problem resulting from this was one of time. As a full-time participant the researcher was expected to work long hours and any relaxation of this would lead to his role as a member of staff being somewhat distorted. A notebook was carried while working to make an immediate record of any particular incidents or discussions, but such 'in-the-field' notes were taken back-stage, during breaks, in order to avoid causing discomfort to participants. It was felt that informants may have been uncomfortable or defensive if they had seen the researcher writing about them so publicly, especially earlier in the period of study.

The weekly reflections were found to be helpful when preparing interview schedules towards the end of the study, as they combined the more direct descriptions of observations with the early stages of interpretation and analysis – especially in a reflexive way. The researcher also critically questioned his own actions, feelings and reactions in a way that was difficult during (or at the end of) a busy working day. These reflections added to the interview transcripts to provide a rich database of situations for more formal analysis after withdrawal from the field.

The data analysis was a continuous process, beginning with the first diary entry on the first day as a participant. After the eventual completion of the fieldwork, however, more formal categorisation of data began with the domain analysis. All the field-notes and interview transcripts were read and reread, and relevant domains were identified and developed. The researcher's supervisor played a useful role as a sort of foil to the field-worker having been less involved in the data collection and more able to add a more detached point of view. The initial domains were discussed at some length, leading to some modification. It is recognised that the domains are relatively

fluid and interpretative in nature and the ideas and comments of other researchers are useful when assessing the appropriateness of data rendition.

It should be pointed out that the pilot study did not provide a real chance to pre-test the entire methodology as that would involve a full 'dress rehearsal' (Yin, 1994:74) of the main study, and, in this case, the study will follow a number of field-work periods, that build on each other. Thus, it seemed neither appropriate, nor possible to perform a full analysis of the data until the database was more complete. The data collection approach will also develop as the study progresses, with the opportunity for more focused observations and interviews, with the possibility of additional follow-up interviews with informants from sites already studied as the domains and taxonomies develop.

Piloting the formal interviews was found to be valuable when developing their structure and content. Interview schedules were prepared based on issues identified by the literature review and during fieldwork and related to the research questions, but few direct questions were included in the first interview plans. After consulting with his supervisor it was decided to prepare more pre-planned questions to ensure clarity, as there were occasions when the first interviewee seemed to have some problems understanding exactly what was being asked. The prepared questions were intended only to be used as a guide in some topic areas, not rigidly adhered to, but did give the interviewer a few pre-formed question structures to use. Interviews conducted after time seemed to be rather smoother than previously. It was also found that interviewees seemed more comfortable with differing interview styles, with some preferring a more formal setting (perhaps preferring the back office or his/her room, if living in) and interview structure than others, which forced the researcher to develop a degree of flexibility in his technique.

Another important area highlighted by the pilot interviews relates to their actual content. The interviews followed the ethnographic ideal of setting the scene and allaying apprehension (Spradley 1979) with descriptive and 'grand tour' questions (Sorrell and Redmond, 1995) and then moving to more explanatory structural and contrast questioning. However, the first interview presented the researcher with some problems. The interviewee was not loquacious at first, and it proved quite difficult to elicit deep data from him. In response to this it was decided to focus the opening descriptive questions on a past experience (or experiences) of a particular feeling caused by an encounter with customers, following the approach of

Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique. This served to both encourage more detailed responses and provided a fairly loose focus for the following contrast and structural questions. The interviewer would often relate explanatory questions back to the scenario introduced and described by the interviewee, and the approach proved very successful in subsequent interviews.

The pilot study did give the researcher the chance to test some of the data collection and analytical techniques and experiment a little with innovations, such as CIT, found in the literature. This proved invaluable in finalising the overall methodology for the remainder of the project, highlighting any potential problems and advantages. In addition to the ideas already discussed, the pilot study also served to introduce the field-worker to the company targeted for the main study. It provided the opportunity to discuss the research with senior management and negotiate access for the remainder of the study from a position of strength, showing them tangible evidence of the methodology, the type of data generated and the study's potential impacts on units studied. The two main concerns of management were the study's potential benefits to their company and the level of disruption it would be likely to cause. However, being able to carry out a pilot gave the opportunity to demonstrate both the value and generally unobtrusive nature of the research project.

7.4 'Judging' the Pilot Study

In an ethnography such as this it is rather more difficult to measure the success or otherwise of an investigation than it would be where precise, falsifiable hypothesis are tested as in positivistic research. However, it is still important to consider the process and outcomes of the research. Rossman and Rallis (1998) outline an approach to such evaluation thus:

> In theory, because it is heuristic, field research is never complete; new data are constantly being generated and new discoveries can always be made ... At some point, however, you become aware that you can make sense of the people or settings you have been studying – you can tell a coherent story about what you have learned. You realise that the data seem redundant, your major insights are supported and explicated, or you just plain know you have answered your questions. Maybe you have completed the contracted number of visits or funding has run out. The strange has become familiar. Time has come to leave the field (Rossman and Rallis 1998:165).

Later in their discussion they add:

> Their [fieldworkers'] habits also tell them when and how to leave the field. They discern when they have enough data to tell a coherent and meaningful story (Rossman and Rallis 1998:167).

Although they are specifically referring to the end of a research project, a number of their observations are also relevant to and helpful in reflecting on the success of a pilot study such as this one. Certainly the research project was not complete after the pilot, but the data did help to tell a coherent story about the unit and employees. New data did not become redundant within the six week period, but this was not sought or expected as the ethnography's intention was to develop a broad picture across a number of different pubs. However, the pilot did start to help generate insights which could be followed up within this part of the overall study, as outlined in the previous reflections, and in future fieldwork periods.

It can be rather problematic to demonstrate that the field was left at an ideal time and that the time available was sufficient for the purpose, indeed the first part of the quotation above suggests that external forces (funding or time available) can impact on this. In this case other indicators from the field notes about the fieldworker's behaviour and habits and the data collected suggest that the fieldwork was relatively successful. The following was written on the train on the way home for the last time from the pub:

> Almost back to Oxford now, and I've just got time to go over my feelings on the way home. I'm certainly relieved that it's over and my pilot study was (in my mind) a great success. I feel excited to return to Oxford for the next phase of the project, however I do feel various pangs. I think I'll miss some of the staff and customers who welcomed me so well and almost feel a big guilty leaving Paul [assistant manager] to his old hours with few chances for an early night or 2 days off. I 'feel' that I'd like to go back and visit, but somehow doubt I'll ever get round to it. But I would like to keep in touch with Paul and James [manager].
> I feel strongly that the time at the Ship was generally well spent – reintroducing me to live-in catering and giving me lots of data. But I must say I'm a bit daunted by the next stage – transcription, analysis, writing up, gaining access and all the other necessary evils. I'm definitely looking forward to the next fieldwork.

Certainly this could hardly be seen as an objective analysis, but it does demonstrate the fieldworker's feelings immediately after the pilot study. It shows enthusiasm for the research, the pub and colleagues. Concern for Paul was tinged with a little guilt, knowing that he would probably be working longer hours because the fieldworker was no longer available to cover shifts. This also suggests that he did consider himself

to be a full part of the team there and reacted to leaving as a colleague, not just a researcher who had finished part of a project.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the pilot study, showing the value of trying out elements of the data collection and analysis at an early stage of the project. The main advantages of piloting the project were three fold. Firstly, the overall fieldwork strategy was tested, demonstrating that the six-week periods decided for the participant observation was appropriate, developing a good understanding of a particular unit's staff and operating procedures. Secondly, the competence of the fieldworker in observation, interviewing and analysis was developed by actually carrying out the tasks necessary to the project. Finally, the pilot study was not seen in total isolation to the rest of the study. The study generated a considerable amount of relevant data that generated a number of key issues that were followed through into the next stage of the project. This enabled an early start to be made on the domain analysis highlighting various areas that required future consideration.

8 The Company

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 introduced the literature on emotionality within the service sector. The wide variety of industries, organisations and individuals included in the sector shows the importance of giving some background to the study setting at this stage of the thesis. As McCracken (1988:16) points out:

> The quantitative researcher uses a lens that brings a narrow strip of the field of vision into very precise focus. The qualitative researcher uses a lens that permits a much less precise vision of a much broader strip.

Thus, this chapter aims to introduce the organisation chosen for this research, providing some background to the pub chain and the individual outlets where fieldwork was carried out, discussing what Mydral (1975:17) would refer to as 'the rhythm of life' within the company. McCracken (1988:55) suggests that:

> The second section [the first section being the literature review, and the third including focused analysis of data and conclusion drawing] of the paper [reporting qualitative research] can take the reader into the mind and the life of the respondent [and/or researched organisation] ... The object is merely to introduce the reader to interview [and in this case, participant observational] material. (McCracken 1988:54-55)

In this chapter the organisation and individual pubs are introduced, briefly outlining their staffing and customer base. Some elements of the corporate culture from both head office and unit level perspectives are also introduced. The following three chapters will focus more on the specific research objectives developing from this broader introduction to the organisation and its units and workforce in line with the holistic ideal of ethnography. Thus, the primary objective of this chapter is to set the scene for the remainder of the thesis that focuses on each of the research objectives in term. Issues of employee attitudes towards their work and employing organisation along with their perceptions of relationships with colleagues and customers provides valuable insights into the nature of service work within the pubs investigated in this study. Such issues do appear relevant and important to the nature of emotion rules and perceived emotional impacts of such work as is demonstrated in the following chapters.

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, the term pub or public house covers a wide range of outlets, and it is difficult to devise a single satisfactory definition in such a

diverse sector of the hospitality industry. In this dissertation the idea of the British pub is taken in its widest meaning, including all manner of outlets. Terms such as 'inn' or 'hotel' are often used as synonyms, especially given the nature of the organisation described here. For example, the units that participated in the study all offered overnight accommodation, although there were some units within the chain that had no such letting-rooms. They also operated at least one restaurant that was separate from the main bar area, with seating outside during the summer.

8.2 The Coaching Inn Company

An independent, medium sized chain of English public houses agreed to participate in the study and will be referred to as the 'Coaching Inn Company' The company has grown rapidly, and developed a portfolio of approximately 170 individual units, by the time of the data collection, widely spread around England. Most of these outlets offer accommodation and food, often with a relatively low reliance on wet (alcohol) sales, reflecting the apparent trends of the pub-going market towards other revenue generators such as food and accommodation (Williams 1996). The chain was created early in the 1990s as the brainchild of a senior manager from a large brewery. One of the current directors summarised the then CEO's early approach to managing the company as follows:

> He realised that pubs per-se weren't making any money. You had to have a particular market niche. And I suppose he'd have had to have written a mission statement six and a half years ago. What he would have said was that he wanted to present serious food in an old English pub atmosphere. That's how we started off. That's very much what we're continuing to do now.

The company had a relatively 'soft' type of branding, with a number of individual outlets of differing character, each supporting a wide customer base. In the past it had been the policy of head office to give unit managers quite a free hand in the running of their property. However, there has been an increasing level of standardisation in some areas (with more standardised wine lists, menus, and accommodation offers, such as weekend breaks), and a central reservations system was increasingly used for accommodation. This approach to branding, with the unit distinctiveness being valued by head office and seen as a marketing opportunity, provided an early hint about the organisation's likely approach to emotional labour. Early in the fieldwork this strategy

suggested that the Coaching Inn Company would be unlikely to enforce the explicit and regimented emotion rules described by researchers such as Hochschild (1983) and Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), relying more on outline various less clearly defined norms such as those outlined by Rafaeli and Sutton (1987).

A number of the managers and other staff interviewed had something to say about the overall style of the chain, apparently liking the 'respectable' nature of the outlets. They identified two major trends in pub chains generally, the Coaching Inn Company's respectable or 'middle-class' approach discussed in Chapter 4 and the 'Macdonaldised' (Ritzer 1993) pub. The latter type of chain was associated by a male assistant manager with 'High Street Britain', most identified with town and city centres, and referred to as 'Macdrinks' or 'Ronald Mac-piss-heads ... [which] have zero role apart from opening a door for people to get laid in and pissed in' by one live-in barman. They were by a part-time barmaid as seen as impersonal, 'soulless' places, where 'there's a bar – [the] sort of drinking place where it is just drink. A pub where you get drunks'. Not surprisingly, given the negative attitude towards such chains; there was a much more positive feeling about the Coaching Inn approach, which was seen as providing a more pleasant work experience. Participants claimed to value the perceived friendliness of the clientele, low levels of customer drunkenness and aggression, and less regimented approach to staff management. One male manager clarified this perspective:

> It's certainly different in other chains, where you're more regimented and structured in the type of service and food and atmosphere that you have to create, er, whereas this one, you're left, more or less, to your own devices, and you're judged on the revenue that you bring in.

The participant managers came from a variety of hospitality backgrounds, with experience in pubs, hotels and restaurants and most had unit management experience in at least one other type of business that was reflected in their individual management styles. The staff were also from a variety of backgrounds and displayed very different levels of commitment to the hospitality industry in general and the employing unit in particular, ranging from young, part-time school children to full-time, live-in careerists. These differences seemed likely to influence the approach to emotional labour in each of the units, especially given head office's encouragement of unit differentiation.

8.2.1 The Pubs

Five different units participated in the study representing a relatively wide variety of geographical locations, management styles and customer types. The first two introduced were investigated during the piloting stage of the research, but the findings of the pilot are included here as they contribute to a fuller picture of the company as a whole. The following sections will briefly introduce each of these outlets. Appendix 6 gives a brief summary of some of the pubs' key characteristics.

8.2.1.1 The Bell

The Bell is a small pub/restaurant with some motel style accommodation in a small village. The restaurant provided a relatively simple pub-style menu, offering freshly prepared food. The manager was recently promoted from assistant manager in the same outlet, replacing the outgoing landlord, and had relatively little management experience prior to his appointment.

This unit was selected as the first to be investigated through the researcher's connection with the chef and assistant management couple. The participant study was relatively short because the area manager requested the researcher to move to an alternative pub in need of assistance over the busy Christmas period.

8.2.1.2 The Ship

The Ship is described as a colonial style country inn. It is a relatively small unit with a small restaurant and 15 rooms. Like the Bell it is situated in a small village - the only other noticeable facility in the village is a small primary school. At the time of the study the main focus of the business was the restaurant, with a high standard of food prepared by a well-qualified kitchen staff. The manager had worked in hotel management for many years, and was supported by a young live-in assistant manager.

This was the first full participant period with the researcher spending six weeks over the Christmas period in a general assistant post, helping with bar-work, waiting tables in the restaurant and accommodation duties.

8.2.1.3 The Royal Oak

The Royal Oak was quite different to the previous two outlets, having a larger and busier bar trade, taking much of its clientele from the larger town where it is situated. The town is served by a number of shops and restaurants and was large enough to be served by more than one pub. Thus, unlike the previous two units, the Royal Oak experienced direct competition from other pubs in the immediate vicinity. The pub had a number of rooms and gained much of its accommodation trade from a nearby airport. The restaurant was the only one investigated to offer the company's new sous-vide menu[11], an alternative that seems to be increasingly popular at outlets that find it difficult to hire fully trained chefs. The one chef employed was a young local, and most of the full-time, live-in assistant managers were expected to spend some time working in the kitchen at busy periods and covering his days off.

The unit was managed by a couple with much experience in hospitality management, especially in restaurants. The unit's size and volume of business required considerably more staff than the previous pubs, and at the time of the study a number of live-in staff had been hired, as well as local, part time employees. Six weeks of participant observation were carried out at the Royal Oak over the summer. The researcher took the role of assistant manager, gaining another perspective relevant to the research, although there were relatively few managerial demands within the fieldwork period given the short time-scale.

8.2.1.4 The Cricketers

The Cricketers is small coaching inn, in a smaller town than the Royal Oak, though slightly larger than the previous two, with only a small commercial garage, gift shop and one competitor pub nearby. The unit has a small public-bar area and two small restaurants, with a few rooms. Like the Ship this unit employed two well-qualified chefs, one of whom was provided by a catering employment agency. They offered a high quality menu of freshly cooked food in the two small restaurants and bar. The management couple had considerable hospitality experience. They had previously managed their own restaurant; one was a qualified chef and the other had worked in hotel management as well.

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[11] Sous-vide, a French term meaning 'in a vacuum' referring to the technique of pre-preparing and vacuum packing food, enabling restaurant staff to reheat it later for customers.

The six weeks of fieldwork were again carried out over the Christmas period, with the researcher boosting the small staff of mainly part-time employees. Only the researcher and the management couple were living-in. Only the chefs, bar manager and one member of bar-staff were employed full-time, although there were a number of part-time and casual employees working in the bar, in the restaurant or kitchen.

8.2.1.5 The Chequers

The Chequers was the last unit to be investigated. It was physically the largest of the outlets, situated in another small village, near a much larger town. The bar and restaurant were not much bigger than those of the Royal Oak the other large unit, and there were a few less bedrooms, although a greater proportion of these were usually available for guests as live-in line staff are accommodated in purpose-built staff quarters, together with a cottage and flat for managers and assistant managers. The main difference between the Chequers and the other outlets is the large amount of function space, with two large function rooms (the largest could cater for 150 guests), two smaller meeting rooms and much larger gardens which were popular with customers during the warmer months. The management couple had both had extensive catering experience. One was a well qualified chef, although he was focusing much more on front-of-house operations than before, and the other had worked as general manager in a number of other, larger hotels.

The six weeks spent at the Chequers were in the last summer of the study, and the researcher acted as deputy manager, with considerably more responsibility than in previous outlets. This unit employed a number of local, part-time staff, with six overseas students living-in for the summer holiday. The small kitchen staff offered a good quality, freshly prepared menu, as well as catering for the increasingly used function rooms - weddings were an important source of income for both food and accommodation sales.

8.3 The Chain and its Staff: a Big Family?

The company had recently changed its name, shifting from calling itself a 'pub' company to a 'hotel' company, apparently trying to focus more on the accommodation aspect of the business, rather than wet sales or even restaurants. One of the directors stressed that the company is trying to move away from the image of being a pub company, a trend that is reflected in the management hired. He explained:

> I reject a good number of managers who I don't think have had the experience within our sector. They might have been great in boozers, but they don't suit us. Similarly they may well have been great in 500 bedroom hotels, but they might not be right for us.

This feeling has been passed on to some, if not all, the unit managers interviewed. Even the managers of the outlet with the most pub-like bar, catering to a large proportion of drinking locals, wanted to show that their 'hotel' was:

> not a boozer. It's not a bar environment because you see families, you see the older generation, you see retired people, you get groups coming in for coffee and things like that.

Such an attitude could be seen as attempting to avoid the low status often associated with community pubs (Guerrier 2000) or 'boozers'. The key target market sought by the company as a whole can be construed from numerous publications, such as the printed brochure and internet web page which focus on quality accommodation, particularly drawing attention to the loyalty club, corporate hospitality and wedding packages. One of the directors summarised the market niche targeted by the company as 'being over 35, [we are] after the grey market, ABC1 demographically'. A number of the managers who participated in the study would openly admit that they often saw some of the local 'pub' customers as a potential liability, and worried about them giving an inappropriate impression of their unit to more lucrative guests. Perhaps this shows a hint of Fothergill's (1987) objective of seeking to improve the 'quality' of the clientele, although the motive for this seems to be more linked with a desire for economically rather than socially more appealing customers. Whatever the reason, any sort of customer targeting is likely to require distinct service styles, with different types of outlet and customer demanding varying types of emotional labour.

Although such negative images of pub-life were discouraged, the company did draw attention to various 'quaint' pub customs intended to foster a particular

ambiance. For example each unit is expected to have an open fire lit every day of the year - even in the height of summer, and cask conditioned ale must be sold. The intention seems to be to provide an idealised and sanitised vision of the traditional British inn/pub with a minimum of less pleasant aspects of pub life. The pub 'character' (and each unit had at least one regular customer who could be labelled as such) is seen as an advantage to amuse the guests (and staff) but general drunkenness is not acceptable.

8.3.1 Staff Attitudes to Work and the Company.

As this study seeks to understand employees' experiences and perceptions of emotions at work, it seems useful to consider their feelings about and attitudes towards working in pubs in more general terms initially. It seems that this issue would be worthy of discussion to help develop a deeper understanding of the different employees, their feelings and approach to emotion management in the workplace, which could help to contextualise the emotion rules, emotional impacts on employees and their reactions to them that are discussed in later chapters. Cherniss' (1995) discussion of the vocational and professional nature of some service jobs could also be helpful in demonstrating the importance of the issue to an understanding of the emotional work experiences outlined by study participants.

8.3.1.1 Occupational Commitment

One full-time assistant manager with extensive experience in the licensed trade exhibited a mixture of occupational commitment and rebelliousness to pub chains such as the Coaching Inn Company by explaining that although he took pride in being a good barman while also pointing out forcefully that:

> I do what I want to do; always have done what I want to do. Not interested in careers; not interested in companies; not interested in industries; not interested in corporations.

On another occasion this particular individual also protested his discomfiture at being officially appointed as an assistant manager, as he and his partner had only wanted to work as bar staff: 'We were just coming here to get some money together and Ben

[manager] tried to persuade us into the Assistant Management side of the industry'. The couple left the pub soon after the fieldwork period ended.

Many of the longer-term catering and pub workers showed how such a commitment to the job often developed over a relatively long time, often following an almost accidental entry to the industry. For example, one manager and one assistant manager originally saw their time in catering as very temporary indeed, filling in before returning to their main, sporting career (one was an international level youth footballer recovering from a major, long term injury and the other had originally hoped to become a professional golfer). Other reasons given by interviewees for starting in catering and pubs included the cliché of raising funds to finance travelling, family connections (especially parents who worked in the sector). One long-time caterer found his first job in the industry at the age of fifteen, many years previously, because of the availability of accommodation saved him from being forced into a 'Borstal type' approved school.

Only four interviewees described an early, conscious decision to make hospitality a long-term career from their schooldays. Even these seemed to choose pubs and inns after some time in other sectors of the industry. Two of these (one young male assistant manager, and a female joint-manager) started their careers in full-time hotel management courses. The other two (both female) started their careers as receptionists, both explained they were influenced by careers advice at school, although they did also have other reasons – one because hotel receptionist sounded 'glamorous' and the other partly due to a holiday job in a hotel while at school and the necessary preparatory course was 'only a year [long]'.

On the surface there often seemed to be a relatively clear divide amongst the careerists (in hospitality) and more peripheral workers. However, on closer examination this was not always so obvious, with a common accidental start in the industry often resulting in a long-term career. A number of the managers interviewed explained how they 'fell into' the industry as youngsters for a variety of reasons. They displayed a certain pride that they could start long and successful careers from lowly kitchen porter or commis-waiter positions, eventually managing sizeable outlets before being recruited by the chain. One can never tell which of the temporary part-timers or students 'filling in' through the summer will stay in the industry in the long-term, or what could encourage them to make a career in hospitality. In an industry with relatively high labour turnover this could be important where employees are

expected to learn and internalise specific emotion rules. It raises the question of whether workers need to have such rules explained and emotionally 'routinized' (Leidner 1996:29) rather than being gradually socialised into the organisational or occupational culture. This therefore has potential importance for issues of service quality, management control and emotional coping in an organisation like the Coaching Inn Company which has little formalised training in the area.

Perhaps the clearest differentiation of workers within the company was that between adult staff and the increasingly employed juvenile waiting and kitchen staff. All the units investigated employed some school-age youngsters; almost always female. As suggested earlier, the motivation of this group certainly seemed to be clearer than that of any of the adults, being based on their pocket money wages, and many of their senior colleagues often reported frustration with their attitude. A bar manager explained:

> The trouble with this trade is you've got to want to work in the industry. The waitresses here only want the money and don't care about the customers or how they actually get that money. To have a career in the trade you've got to want the customers to come back again and again.

This implies that the young waitresses did not care about their customers or the business that employs them. The field diary describes a time that the fieldworker overheard two such waitresses discussing the best way to avoid trouble with a customer:

> One said that there should be toast with the Terrine, but the chefs don't think so, and to avoid getting a hard time from them they avoid eye contact when serving it to customers and try to escape without letting them ask for toast. This illustrates a key problem in customer service here – these waiting staff *never* [emphasis original] (or very rarely) check that customers have everything they need and ordered. That's probably why there are so many complaints; they just don't get nipped in the bud!

This sort of avoidance to customer contact was observed on a number of occasions and will be discussed more in Chapter 11 that deals with reactions to the emotional demands of pub work.

The level of commitment to pubs/inns in particular was less obvious than to hospitality generally, both among bar staff and management. For example, a number of the unit managers openly described themselves as hoteliers or restaurateurs, often stressing that their positions as 'pub' managers were only temporary. Since the end of

the fieldwork period one manager has indeed moved to a larger hotel, although it is still operated by the Coaching Inn Company.

A number of issues related to aspects of pub work (and those of other catering sectors) often seem to be perceived as negative by observers. For example, the term 'unsocial hours' (Wood 1997:26) is in itself indicative of unpleasantness. It was interesting to discuss issues such as this with colleagues often discovering a very different point of view. One such after-work discussion was recorded in the field notes:

> The subject of working on Christmas day came up. Paul [assistant manager] said he loved it and told us that he and James [manager] both said that the day they didn't enjoy working on Christmas day they would give up catering!

Rather than seeing their holiday being taken from them by work, they were looking forward to the pleasure of serving seasonally happy customers. A similar feeling was echoed throughout the fieldwork, with participants stressing the social side of working with people at leisure. A number of times people told how work was their social life which was often seen as the biggest attraction of bar work. This could relate to Hochschild's (1983:132-133) discussion of the difficulty some workers have in separating the work self from the private self from two perspectives. Firstly, full-time live in staff may get little opportunity for leisure at 'traditional' times (such as evenings and weekends). Secondly, part-time staff (including students and individuals who work during the day – whether unpaid home-carers or salaried workers) may see evening bar work as representing their leisure time rather than work.

8.3.1.2 Organisational Attitudes and Commitment

Participants also displayed widely differing attitudes towards Head Office. Perhaps the most positive reaction to senior management came from a newly appointed female assistant manager, taking her position with her partner as one period of fieldwork was ending. She showed great enthusiasm when discussing the company's growth and performance. At the other end of the scale, a rather disillusioned manager from another unit would regularly make caustic comments about Head Office to staff and customers alike. These are extreme examples, and most of the participants were less forceful in their view of head office. Most of the managers and assistant managers who had the most contact with head office regarded it in a generally tolerant fashion

as a sort of necessary evil. Nevertheless, they often complained about the increasingly bureaucratic nature of the chain, and frequently perceived a lack of support, especially when equipment needed repairs – in one outlet the bar refrigerators were broken for almost the entire six weeks of the fieldwork period, waiting for Head Office to provide a purchase order for the necessary repairs.

The male manager involved in the 'head office spy' incident recounted in the methodology chapter, grumbled about various aspects of company policy that he felt affected his ability to manage his unit. For example, loudly protesting about large and colourful posters that managers were told to display outside pubs, advertising meal specials, claiming they were out of character with the pub's 'traditional' image and would anger locals. Earlier the same manager partially explained his negative feelings about the company:

> I like to hear upbeat remarks from Head Office – not just down beat, discouraging comments. I think I'm too individualistic to work in a big company – I won't be pigeon-holed.

Like some of the other managers, this one had managed his own restaurant for some years previously, and found the transition back to a large chain difficult to deal with.

Other employees also reflected on their perceived relationship with the company and head office, which generated some useful insights into their attitudes. Generally speaking head office was perceived as a rather isolated entity with little relevance to them personally (and often professionally too). One female member of staff who had only recently started to work for the company succinctly explained how she felt about head office:

> I haven't had any direct communication from any of these directors or whatever. How many outlets have they got? They've got 180 outlets, they've got a lot of people working for them, so I suppose to them, we're just a commodity, you know.

This was one of many occasions when the idea of commoditisation was discussed by respondents. There was not much evidence of anger about this, rather employees recognised that the organisation was rather large and impersonal, and very much focused at unit level for a sense of organisational belonging.

Most non managerial staff and some newer assistant managers reported virtually no direct contact with head office and had relatively little to say about the

chain as an organisation, focusing their ideas on the employing pub/inn and its localised management. The apparent low level of identification with the company is perhaps not surprising given the lack of a structured induction programme for new employees below unit management level which suggests that head office are not greatly concerned with fostering such commitment. As discussed earlier Leidner (1999) saw such programmes as often representing an attempt by senior management to gain a level of organisational commitment early in employees' experience of a new employer.

One female assistant manager explained that she did actually ask the female half of the unit's management couple '"Does the company have, like a philosophy or a motto or anything?" But she didn't really say, I can't remember what she said, but it wasn't like one clear thing.' This lack of a clearly defined and communicated company vision combined with the geographically isolated nature of the individual units resulted in most employees considering themselves employed by unit management rather than the wider chain.

The same female assistant manager rationalised the lack of interest in service staff exhibited by head office as: 'like I say, a lot of people are temporary anyway, so do they waste their time on the temporary people and that?' However, she did wonder whether increased consideration could lead to a greater sense of belonging and commitment to the chain, perhaps even reducing the high level of labour turnover: 'but then again, if you feel – I don't know – if you feel included with the, with the whole line of things, then maybe you feel you're worthwhile, I don't know.'

8.3.2 Internal Relationships: Colleagues as Friends.

The importance of a good relationship with colleagues was stressed by many interviewees, often suggesting that catering generally was different from other industries. An analysis of this issue seems central to the possibility of social support networks to help workers cope with the emotional demands of the job as suggested by researchers such as Morris and Feldman (1996) and Korczynski (2003).

A part-time barmaid explained 'the people in catering are fun – naturally – I think, I think it's just good fun. And I don't think you could compare it to any other kind of career at all.' This supports Wharton's (1993:219) suggestion that 'jobs involving emotional labor attract workers whose personal qualities are especially

suited to working with the public'. The need to get on with colleagues both on and off duty was a common topic of conversation. The long, unsociable hours, the use of live-in staff and management and the actual nature of the work were seen as requiring a paradoxical combination of solidarity and individualism. The anti-Macdonaldisation highlighted earlier seems to combine with a need to consider colleagues as supportive friends. This was certainly more evident in non-local employees, often living-in, who would tend to socialise more with colleagues than outsiders and on-site rather than in other establishments. A newly appointed male assistant manager explained that such employees are often seen as itinerant, rarely staying in one job or place long enough to develop long-term relationships, thus the instantaneous and easy-to-develop staff friendships serve an important purpose.

The small size and geographic isolation of the chain's pubs (especially those in small villages) did seem to cause social difficulties for some live-in employees. The second unit studied was one such, with only three male live-in staff (including the temporary fieldworker). The young assistant manager had previously worked in a much larger hotel, with a larger live-in workforce, and reminisced about the relationships he had developed there:

> I've also lived-in [in a bigger hotel], and then there's been about, what, a minimum of, say, in the staff house, 12. So, there you've got your own friends and you've got your work friends. It was like, oh, finish work at a certain time, and then go out to the pub after work and have a really good laugh. It worked in a hotel because you've got so many people that became really good friends of yours, and they see when you're stressed. I don't know how it would work in a pub, because you don't usually get that many people live in places like this.

The same person also highlighted the importance of having friends within the industry, suggesting that external friends don't really understand the demands of the job. Not only do they not offer the needed support, but are not interested in the talk of caterers:

> It can be damaging to your friends that aren't in the trade, when you're "going off on one" over a pint of beer or something, and they're thinking "I don't really want to know. I'm not in that trade."

The importance of such work relationships is applied more to the social support networks in the chapter on coping with the emotional demands of the job.

8.4 Gender Issues in the Coaching Inn Company

Given the emphasis on gender evident in much of the literature on pubs, as shown earlier in the thesis, this subject was given considerable consideration throughout the study. It was relatively difficult to encourage deep discussion of gender differences from most informants. A number of the comments extracted from (particularly male) staff and managers seemed rather defensive, almost as if they were attempting to justify or explain away questionable practices or behaviour. For example, when asked about the sexual behaviour of male customers towards female staff, a male assistant manager suggested that 'I've come across it, flirting towards females, but I have to say I've probably come across it as much females flirting towards males behind the bar, in the same token'.

There was an apparent general acceptance of such 'flirtatious' behaviour towards women, and many of the female participants saw this as vaguely amusing, or even advantageous, often resulting in having drinks purchased for them. There was an apparent undercurrent of potential harassment by some customers, especially when drunk. This was especially evident when discussing some of the younger waitresses hired by some of the units, often generating protective anger from male colleagues.

The literature on gender at work helped the researcher to analyse situations that are often taken for granted in the pub industry, and demonstrated the value of such writings as an additional ethnographic resource. Certainly Adkins' (1995) interpretations about the reasons for the use of heterosexual couples to manage hospitality were not raised by any of the respondents. She saw management couples as a source of 'a number of benefits for husbands and for capital' (Adkins 1995:89). She perceived employers as receiving cheap labour (paying only the equivalent of one-and-a quarter salaries for two workers) and husbands maintaining direct control of their wives' salary. Husbands also find they have access to a compliant, convenient assistant to work whenever they chose not to, with the added bonus of sexual servicing provided for free.

Elements of these phenomena were indeed visible from time to time and in certain circumstances, although it is possible to over emphasise Adkin's assertions. Certainly there were occasions when male managers seemed to avoid some types of work (and not just gender-typed work), passing on the responsibility to wives. Two of the management couples consisted of men who spent much of their time in the

kitchen, with the women spending more time in the office, reception or bar. Another would spend almost all of his working time in the bar (often drinking with rather than serving customers) while his wife seemed to run the rest of the business more or less on her own. However, the gendered structure of the different pubs studied did not display much of the rigid sexual demarcation among other levels of staff found by Adkins (1995) in her study. Perhaps the most consistent gender differences came in housekeeping and waiting tables, with most dedicated staff being female, although males were expected to help out – barmaids and barmen would take their turn waiting tables but almost all staff employed specifically for waiting tables were female. Likewise, the fieldworker can not recall a single instance of a female member of staff being closely involved in cellar work (apart from changing an occasional barrel or bottling up at the end of a shift). The female assistant manager referred to in the next section on 'Sexual Discrimination at Work' picked up on this point:

> I'm always very much 'equality' you know. Straight down. I was really, like, feminist at one point, and always believed whatever – equal – we can do equal work. But you do tend to notice, here, that the boys always do the cellar work, for whatever reason. Maybe it's the lifting, whatever, and the girls always do the hotel work. And I don't think that's always fair, because I like to know everything about it, you know, and, yes, Sarah [manageress] showed me how to do the hotel, and it's great, yes, wonderful. I know how to do it now. But, I mean, no-one shows you how to do the cellar work, and the boys don't, because Patrick [fellow assistant manager] knows about it, he's shown John [her partner, hired as a couple], but, and I will get John to show me in time, but, you know what I mean, it's a little bit, I always think everybody should do everything, and I don't see why. I hate cleaning rooms – maybe that's why. But then again John, he did go and do the rooms one day, and he was good to me because I said "Oh god, I've got to do the rooms, and I hate it." and he said "I'll do it for you instead." And I thought "Oh I can't do that because [laughs] I can't make John go and do the rooms, you know what I mean, when the girls are doing the rooms."

Despite her stated desire for equality she is seen here accepting what she considers to be a sexist situation and policy. She does suggest that she will make sure she learns about the cellar work (but to the knowledge of the fieldworker she didn't do so before leaving shortly after the end of the participant observation). This almost resigned acceptance of such apparently sexist practices was common amongst females interviewed during the fieldwork, such as demonstrated by a young student teacher and a young mother, both employed part time in different units.

This assistant manager's attitude towards the room cleaning itself was also interesting. Despite an offer from her partner to help her, she refuses. She suggests

this is because of a feeling of guilt, saying more or less 'it isn't a nice job, it isn't a male job' No doubt Adkins, and many other feminist writers would describe this (and justifiably so) as another example of female self-sacrifice, resulting from effective childhood socialisation into her gendered role. Perhaps she realised that her partner's offer was an insincere form of rhetoric, perhaps it was simply a desire that he should not have to do an unpleasant job. This is the sort of interpretative dilemma facing researchers with this sort of data.

This relationship between this person and her partner does return attention to the related issues of living-in and the use of management couples within the industry and this particular organisation. The use of management (and assistant management) couples was widespread in the Coaching Inn Company, although not all pervasive. Two units were managed by single males, but there was often a feeling of impermanence in these pubs. One of these single male managers had moved on to a larger more hotel-orientated unit within a few weeks of the end of that period of fieldwork. The use of such couples was often justified as making the most of complementary skills, usually with the assumption that a male and female provided a good balance, although as mentioned earlier the company did recently appoint an all-female management team. This argument is reminiscent of Cockburn's (1988) thesis that such heterosexual couples seen as complementary when there is really no need to see them thus in most situations. She referred specifically to 'work, training, shopping, enjoying recreation' (Cockburn 1988:37) with the first and last of these being of particular relevance to this study. Her explanation for this assertion was that 'gender is part of our cultural tools for thinking, for ordering and understanding the world' (Cockburn 1988:37). Thus if most gender differences are socially constructed (as she and much of the literature claim) there is no real need to see a heterosexual couple as any more a complementary unit than a single-sex couple, or indeed larger group of individuals.

The recruitment of the female couple could be given considerable symbolic meaning within a discussion of socio-cultural norms. However, it is also important to stress that this was the first such couple hired by the company and there were certainly no single sex couples employed as assistant managers (a common stage in recruiting and training future unit management teams). This single case did appear to be a largely pragmatic appointment by senior management. Both women were employed at one of the 'training' units, and had the full backing of the unit manager at

a time when there was a shortage of unit managers (following rapid business expansion). Whether this precedent leads to many more such appointments remains to be seen.

It seems interesting that the most commonly described negative emotional impact of working in pubs related to the way the working pub life impinged on the private life of live-in staff – especially among mixed-sex couples. One young male (and single) assistant manager summed up what a number of other respondents suggested:

> I've noticed pubs, a lot more, tend to break up relationships as well. Yes. A lot more. Out of the 7 pubs in our village [at home] I know the pub down the road has split up five, um, couples, and it has torn my mum and dad's marriage.
>
> *Interviewer: Why do you think that is?*
>
> Because you're with each other for 24 hours a day, like I said before. You see what that person's like more, and then you're just tuning in on them, and then you go upstairs and have a little niggle, and then you come back down. And after your little niggle – because you haven't expressed any more emotions to anyone else - with some people it eats them up, and then when they go back up the next time it's like a bit stronger and they go back down, and they show it to the customers, then one says 'You can't show it to the customers.' Then you start arguing and you go back up and it's "Boosh". And then it goes on from that really; the snowball effect.

The main point of such comments was not so much about hiding or faking emotions, rather that there was no real escape or emotional respite from long-term romantic partners and a certain 'ambiguity of the relationship between work and leisure, production and consumption, within their [service] role' (Guerrier and Adib 2001:5). Their study of tour representatives highlighted a number of situations reminiscent of the public house study. Reps were seen to consume the service at the same time as working, similar in the case of many pub workers - some actually seeing work as their social life. This goes one step further than Bryman's (1999:40) description of Disney employees trying to give the impression that they were 'having fun too and therefore not engaging in real work'. At times some pub employees even showed irritation at having to serve a customer because they were 'busy' socialising with other customers, especially regulars. A number of colleagues did point out that they often saw working in pubs as being an important part of their social life, meeting, chatting with and drinking with friends on an equal footing, without the expense. A young part-time barman explained:

> I enjoy working here more than anything, because, I mean, all my friends come in here, so I don't mind working of a Saturday night because I can save money, plus I see my friends – I can go out with them afterwards.

Another, full-time, live in male assistant manager took this one step further seeing his work as:

> To me this job and the environment is a hobby, and with your hobbies you spend as much time as possible doing them don't you? So to me this is like a hobby.

The idea of the pub couple displaying personal problems to their clientele is also well illustrated in a variety of English soap operas. However, whether the incidents of marital discord are quantitatively different from other work environments would require further and wider empirical investigation. Whatever the perception of respondents, Wood's (1997:22) cautionary note regarding alcohol abuse within hospitality suggests that the high visibility of such an industry and job could lead to such beliefs of causal relationships between working in hospitality and a variety of negative impacts such as alcohol abuse or marital discord.

8.4.1 Sexual Discrimination at Work?

There was a tendency towards male dominance of pub management within the participating pubs. The units investigated included two that were managed by single males, while the others were run by mixed-sex couples. Even at assistant manager level the only females were half of a couple, while it was common to employ single males at that level. However, there is evidence that this trend has been addressed by head office. For example, during the second period of fieldwork the company's first all female unit management team were appointed, although there was still a long way to go considering around 180 properties were operated by the chain at the time.

There was some evidence of sex-typed work (Purcell 1997), although few managers would admit to encouraging it. One exception was a male manager (part of a mixed sex management couple) who had a clear impression of gender differentiation at work:

> There's still the female barmaid, and there's still the male barmaid[12] [*sic.*]. They've still got their own jobs to do. The male barmaid – 9 times out of 10 –

12 Perhaps it would be seen as overstated or 'over-analysed' to suggest that the term 'male barmaid' could relate to a subconscious gendering of bar work, despite the gendered segregation described in this short passage from the interview transcript.

> deals with the bottling up, the cellar work, the heavy-duty work, the female barmaid deals with mainly serving the drinks and keeping the place clean. And they're normally the ones that are a little bit more chattier than the males.
>
> *Interviewer: It's expected that they are more chatty?*
>
> Not expected, but they are normally, because they are more in contact with the customers. Er, whereas the male bar-staff is normally doing more of the tasks behind the scenes.

This was acknowledged by one the female assistant manager whose view is outlined in the previous section. She expressed a little dismay, but seemed effectively resigned to the situation and was not prepared to fight the trend, preferring to learn the 'masculine' jobs unofficially from her male partner.

A number of the male management and staff valued 'feminine' emotional attributes and emotional intelligence suggesting that females are often more effective at dealing with customer problems and complaints, as well as the harassment discussed previously. A manager suggested:

> There are situations where a female is much better to go and sort out a problem than a male. If the customer's had a bad experience through the male dealing with it, it's safer to send out a female, because then they've mostly got the better nature out of the two. They're a little bit more sympathetic to the customers' needs than a male is.

Another experienced male assistant manager gave a specific example of when his female partner dealt with a potentially dangerous situation more effectively than many male staff, suggesting females are more likely to defuse such trouble:

> A rugby team did a ballistic on our lounge bar, and rather than go in myself, I knew full well that to defuse the situation faster was going to be better to send a woman in. And in Carla went, and they had all left within a minute and a half. However drunk and out of order you have a group of men in a bar, they're far more likely to take a swipe at a bloke telling them to fuck off, than they are a woman.

8.4.2 Customers

The data (both observational and interview derived) includes numerous references to examples of customer based gender issues. The clientele mix itself reflected some of the 'traditional' pub stereotypes. For example, the regular drinking customers included a disproportionate number of men in all the pubs investigated, although there were usually one or two exceptions to this. These exceptions tended to adopt a

'masculine' approach to pub use, avoiding 'feminine' drinks (such as half-pints of beer and fortified wines), sitting with male regulars at the bar rather than at tables and participating in round buying. A male assistant manager drew attention to this, stressing that women that order 'feminine' drinks are often more troublesome as customers, while those socialised into 'masculine' drinking habits were easier to cope with:

> I generally find, [laughs] women who drink like half-pints of lager – dinky [half] pints of lager – you know, or little dinky drinks, they're the dangerous ones, if you get one come in having a pint, Grand. You're on safe ground there generally.

This focus on the type of drink mirrors Hey's (1986) attitude toward gendered drinks, whether by type (beer for men, lager or wine for women) or service style/measure (pints for men – especially in a 'handle' or 'jug' style of glass or pewter tankard, – half- pints for women; the latter even being referred to at times as 'ladies glass' by customers).

It seems paradoxical that this same interviewee enthusiastically admitted that he preferred working with women behind a bar. He explained:

> Blokes can have this sort of competitive sort of thing [when working together]. I *hate* [interviewee's emphasis] them [women] as customers, but working with them, I *love* [interviewee's emphasis] working with them.

He can be seen to value what he perceives as masculine attributes (drinking with and like the 'boys'), while disliking feminine ones (such as being fussy and difficult) in customers while preferring feminine attributes (not being too loud, competitive or lazy) in colleagues.

Most women evening drinkers were less likely to be regular in their custom and would rarely arrive alone, tending to show up in couples or larger groups and sitting away from the bar. However, the importance of food and accommodation resulted in a relatively large female patronage overall (bar and eating areas were rarely devoid of female patrons), preventing an overly male dominated culture developing.

Respondents were asked about any perceived sexist behaviour of customers towards staff and explained that this was relatively unusual, although a number of relevant incidents were described. One barmaid described an evening when a male customer was consistently unpleasant and abusive to her, but her most negative memory of the time was towards the customer's female partner who wasn't actually

nasty. She felt particularly annoyed because this woman 'obviously could see that I was getting, not stressed, but annoyed with how he was, and she wasn't saying anything.' Thus she expected some sort of support from a fellow woman, and that seemed worse than the man's actual behaviour.

Many of the females interviewed treated most of the less serious sexist customer behaviour as normal and generally acceptable, often treating it in a liberal, light-hearted fashion. A female manager explained that:

> They expect the barmaid to have lots of cleavage showing, with lots of make up, and tarty behaviour. I don't feel comfortable dressing like that, but have just as much fun as anyone else. It gives you the right to be a tart, even if you're not dressed so. But it can have its bad side, and some disrespect. I don't make a song and dance about it. I can 'cop' most of it.

The idea of 'having the right' to act in a sexually provocative way is interesting, as this is an example of the type of behaviour that Hey (1986) criticised as representative of what she referred to as 'sexualised servility' (Hey 1986:44). However, in this case the female manager claims that she saw such behaviour as enjoyable. She went on to indicate that it gave her the chance to act out a role not normally compatible with her married status, suggesting that it is a perk of the job rather than a problem. Even so, she did recognise that not all women would see it so and cautioned that some customers do go too far. This is further indicated by her point that she can 'cop' it, suggesting the need to put up with potentially unpleasant sexual behaviour at least some of the time. She continued thus:

> Being a barmaid you've got the right to be extremely flirtatious - the way that you can't act outside the bar as a married woman. It's like a ping-pong conversation – it can get a bit vulgar, but is good fun. I've had no really bad experiences, but you do get the occasional man touching your bum – it doesn't really bother me, but some girls do react more.

This sort of discourse clearly identifies the difficulty in analysing such interview data, as they do present mixed messages. Women workers often refer to almost hypothetical sexual harassment while 'playing down' its importance to them personally. Thus, although initially appearing to refuting the perspectives of writers such as Hey (1983) and Adkins (1995) towards sexualised pub work, there is a suggestion that the line between empowering sexual fun and harassment is not easy to draw.

The critical incidents did include other examples of unacceptable behaviour by male customers to female staff. On at least two occasions (in different outlets) during the fieldwork a regular customer drank more than usual and abused a female member of staff, reducing them to tears. On both occasions everyone involved perceived the incidents as gender related. One of the victims, a female assistant manager explained

> I think someone like Harry [customer] – who was giving me lots of shit the other night – would not give that to a guy behind the bar. You know, someone like John [her partner]. He wouldn't say. No he wouldn't say what he said, to him, I don't think.

It is particularly interesting that the women involved in such situations seemed to be more able to shrug off such problems quite soon. The female above was almost joking about the incident the next day, while some of the male colleagues (including the fieldworker) seemed to take much longer to 'forgive' the customer This idea will be considered more fully in the chapter 11 in relation to staff reactions to the emotional demands of the job. This sort of incident is perhaps a good example of data source triangulation as discussed in chapter 5, with a variety of different accounts from actual participants not necessarily verifying each other's view, but helping to build a broader and more intricate picture of a situation. Three different sources of data regarding this situation are outlined in Appendix 7 to provide an example of the richness of the data gathered.

8.5 Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the Coaching Inn Company, the specific units that participated in the study and their service staff. The chain was shown to follow a relatively soft branding strategy with the individuality of pubs and managers prized for their character and appeal to a diverse clientele. Recently, however, there have been some moves towards a more structured approach to branding in some areas, such as an increasing use of standard menus and wine lists.

The employees and managers who participated in the study came from a wide variety of backgrounds, and showed different levels of commitment to the chain, their units and their occupations generally. There was a relatively low identification with the company, especially among junior members of staff who had little direct communication with head office. Many younger individuals clearly saw their jobs as

relatively temporary, often while studying or waiting for their career to start. One the other hand, there was considerable evidence of commitment to working in catering generally, and occasionally the pub sector in particular.

Some work based and emotional gender issues have also been considered. Perhaps one of the more striking examples of these is that of the flirting barmaid (of particular relevance to emotional display) which has been considered at some length and used to demonstrate the difficulty of differentiating harmless sexual banter from potentially damaging harassment. The data certainly does offer some evidence to support the more critical feminist viewpoints in the literature, calling for further analysis. This highlights the value of a broad discussion of attitudes towards different aspects of pub work. Thus the chapter provides considerable ethnographic background to the research participants and is likely to provide insights into the specific emotional workplace situations.

The material presented in this chapter has various implications for emotion rules within the company, especially in relation for their design and enforcement. For example, in an organisation operating such a soft approach to branding it would seem likely that responsibility for such matters is likely to be passed to unit level if head office is concerned with retaining the unique character of individual units. Likewise, such a variety of employee backgrounds and orientations to work would also seem likely to have some impact on issues of emotion in the workplace, providing considerable scope for further discussion in the following chapters where such issues will be analysed more explicitly in relation to the specific research objectives.

9 Emotion Rules in the Coaching Inn Company

9.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to investigate the development and use of emotion rules within the Coaching Inn Company, specifically addressing research objective one 'to identify mechanisms for the setting and enforcing of emotion rules in public houses'. It is important to stress at this early stage of the chapter that such rules could include both formal and informal guidelines that can vary from region to region and pub to pub. It also seems likely that employees are not the only people subject to any such emotional code of conduct, with such rules also applying to pub customers to some extent. To give a useful structure to the chapter, it will begin with a brief discussion of pub culture in general, from the perspective of study participants (staff and managers). This will build on the ideas presented in Chapters four and eight, and develop into more specific examination of how emotion rules are constructed in the Coaching Inn Company and the units investigated, leading to a discussion of emotional authenticity, which seems of particular importance to this topic.

9.2 Pub Culture in the United Kingdom

There was a general agreement among participants in the study that pubs, and English pubs in particular, offer a unique environment in which to work due to the nature of pub culture and its importance to the wider society. A number of these participants were not English, with staff and management hailing from a number of different countries including Scotland, Ireland, New Zealand, Spain and Italy. This enabled the fieldworker to gain a number of non-native perspectives to this most English of social institutions. One Irish barman gave an interesting and entertaining interpretation of English drinking culture, based around the concept of 'mateship'. He asserted that:

> The English word mate, now that's a good word, you know? Mate and buddy, you know, an old drinking pal for a while, lovely. I've had some great drinking pals over the years. Great. You know, it's nobody being in anybody else's pocket, you're just having a good old drink and a chat, and you're getting on very well.

He goes on to give an amusing and perceptive description of pub culture more specifically:

> England is one of the most unusual countries in the world, where you have people who are friends for 30 years, but have never been in each other's houses. But they're best of pals, and know each other inside out, but they've never been in each others' houses. I think because the English, er, [laughs], they're the funniest race of people. Really are an odd bunch, you know? Very like, well I would make it known to the tape recorder that I love the English, but they're a funny, odd bunch – especially when it comes to drinking. The old thing is "I *never* drink *indoors*" [emphasis original] and the impression that they're trying to give you is that anybody who drinks indoors is a secret alcoholic, you know, or some kind of deviant. Whereas, of course, in other countries *nobody* [emphasis original] drinks in pubs, they all drink indoors, because they can't afford to drink in bloody pubs. And people all come round to each other's houses, bring a bottle, stick on an old CD, light up a spliff, or get out the fondue, or swap wives or whatever they do, you know, and they get on together. It's like English people paint up the outside of their houses and do up the outside of their houses, but the inside of their houses are awful. Their larders are awful. And the drinkers often, they come out wearing their best clothes, come into a pub, buy the round, everything's great, business is cool. Lovely. And they don't want it to be known that, open the nice shiny door and you'll get into a cess-pit, um, marital troubles and etcetera, etcetera, etcetera. And the fact that they're probably very yawny, boring lives.

Despite this idea of a distinctively English pub culture, the licensed trade is made up of a wide range of diverse outlets, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, (Haydon 1994; Williams 1996) making it difficult, if not impossible, to clearly identify *one* culture. Rather it could be seen as a diverse collection of sub cultures, perhaps identified by factors such as region, pub type and position in the local community. One experienced barman described a rare incident when he lost his temper with a very abusive customer. He explained that he was unusually angry 'because I wasn't mentally geared up for the situation.' Because he didn't expect such abuse in a Coaching Inn Company property he wasn't instantly able to deal with the situation calmly as he would have done in other pubs where he had previously worked, pubs:

> that were hard, heavy places, you know, [where] you were constantly geared up for that, so it wasn't a problem. You know, you were in gear. You would deal with it accordingly.

As Smith (1985b:293) suggested:

> The comfortable picture of Roger and Mary sipping their drinks in the oak-beamed Rose and Crown – sharing in the conviviality of a controlled situation – is hardly congruent with the "sawdust on the floor" image conjured up by a rough pub... places frequented by "mad buggers and head bangers."

Even within a single chain, such as this company, different, unit-based subcultures often exist, as will become clear over this part of the thesis. This would certainly have implications for emotion rules within an organisation such as the Coaching Inn Company where such norms are more implicit and not organisationally imposed.

9.3 Emotion Rules in the Coaching Inn Company

Service industry employers who choose not to develop explicit emotion guidelines for staff are still likely to have implicit feeling and display rules. Romm (1989:34) emphasised that such rules, although 'often unstated, are as binding on the worker as any delineated in personnel manuals'. It could be argued they present more of a challenge to employees who have to learn them with little objective guidance, relying on their existing 'tacit knowledge' (Fuller and Smith 1996:73) of cultural or sub-cultural norms. The Coaching Inn Company is an example of this, with virtually no formal code for employees to follow, and little direct, centralised training organised. A male assistant manager explained that formal display rules were inappropriate in most pub environments. His interview developed to consider the related use of company scripts, and he asserted that he had not been formally taught:

> an official script. Um, more script by tradition. It would be a case of, not so much applicable to bar, but [in] other forms of hospitality, there are certain circumstances and certain levels of establishment where you would have to conform to certain dress rules, certain etiquette rules and certain mannerisms, which, you know, though not actually formally laid down on a piece of paper in front of you, are either from those who know expected, or hinted at to those who are a little bit less experienced.

This idea of a 'script by tradition' rather than imposed by management does not necessarily mean that management does not require an element of scripting. It could imply that the organisation is seeking to avoid 'automatic' and 'mindless' behaviour from employees, recognising 'the possible need for cognitive processing by the worker' (Tanisk and Smith 1991:38) in order to deal with the individual needs of customers. Applied to the more specific area of performing emotions for customers, respondents stressed the value of empathy, suggesting that obviously false attempts at empathy were easily identified as such by pub customers. A male assistant manager explained:

> Those "Have a nice day sir" people [script followers] don't [fool customers], they're never thinking beyond their own promotions within an industry [and it is obvious that] "I'm not really interested in the customers."

Quite apart from any negative impact on customers, such scripts were also considered by some to be demeaning and even interfering with their personality. Another assistant manager asserted

> I just won't go through the script, because I don't, I can't work with a script. Just can't and I won't. I won't. I'm not, nobody owns me. It is soul destroying. It's just rubbish. It's just soul destroying, pointless, um, and unnecessary, because people don't want it, I don't think. You should be mature enough to know when someone [expects a particular type of service]. "Oh hello sir. Can I help you? Oh, a pint, gin and tonic? OK? Here we go. Thanks very much. Cheers mate." That's all people need. You know, just nice and polite, friendly words. Nice and efficient. Get it over and done with. But not, a script. It takes away your own personality, takes away your own authority – which is a very important thing, because it must be remembered that this is the only industry where you're selling a mind altering drug [alcohol].

Thus, formal scripting of emotional display was seen as inappropriate and damaging to customer relations. However, such a flexible approach to scripts requires an existing level of emotional skill to be present in staff for it to succeed. An example of the problems encountered during the fieldwork refers to the increasing use of adolescent waiting staff in the pub chain. As explained in the last chapter, on a number of occasions young employees could be observed actively avoiding eye contact with customers in order to avoid additional demands on their time – a good example of an unofficial coping strategy in the form of resisting job requirements that would not be condoned by management. This issue is discussed at more length in Chapter 11.

Colleagues identified a number of emotion rules (related both to feeling and display), some of which can seem contradictory (for example being 'the life and soul of the party' and 'keeping in the background') but such differences were derived from situational influences. Public houses seem to provide a greater social variety of types of customer interaction than many other service industry units, depending on situational factors such as customer type, purpose of visit, length of visit, time of day/week, etc. Most of the participants in the study valued the ability to 'read' customers and situations, whether regular or unusual, in order to provide some level of personalisation. For example, the emotional skills of a unit manager of the

Coaching Inn Company need to be flexible enough to deal politely with diners in the restaurant and guests staying overnight, familiarly with good natured 'locals' and sternly with misbehaving drunks to 'maintain social order' (Smith 1985a:32).

The lack of formal emotion rules could be seen as reflecting the relatively soft approach to branding and the stated desire to develop a chain of unique properties. This approach does not suggest that Head Office is not concerned with emotional labour, but that they pass on the responsibility to unit managers. Even at unit level formal emotion rules were not clearly defined by managers and interviewees at all levels often had difficulty elucidating such rules. The situation is further complicated by the variety of backgrounds from which unit managers came (See Appendix 6 for details). This was illustrated well when the managers were asked how they perceived their units, with some seeing their properties as being 'hotels', others as 'restaurants' and others 'pubs'. These different perceptions seemed to relate quite closely to managers' backgrounds rather than type of property, as there were few major differences between the individual units.

There is another possible reason for avoiding too explicit emotion rules, which was exemplified by an experienced manager: 'I've told people to calm down, yeah. But never to buck up, because that would probably just push them the other way. Just try to find out what's their problem.' This suggests that the act of telling a member of staff to 'buck up' or change their apparent emotion in a similar way, can have the opposite effect, perhaps because it is seen as criticising their personal feelings and emotion management.

9.3.1 Who Decides Emotion Rules?

Much of the literature has focused on emotion rules that are designed and enforced by management, reflecting corporate ideals and vision. However, management is not the only 'writer' of emotion rules and the new employee is often given a variety of signals (which will be considered in the next chapter 'Learning Emotional Rules in the Coaching Inn Company'), from different sources, as to which emotions are appropriate to be felt or displayed in particular situations. For example, a member of staff will bring a considerable experience of emotion management from home, school, previous jobs and other social institutions, and such employees will be subject to other new sets of rules from colleagues and customers. Service staff may also design and

implement their own feeling rules, often ones that would be frowned on, at least, by senior management.

9.3.1.1 Management

The importance of management in deciding emotion rules was recognised by most participants, although the involvement of head office was looked on as less significant than unit level managers. An assistant manager explained that:

> There is the [management] expectation that you are going to be behind the bar with a grin or smile permanently painted across your face, regardless of your own feelings, and also to a certain extent, regardless of the way that the customer's treating you.

This statement was aimed more at senior corporate management, perceiving them as rather inflexible, and often unable to distinguish between types of customer. The idea that head office could be unreasonable regarding complaints from disgruntled but difficult customers was echoed by a number of interviewees, and reports of complaints to head office often resulted in a high level of frustration, especially when they were considered unreasonable and unjustified.

> One member male assistant manager protested that:
>
> Management will sometimes expect you to react with a certain manner to a customer, even if you actually personally know that customer doesn't expect it or even particularly, possibly, want it.

This suggests that top management was sometimes perceived to be out of touch with operational level demands of customers, although this was more often seen as a failing of more heavily branded chains ('MacDrinks' as one member of staff referred to them). This particular quotation is relevant to an analysis of display rule setting as it shows an employee (assistant manager) perception that management imposed display rules (reacting 'with a certain manner') may conflict with emotional display expected by customers. The idea that staff actually working with customers could feel almost caught in the middle of management and customers views of appropriate display was common throughout the different units, although by management most participants seemed to mean the distant head-office based senior management team rather than individual pub managers (hence the more impersonal 'management' in the quotation).

Interviewees also found it difficult to identify explicit emotion rules set by their immediate managers. However, the pub managers themselves did outline their own expectations of employees' emotional behaviour. A manager gave a good example of what he and his partner thought the customers expected from their staff:

> Well, you're looking – when you're sitting down [as a customer] – you're looking for someone who's coming towards you with quite a happy outlook on their face. Like they're enjoying their work and they're coming to serve you something – whatever you've ordered – but they're coming to do it because they enjoy doing it. It's not 'It's my job so I'll have to do it.' But they let you know through the atmosphere that they're creating, that they can't be bothered really taking your order, or they're thinking 'It's near the end of the day. It's nearly finished.' They're not concentrating on actually doing their job. The customers pick this up.

He, like most of the other participants, would probably have been personally insulted by the idea that his work was an example of 'routinized, face to face service jobs ... [demonstrating] the bureaucratization of feeling rules ... at its most obvious' (Fineman 1993b:19). They would certainly prefer to see their emotion management is more personalised, with 'feeling rules implicit in their professional "discipline"' (Fineman 1993b:19). At the time senior management was debating the chain's approach to branding and standardisation, although the gatekeeper (a director) supported this idea explaining that:

> In terms of front of house staff, I think you need to reiterate to them which part of the business we're in, and observe and advise. But I think it's that reiteration of it as 'This is the business that we're in' is the most important thing, so they fully understand – again – the frame of reference in which they're working.

His suggestion was that the key role of unit, area and head office management was to ensure that line staff had a clear understanding of the overall aim of the company and the nature of the clientele, but that much of the service interaction was 'managed' by the staff themselves. Management was there, at various levels, to 'observe and advise', but not to standardise interaction (and emotion) rules to any great extent.

9.3.1.2 Customers

The type of relationship between staff and customers in the pub environment seems somewhat different than in other service organisations. Riley et al (1998:161) suggested that the isolated nature of pub work may lead staff to 'assimilate the values of the drinkers who make up their work environment' demonstrating one way in which customers can influence cultural rules – whether behavioural, cognitive or emotional – which was added to by a number of the study participants. This idea was somewhat supported by one of the male assistant managers with considerable previous bar experience. When talking about some of his other pubs he explained why he liked to work in different places:

> You have an instant access to a place. You're a local, in one way, all of a sudden, because you're a local barman; respected person. So it's a very good learning experience.

Another barman explained that:

> It's one of the only low paid professions where you're actually given respect, generally. To be the barman, or the head barman, or the manager, or whatever, in a place, you're generally given respect by the regulars. In similar low paid jobs you're given zero respect, whether you're a labourer, a check-out person, whatever.

One barmaid succinctly drew attention to the influence of customers in deciding and controlling emotion rules. She explained that regular customers required bar staff to display sincere and authentic emotions ('you have to be yourself in that environment') and suggested that pub regulars would soon 'pick up' on any forced, inauthentic feelings. The implication is that such customers are in a strong position to get to know their local pub's staff very well given the informal nature of pub culture and the strong sense of belonging and ownership developed by such customers. This feeling was supported by a number of other members on staff. One live-in barman advised the fieldworker to 'never feign an interest in something you don't genuinely have an interest in because you'll be found out.'

9.3.1.3 Colleagues

The importance of work-mates in developing emotion rules relates to the need for 'occupational communities' (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993) to implement norms and rules that are specific to the setting than wider societal or even organisational rules due to situational requirements. Cockburn (1988) gives an interesting insight into this process in her discussion of sex segregation, suggesting that:

> While people are working, they are not just producing goods and services, pay packet and career, they are also producing culture ... What they do gives rise to what they feel, and of course their feelings and ideas also partly determine what they and other people do (Cockburn 1988:37)

Colleagues' influence on emotion rules in the pubs could be broadly categorised as relating directly to customer service, or interaction with work-mates. When asked about the first of these, most of the bar-staff interviewed had fairly formulaic, even clichéd, responses about friendliness, happiness, empathy, and other 'standard' answers which seemed to be given without much thought. Fuller responses emerged when specific examples of colleagues 'breaking' such rules. For example, a part-time barmaid described the behaviour of a previous manager she worked with, clearly showing how she felt about the 'rules' he was breaking:

> He had a bit of an accent, and he talked really fast. And he would be so rude to these. I can't. I don't even know how to say it, but he would like say "Yes, and I want to shag your mum," this kind of thing. Really, really fast while they're checking in, and it would be so fast that you, I would think, and I would think that the old people think "He didn't say that." and just carry on. And then I had to control myself – big time – because I really wanted to say "I can't believe that you just said that." But you've got like 20 people standing in front of you, so you can't because then you'll be putting yourself in an awkward position. So you just let it go. And, um, that was probably one of the most difficult times emotionally actually, that I probably had to deal with, because I just. I hated it. It used to make me mad. "How dare he talk to these people like that?"

This shows how she felt uncomfortable when observing a senior colleague breaking what she considered to be important emotion rules for dealing with customers. She also found it difficult to control her own feelings and reaction to his abuse of customers as he was the hotel manager. She felt that the only real sanction that she had was to resign from her post. She explained that when she did eventually leave the hotel she did not return to the hospitality industry for a number of years so unpleasant

was the experience of working with a serial breaker of emotion norms that she held dear.

Such examples were not easy to elicit, and it was not easy to discover the level of colleagues' influence on the formation of emotion rules from participants. There was a reluctance to discuss work-mates' emotion management that was not present when talking about other levels, such as management, customers or even self. Perhaps members of staff did not want to seen as critical of their 'equal' comrades, which may be implied from describing examples of rule breaking. This could be linked to the close, protective relationship that often develops between employees in the pub environment, as one manager explained: 'You must be friends. You'd work with your friends. You'd work together, go out together, you know?'

As a result of this difficulty, staff inspired rules had to be inferred from observations and other less overt questioning. For example, there was an attitude, especially amongst full-time employees, that differences at work should not be pursued outside of work hours, and that it was acceptable and normal to lose control of emotions with colleagues (often apparently to avoid doing so with customers). One barman explained that:

> Everywhere that I've worked there have been members of staff that you're continually abusive to, and they're continually abusive back to you. But in certain circumstances they are actually – and I can think of one classic example – you can stand there and shout, scream, throw things, and whatever at work, at a particular member of staff, and outside of work you're best mates and pretty much inseparable.

This, not uncommon attitude to problems at work represents a very clear identification of work and non-work experiences, and was particularly evident among more experienced service personnel. This could lead to a certain misunderstanding if such an individual 'lost it' with a less experienced member of staff who may be more likely to take any such heated abuse personally. The key message was that arguments should not be permitted to fester into long-term grudges, as this could damage the important internal friendships identified in the last chapter. Hochschild (1983:118) reported that Delta Airlines supervisors were expected to encourage their flight attendants to 'ventilate' in a similar way, seeing it as a way of diverting any frustrations from their customers. Perhaps the importance of good relationships between colleagues also relates to Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993:94) link between emotional labour and 'task effectiveness'. Colleagues recognise the value of such

'letting off of steam' while tacitly accepting the need for long-term co-operation and getting along with work-mates.

In order to achieve this, aggressive emotional displays towards colleagues are often seen as somehow separated from the person in so far as the strong emotions are aimed at the nearest convenient target (a colleague), rather than their main cause and target (a customer), no matter how personal they seem at the time. Thus, the emotional target would realise that the abuser was only using her or him as a means of diverting such feelings from the customer, knowing that the roles of abuser and target could well be reversed later. It was likened to a sort of safety valve and, although the anger is authentic, the target would recognise that it is not really aimed at her or himself. On one occasion, for example, a chef shouted heatedly at the fieldworker about some minor issues that seemed out of all proportion to the uncontrolled, aggressive emotions displayed. At the end of the evening he explained that various other problems had been building up, and the fieldworker 'was there' and so was an easy target. The unwritten 'code' required the incident to be forgotten immediately, allowing both to sit down together for a few rounds of drinks, hence demonstrating a mutual acknowledgement of the diverted nature of the emotional outburst. Huxley (1966) considered the nature of friendship in a similar context, asserting that:

> One of the principal functions of a friend is to suffer (in a milder and symbolic form) the punishments that we should like, but are unable, to inflict upon our enemies' (Huxley 1966:147).

It is also important to stress that such heated encounters nearly always took place out of sight of customers in back-stage places such as the kitchen, in line with Fineman's (1993b) idea that space away from customers is often useful for cathartic demonstrations of emotion that would not be acceptable around customers. It certainly seems that one of the rules most rigidly policed – by colleagues – is that arguments should be kept away from public areas. Some of the least comfortable emotional experiences for the fieldworker occurred in one outlet where one male manager would often lose his temper with any member of the staff to hand and loudly abuse them quite openly in front of customers. The negative feelings this resulted in were often very hard for the fieldworker and other colleagues to shrug off in the same way as back-stage abuse. An experienced barmaid who was describing an incident with an ex-colleague asserted that:

> When someone's screaming at me, a member of staff, I don't acknowledge it, but that one time I reacted. I fought back at her [ex-colleague] in the bar, I would never do that now, I'd always turn round and walk away and leave it at that. I don't, discuss it at other times, not during work, not behind the bar, not in front of the customers, because they don't want to see it.

Another younger part-time barman described his approach to any heated member of staff, whether front or back-stage in similar terms, saying he would simply ignore such emotional reactions in colleagues, and if his own temper started to get too inflamed, he would simply walk away from the angry colleague rather than participate in a public heated exchange. This particular individual explained that he also avoided the off-stage, cathartic explosions of temper that many of the older, full-time staff seemed to find so helpful.

These two approaches to dealing with work-mate problems represent two extremes in emotion management, the first with off-stage emotions allowed to run relatively unchecked in often loud and extreme arguments and the second showing an almost total avoidance of open and emotional conflict with colleagues. Certainly, examples of both types of incident were witnessed and experienced by the fieldworker during data collection.

9.3.1.4 Self

As a result of the varying socialisation processes, individuals are exposed to a complex array of cultural and sub-cultural influences on personal emotion management. As such, socialisation should not be seen as a relatively simple 'process whereby members simply learn formal rules and "slots" into which one is to fit' (Smith 1984:101). Individuals have to make sense of such societal rules and apply them in the situations in which they find themselves. Thus, socialisation does not provide a complete and detailed blueprint for behavioural, mental and emotional activity. Rather, individuals must interpret and apply an often incomplete and sometimes contradictory cultural code of practice to fit different situational contexts. As Mills and Murgatroyd (1991:59) suggest:

> Individuals perpetually negotiate meaning for themselves in relation both to others and to the organization ... [and] the individual constantly processes their external and internal realities to make sense of their rule-set.

An experienced female assistant manager identified one such contradiction, referring to the catering cliché that 'the customer is always right' and should always be deferred to. She explained that:

> You're always told that "the customer is always right". Right, I don't either agree or disagree with that. Most of the time they're not right, but, if you're not right within yourself, you can't admit that they're right every time, you know? If it's a really extreme case and they've blatantly made a mistake, then yes, you've got to say "I'm sorry." I mean, it's being honest, always being honest. You can fawn on them, or whatever it is, but when it comes down to yourself and feeling, you know, if you're right then you are right. You can be very nice about it, you can deal with it in every sort of nice way, but when you know you're right, you've got to say that you're right.

This self-analysis also shows the importance of service staff accepting and internalising such rhetoric-based rules, no matter how many times they are repeated by management. Thus, such a cliché as the customer is always right can be relatively ineffective as a norm or rule for guiding emotional management at work. This interviewee was not happy when dictated to in such absolute terms, and values her own perception of a situation and feels uncomfortable if expected to always cheerfully defer to customers and display emotional subservience however badly they may behave towards her. As Goffman (1972:127) suggested:

> Rules [of social interaction] are effective (in so far as they are) because those to whom they apply believe them to be right and come to conceive of themselves both in terms of who and what it is that compliance allows them to be and in terms of what deviation implies they have become.

As explained in the methodology chapter, informants often had difficulty analysing and describing the way they developed personal emotion rules, hinting at the largely tacit nature of the knowledge involved. However, there was some evidence of staff critically reflecting on their behaviour and emotions. An assistant manager described an occasion when he openly lost his temper with a customer, and reflected on his resultant behaviour after the shift: 'Then you go away and think "Ah, I shouldn't be like that. It's not the professional thing to do."' Another male respondent explained that after losing his temper with an abusive customer '[I felt] more angry with *myself* [interviewee's emphasis] that I lowered myself to his [the customer's] level.' He then managed to regain control and acted very politely to the customer who continued to be unpleasant. In the end he felt 'more happy with myself on him leaving and me saying what I did [bidding the customer a polite farewell despite considerable provocation].' Pratt and Doucet (2000) briefly consider the idea of a feeling of

professionalism in emotional labour, suggesting that managing to suppress negative feeling can often give a positive feeling of 'professional pride' (Pratt and Doucet 2000:213), resulting in a level of ambivalence mixture of negative and positive feelings in the worker

9.4 Emotional Authenticity in Bar and Restaurant Service within Pubs

As shown in the earlier chapter on emotions, emotional authenticity has been given considerable attention in the literature. This section will consider the importance of such authenticity in the units investigated, relating the perceptions of staff and management to the rules introduced above.

One of the early questions asked in many of the interviews served to introduce this concept to the interviewees. When asked whether they believed themselves adept at interpreting the genuineness of colleagues' or customers' emotions most participants claimed to be very sensitive to other people's emotions which is potentially important when labouring emotionally in order to keep customers happy given the need to produce 'the proper state of mind in others' (Hochschild 1983:7). Despite this claim to empathy with others, when asked how they actually judge such feelings the respondents were generally less sure. Most of the answers related to general indicators. For example, a male manager explained that 'you can tell by, like, body language, tone of voice, you can soon pick up [how they feel].' But he could give little more detail beyond the assertion that his overseas kitchen staff:

> sound agitated when they talk because they talk so damned fast, but you get the feeling that they're not just having a conversation, but they are having a pop at each other.

Other interviewees seemed to have equal (or even greater) difficulty when verbalising how they identified authentic or inauthentic emotions. A part-time barmaid explained that:

> You've got to be able to sort of read their [customers'] minds, who they are and what they want from you. Whether they just want a waitress to give them a drink and be done with it or whether they do want to chat and show an interest in who is serving their food, and I think I'm quite good like that.

But, although claiming to be adept at such mind reading, she was unable also to give a clear idea of how she did it beyond observing 'how friendly they are. Their whole attitude.' Any explanations relating to what people actually said, or how they spoke

were more easily described than how to decide whether a smile or scowl represented genuine happiness or anger. This difficulty in explaining how to interpret emotions in others seems to be linked to the tacit nature of emotions and could be linked to Ekman's (1998) thesis regarding the difficulty of faking emotions. Perhaps such minor, almost subliminal, clues in facial expressions, as identified by Ekman, can be learnt by experience, but are rarely (if ever) given conscious thought in social encounters.

9.4.1 Expectations of Emotional Authenticity

One difference found in all of the pubs, which may be due to wider socialisation experiences, concerns the products served and place of service. The bar staff would often serve in the pubs' restaurants, but many of the staff claimed that they preferred to work in the bar. One young part-time barman explained:

> I'm a different person in the restaurant. It's all very [exaggerated 'posh' accent] "Oh yes sir. How can I help you?" But in the bar I can be more relaxed. I mean, I do call everyone sir, but even then it's in a less, um, upper class way.

As suggested in the previous chapter there did seem to be a general feeling that restaurant service required a different approach to service from that found in the bar area. A number of workers highlighted the level of formality and personal authenticity required by customers as being important differences. A female manager suggested that:

> You can play more in a bar - it's much less formal than a restaurant or in reception. It's the place that people go to relax and loosen up. They're not looking for someone to be subservient. They want a good time.

This also suggests that the relationship between pub customer and server is more equal than in restaurants where, as in an airliner's public area, 'workers have weaker rights to courtesy than customers do' (Hochschild's 1983:89). It is not surprising that people would prefer working in an environment where it is normally expected that customers should be courteous towards staff.

A number of male workers expressed a preference for working behind a bar because they felt it was acceptable and expected that they show their own personality, rather than being limited by a stuffy restaurant setting where they would have to take on a more prescribed and formal role. They implied that working in a public house

bar empowered them to use their own judgement much more when dealing with customers. A male assistant manager explained:

> I think most restaurants have, not written guidelines, but, due to the level, the pricing, and the manner of service of the restaurant, will have unwritten guidelines as to the way the customers are treated. Whereas with a bar environment, you can actually adjust the way that you're going to behave on point of service, to the way that the people walking through the door behave. With a restaurant it's more of, it's more of the way that the restaurant is run as a whole. Obviously, you will generally have more than one member of staff and they will generally act pretty much in the same manner, whereas behind the bar different bar staff will react differently to the way that the customers act as they enter the bar. Whereas in a restaurant, the actual service level and customer contact level should really be pretty constant throughout the whole of the meal, the rules can change a lot faster on bar service, which is obviously a more instant, one off service.

There were a number of such assertions that barmen preferred bar work because it is considered less formal or 'stuffy'. The desire to 'be themselves' could have a number of implications. If waiting tables is perceived to be a feminine role, requiring greater management and suppression of emotions (emotional labour) then the concerns of such researchers as divergent as Whyte (1948) and Cockburn (1988) about men feeling uncomfortable when seen in feminine roles or could the real reason be that they haven't been fully socialised into such feminine social and emotional skills.

Interestingly it was also suggested that customers themselves would act in a more authentic way in a bar than in a restaurant setting – even within the same public house. This is interesting when considering Finkelstein's (1989) ideas about the desire for strict scripting when dining out, and seems to draw a strong differentiation between pub bars and restaurants. There was a distinct feeling that this difference is related to physical boundaries within the building, and even if a bar-person simply walks through the dining area, perhaps when going to the kitchen, her or his demeanour would clearly change. Pubs are also interesting from a food service perspective, given the apparent importance of bar food. All the units offered restaurant service and bar service, sometimes (but not always) sharing the same menu in both environments. Another explanation could relate to Spradley and Mann's (1975) analysis of roles in an American cocktail bar where men and women had clearly demarked roles, with men generally working on a bar, an occupation seen as higher in status than the exclusively women waiting jobs. This idea of status does reverberate in situations observed and discussed in most of the outlets here, although

more in relation to place than job alone. For example, the barmen who expressed a dislike for working in pub restaurants were perfectly happy to serve food within the bar area, and felt that this still enabled them to 'be themselves', while they saw working in a formal restaurant setting as requiring them to somehow demean themselves. Even when the food was the same, the service certainly was not. However there was one slightly different approach to this approach. In one unit there was a strict uniform code with all staff working in the bar areas wearing the same t-shirts, while restaurant staff were expected to wear black-and-whites (black trousers and bow tie with a white shirt). In most of the units waiting staff were often the youngest, least experienced workers (as explained earlier they were often school children), but here the managers required waiting staff to be more skilled. Only a small number of the staff were allowed to work in the restaurant and they saw it as a privilege for the select few, although this view did not seem to be reflected among the staff.

The use of uniforms has been discussed in the literature (e.g. Paules 1996; Seymour 2000) and was referred to by a number of the interviewees in this project. One assistant manager explained that:

> If you happen to have a uniform of some description, you put your uniform on, and once that uniform is on, that's it, you're in work mode. To a certain extent, the idea of auto-pilot can kick in.

Another assistant manager suggested that 'it's like the uniform changes your personality sort of thing,' which shows a particularly close link to the idea of staged authenticity (MacCanell 1973), as it is questionable how far such a change to a work persona or role identification could be seen as generating emotions that are totally authentic to the individual worker. Thus, having a more homogenous and clearly recognisable uniform for a restaurant could be seen as suggesting more formal, homogenised rules for emotion and behaviour more generally. Paules (1996) took this argument a little further, claiming that the 'aggressively plain uniform of the waitress' (Paules 1996:267) (and the same could be said of the waiter) underlines status differences between server and served, placing the employee in a particularly subordinate position. When compared to the bar-staff who often (but not always) wore similar clothes to their customers, this could go a considerable way to explaining the perceived differences in emotion and behaviour rules identified by participants.

Perhaps the uniform situation also helps explain the less pleasant customer behaviour identified by participants. A number of workers described incidents when

restaurant customers behaved very unpleasantly to waiting staff, perhaps showing off to a 'romantic' date or business associate, whilst behaving 'acceptably' in the bar on other occasions. These situations demonstrate the existence of different conventions of eating in a restaurant or drinking in a bar. Further supporting this idea, one of the most disliked customer types was the fussy customer eating in the bar area rather than the restaurant. Customers who demanded 'restaurant style' service in the bar were considered difficult and unreasonable - often ranking alongside abusive drunks in awfulness (Staff often referred to the latter with amusement, even after some very unpleasant incidents).

9.5 What are the Emotion Rules?

The closest to an absolute emotion rule evident throughout the study referred to the service cliché of happy smiling staff. However, how far this was seen as a feeling or display rule (i.e. authentic or not) varied from situation to situation, and there were a number of situations when even this was perceived as not appropriate, such as dealing with drunk or violent customers where polite firmness was more important.

The differences of place and role within the units investigated show the difficulty in identifying overall organisational emotion rules. Perhaps the pub environment is qualitatively different from other services identified in the literature, or perhaps other analyses oversimplify rules, especially relying on management or organisational rhetoric. Managers in many of the units reflected the words of one of Hochschild's (1983:107) flight attendants who explained:

> Part of being professional is to make people on board feel comfortable. They're in a strange place. It's my second home. They aren't as comfortable as I am. I'm the hostess. My job is really to make them enjoy the flight.

Although in this case the job is to help them to enjoy their stay, meal or drink. Having so many types of service and customer seems to be the key problem to identifying specific emotion rules. For example, customers staying overnight would often be in a strange place, as above, while many of the regular customers were already more at home than any of the staff or management, who were often (and rightly) seen as temporary and transient by locals.

Smith (1985a) suggested there is an important social role related to the publican-customer relationship, which will depend on the manager's personal attitude

towards drinking and participation with customers, and is demonstrated by how far it matters to regulars 'whether he is there or not' (Smith 1985a:29). How the manager interacted with customers varied from unit to unit, as did expectations from staff and customers in this respect. One young, part-time barman stressed the need for the landlord to be 'nice – if they're a horrible person you've got no hope at all in this kind of business.' While, at the other extreme, an older live-in barman claimed that 'horrible people' could make great publicans, as long as they had a strong, interesting personality, demonstrating the wide range of opinions about what makes a good publican. Again this demonstrates the difficulty in inferring specific rules for emotions within the service encounter as does the following suggestion that links the role of bar staff with emotional performance. In the fullest tradition of emotional labour, one of the managers saw the role of publican (and other bar-staff) relating to ensuring customers felt appropriate emotions for the situation. He suggested that

> If they [customers] are a bit depressed, you go more bubbly to try and bring them up, or if they come in all over the top, just calm them down a bit, by being – or acting – a little more depressed than you actually are, just to bring them down a little.

So he saw that the key emotion rule would be to exercise emotional control over customers based on the situation, expecting service staff to be sufficiently adept at their own skills of empathy and emotional management to 'read' and act appropriately.

The often seemingly contradictory nature of such rules is exemplified by a manager who was discussing the need to act when customers discuss a sport or particular team that he isn't interested in. He asserted that 'you have to appear interested sometimes. Even if you're not! Even if you don't care if they've won or lost. Um, you have to.' However, later in the same interview, when discussing how he greets people in the pub he explained that:

> People like a genuine welcome. They don't want anything false because they'll soon find it out, they won't come back. Um, especially in this size of place, because it is small, and if somebody found out they wouldn't come in.

This sort of paradox was found throughout the study and seems to have some significance for an analysis of emotion rules. The customer is perceived as being attracted by 'genuine' feelings displayed by pub staff, but sometimes there is an acknowledged need not to upset or offend customers, so the key rules for bar staff could be summarised as 'Don't take things too personally (or yourself too seriously)

and be yourself as long as it doesn't upset the customers'. This rule seems to apply to many local or regular customers as well as staff. However sanctions for customers who break emotion rules are generally (but not always) limited to fairly gentle mocking by other customers and sometimes staff. This is demonstrated in the following extract from the field notes from the first period of data collection:

> A group of the locals were talking about something – they were 'winding up' one of their number. He was getting a little upset, and was pretty sure of his point of view. However, he soon seemed to realise that his friends were just having a go and he came back to them with a classic "you can believe what you like. It's only bar talk after all"

It often seemed to be when customers broke such rules that staff would be less at ease, and there did seem to be some recognition that this could be the source of most difficult problems. Throughout the thesis many of the difficult situations described seem to refer to such a local who acts in an unexpected manner, often as a result of drunkenness. Perhaps it should be stressed that such rules were less obviously applied to some customers (such as some diners or 'hotel' guests, and most participants claimed to be confident to be able to judge such individuals fairly quickly and act accordingly, although staff were always expected to conform which complicated the relationship somewhat. On the whole though, the more clearly accepted emotion rules seem to relate more to what not to be, as a young assistant manager suggested 'obviously, they [customers] don't want you to be rude, arrogant, indifferent', and the last of these was probably emphasised more strongly than the others throughout the study. The participants could often recall times when they had reacted 'rudely' to customers, although whatever the provocation they usually expressed regret and suggested they would try to handle the same situation differently and more professionally in future. The fieldworker can not recall an incident where a colleague showed the same feeling as Taylor's (1998) telephone sales agent who explained that 'When I am positive she [the supervisor] is not listening, I have been really short with bad customers, it's a great feeling' (Taylor 1998:95). However, the context of this statement suggests that this individual may have been reacting to the organisation's approach to monitoring and control as much as the customer's rudeness.

9.6 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the general structure of emotion rules in public houses. It focuses on objective one in identifying mechanisms for the setting and enforcing of emotion rules in public houses' An introductory discussion of pub culture more generally develops to consider the observable emotion rules followed in the units researched.

Such rules are difficult to identify and define given their generally implicit and rather flexible nature. Although the literature seems to focus on management and customers as the key sources of rules for emotional labour, other sources were quite clearly identified as important. Unlike Delta Airlines (Hochschild 1983) the Coaching Inn Company does not design, communicate and enforce organisation-specific emotion rules. Indeed, the company policy of soft branding allows individual managers considerable latitude in their own units, and they in turn rely on employees' own emotion skills to guide their interactions with customers. Emotional convention is also influenced by other factors such as the demands of a diverse customer base, colleague expectations and wider societal norms.

The chapter also reflects on the importance of authenticity within the pub environment in relation to emotional management. The importance of place has been considered, showing the different emotion rules followed in the bar and restaurant which introduced a potentially important gender difference with many of the barmen claiming to enjoy the authenticity possible when serving in the informal bar surroundings but be more uncomfortable in more formal restaurants, while barmaids were less likely to express a preference.

The chapter ends with a review of the nature of emotion rules in the participating units. Although the focus of Objective 1 is the setting and enforcing of such rules, this analysis is potentially useful in highlighting some of the complications and apparent contradictions of pub work, with authenticity seen as important, even central to the job, but not always. Different customers need to be served differently according to a variety of factors, requiring considerable emotional skill from their servers. Perhaps this draws attention to the difficulty of having formalised and explicit emotion rules when dealing with such a mix of customers in any service encounter, not just in pubs.

10 Learning Emotion Rules in the Coaching Inn Company

10.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses research Objective 2; 'to analyse the processes by which customer contact employees learn such [emotion] rules and the emotional skills necessary to follow them effectively in public houses'. It discusses both formal training and socialisation processes that such workers have been exposed to both in and out of work. Training in this area seems to fall primarily within the area of customer care training, given its link with empathy to customer needs and corporate emotion rules. In some cases there had been previous exposure to structured customer care training in other industries and organisations, although such training is rare in the Coaching Inn Company. Other types of training are likely to have a role in communicating emotion rules, such as induction training programmes that can act as a formal introduction to company culture.

The first part of the chapter discusses some of the more general socialisation and training processes of learning emotion skills investigated. This is followed by a deeper consideration of the company's approach to customer care training and other relevant training courses respondents had taken before working for the chain. Staff and management attitudes towards this sort of training become apparent throughout the chapter and a final section gives more attention to how individuals explain other learning processes which contributed to their own emotional intelligence.

10.2 Emotional Skills

As suggested earlier, an important part of emotional performance at work relates to empathy and accurately interpreting customers' (and colleagues') emotions. In Chapter five it was shown how respondents could have difficulty discussing certain aspects of their emotional experience, not because of discomfort or embarrassment, but because the interviews and workplace discussions often raised questions they had not thought about in great depth before. Hence, the tacit nature of much emotional experience required what participants to think about what was, for most of them, a relatively new subject for consideration. When asked about the emotion rules in pubs, especially for workers, a young barmaid mused 'Um, oh gosh, I don't know! I go in enough bars and enough other places to know really, but I've just never thought about

it.' Given this sort of response it was not surprising that respondents also had difficulty identifying specifically how the skills of emotional management and labour are learned. However, there was a common assumption that such skills are developed through experience, with people learning to interpret various, rather vaguely defined elements of body language, with a focus on expressiveness through eyes.

There was a conscious effort by some, if not all, the managers questioned to encourage a gradual socialisation of staff by relatively informal on the job training. One manager explained how he saw the learning process. 'They [staff] have to learn it all and our job is to make sure that their mistakes don't hit the customer.' Thus, he saw management as having a sort of remedial role in ensuring his customers were protected from employees' inevitable behavioural and emotional 'mistakes', rather than simply showing them what to do in different circumstances. This approach was justified by the need for bar-staff to develop their own personal style of service in the pub environment – very different to the more formal setting of many restaurants and large hotel chains. Another reason given for this style of socialisation relates to the variety of customers and situations a bar-person is likely to encounter, suggesting that it was not possible to prepare staff for each situation in advance. Mills and Murgatroyd (1991) saw this type of socialisation more as a form of enculturation, or cultural learning, by which individuals integrate organisational norms, values and rules with their own existing ones from other sources, thus developing 'a rule-set which permits effective functioning within the organization' (Mills and Murgatroyd 1991:63).

Later in the thesis the sharing of stories is considered at some length, seeing this after-work socialising as a means of social support and expression of comradeship and unity in the workplace. However, this informal sharing of anecdotes also provides the opportunity to share emotional and social work experiences with younger and newer colleagues. A young assistant manager with a background in hotels expressed this thus:

> I enjoy chatting with you and just like finding out about people and, yes, and like what other people's experiences have been in catering because mine are only quite limited.

10.3 Training in Customer Care

The idea that emotion rules need to be flexible within the service industry, and hospitality in particular, was stressed by a number of interviewees. The focus was usually on the customer when discussing the issue, with management seeming to rely on the existing emotional intelligence and social skills of staff members to deal with different individuals and their requirements. One male pub manager gave his views on customer care training generally and explained:

> Customers are one of the things we would do most damage to. And nine times out of ten we do most damage to them because we don't know what they want. So what the customer care [training] was about was trying to understand what the customer [wants]

This implies that he agrees that senior management should not be involved in writing detailed company scripts to give staff prescriptive and inflexible behavioural or emotion rules. Rather he suggests that such training should focus on helping staff understand the needs of individual customers. In the same interview the manager went further to suggest that:

> Unfortunately we should be spending more time on personality rather than the training because the best trained person in the world – say like a waiter at the Savoy Hotel – is still quite a boring person, because they're still not allowed to show their personality. Whereas that may be OK for the Savoy hotel, they certainly couldn't come and work here and keep your standards up where he stands back and keeps a distance from the customers. In an operation like this the customers want to interact with the staff, they want to get to know you. They want to feel comfortable with you round about them.

How he felt that such personality development or training in empathy can be achieved is not so clear. Indeed, later in the interview he asserted that although an employee's character is a key factor in serving customers, there is relatively little that can be done by management to change this, especially in organisations where staff are likely to leave after a relatively short time. This seems to highlight the apparent dilemmas that this company and other hospitality organisations face regarding training in customer care and emotional labour.

One way that management have attempted to solve the problem is to focus on recruiting people who already have the social and emotional skills required by the company and its customers (Leidner 1999), thus avoiding the need for extensive customer care training. One of the directors explained that 'whenever I interview

people I almost do a personality profile see whether they are *right* sort of people. [Emphasis added].'

All the outlets participating in the study provided little formally structured training, relying much more on on-the-job training with a 'sink or swim' approach. As identified earlier, new employees are expected to learn by observing and emulating colleagues and through their own mistakes. This approach to customer service training was justified by a male pub manager as:

> You can't force a personality on anybody. As much as you'd like them to be like you and go out there and say the right thing all the time, they're not going to say the right thing all the time, and they're not going to serve the customers the right way all the time. But that's part of the whole operation.

So he saw the need for new workers to learn over time through trial and error and somehow within this learning experience they would utilise, and perhaps develop, their own personality and way of keeping the customers happy.

10.3.1 Centralised Training in the Coaching Inn Company

The company did operate a short residential training programme for managers and assistant managers. This was largely concerned with operational skills and procedures, although there is a session dealing with customer care. One of the senior directors who delivered this session summarised his attitude to such training thus:

> I do a talk to the assistant managers training session, and I get a [customer service] workbook that's that thick [indicates about 6 inches], and defines exactly what should be done and how it should be done. And I drop it on the floor and it goes "Bang". And I say to you: "Now, what I was showing you was an A4 piece of paper with six lines on it, and if you as managers can get your staff to do those six things, you will be doing better than the average, and you will probably be doing most of what's in there." And it's. And those six things could be anything. But what they do, they define the way that you want your front of house staff – as managers – you want your front of house staff to meet and greet people.

This suggests that the director felt that keeping customer care/interaction training relatively simple is likely to be more effective than providing a huge and rigid customer service manual that would probably not be given much attention by service staff. It also seems to reflect Romm's (1989) assertion that a number of large organisations have agreed that some emotional and social skills can't be taught, and focus on careful recruitment and selection of staff. However, in some of the units

from this study there were considerable staff recruitment problems. Managers were usually directly responsible for hiring staff, leading to difficulties in more isolated or affluent areas where few people were available or prepared to work in public houses, often making careful selection difficult if not impossible.

One male manager who had previously worked for an international hotel chain drew attention to the lack of attention to customer care training in the chain, and in the sector generally, explaining that 'hotels and pubs are still behind in that [customer care training], a lot of them. They've got to sort themselves out, especially small places like this.' It is also interesting to see this manager seeing the company as 'small', despite containing some 180 units. He agreed with the numerous other respondents who reported a trend towards focusing training programmes at management level employees, with relatively little formal customer care training for operative staff, a practice that may seem strange given that such staff often have more contact with customers than many managers, giving them considerable influence in shaping the guest experience.

10.3.2 Other Types of Training

A few of the staff interviewed had been on formal customer service courses, but not with the Coaching Inns Company. One part time barmaid had been trained when working for the customer service department of a large company. Another had some customer training at a ski resort, one barman had been on various such courses with a large UK brewery group and another received training in a large, international hotel company. There was some support for the idea that larger companies – especially those with heavy branding – are more likely to run formal training in social skills and customer care than smaller ones. Even where such training is offered there is a perception that 'they tend to concentrate on management training, instead of foot-soldiers'. However, most respondents did not show much regard for such training, and when asked what benefits they received would often make sarcastic comments like: 'I got a certificate.' There was little evidence of respect for trainers either. A live-in barman recalled a training event that he had attended with colleagues when he had been a licensee with another company earlier in his career:

> Everybody just looked at each other and laughed, because generally you were being told how to do things [and] you said "Who is this person telling [us]

> 'This is how it should be done'? This is a person who hasn't a clue. This is a person who has never had any contact with the general public. You know, somebody who has picked something up out of a book," and to me people like that are just – phhh – just irrelevant.

This also demonstrates the importance given to experience, suggesting that staff are more likely to listen to someone who has actual experience of serving customers rather than 'ivory tower' trainers. Some respondents also suggested that even if such training could be more effective, it is not necessarily appropriate to all customer-staff interaction, especially if it resulted in hiding an employee's 'genuine' personality. The comments on this issue include the following:

> It [the training] was [about] the basics of customer care, because there are some people who are absolutely fantastic at customer care, through their personality, and some people that just haven't got a personality, but they still manage to get through the customer care [training], [Male assistant manager].

> I would say that [customer interaction] training could be useful to certain people, but, a lot of it actually comes down to personality as much as it would come down to anything that could be trained either in a classroom or work environment [Male assistant manager].

As suggested earlier, pub chains that operate apparently rigid, script-based training also seemed to be despised by colleagues and referred to in derogatory terms such as 'MacDrinks' or 'Ronald MacPiss-heads', equating them with fast-food restaurants with rigid management and de-skilled, de-personalised employees. This attitude could result from the difficulties associated with emotional training identified by Cherniss and Goleman (1998) who suggested that such training is much more personal than other cognitive based learning. It could even be argued that it is trying to undo many years of previous socialisation which is likely to receive more opposition from staff than simply teaching them how to use a new cash register. Staff may see such training as being critical of their personality, derogatory of their existing social and emotional skills and requiring them to behave in ways not seen as personally authentic. As Goffman (1972:10) suggested, a person's 'social face can be his [sic] most personal possession and the center of his [sic] security and pleasure'.

10.4 Staff Perceptions of Learning how to Manage Emotions.

When asked how staff can learn how to deal with customers most respondents suggested observing and copying more experienced colleagues, mentoring, 'trial and

error' and other informal on the job training techniques. In effect these seem to be the sort of socialisation methods that people use to learn how to function in any society, and could lead to stronger internalisation of attitudes, values, beliefs and emotions than listening to a lecture, however well planned and delivered. As Hochschild (1983) suggests, the family is central to learning and internalising emotion rules, explaining that '[b]ig emotion workers tend to raise little ones' (Hochschild 1983:156). One male assistant manager described some problems with young girls hired as part-time waiting staff, which reflects the importance of wider socialisation to service workers. He complained that they did not have the emotional maturity to take criticism of their work and 'go off in a huff or something'.

One characteristic of service organisations such as pubs is a relatively high level of visibility to the general public and the probability that new members of staff already have exposure to such services as customers. One young male member of staff explained 'I've been living in and around pubs all my life as my dad's very much a local drinker.' People can become a part of pub culture simply by walking into a bar and purchasing a drink. As such, pubs are unlikely to be an alien environment to most new staff who are likely to have some existing ideas about what goes on there prior to starting work. Although the same can be said of many other types of organisation, such as 'high street' shops, banks and other outlets, pubs – and certain other branches of hospitality –do seem to have characteristics that make their 'territory' more personalised to customers. One common topic of conversation among various groups of customer in all the units researched focused around criticisms of current and past management. Almost everyone seemed to have a strongly held opinion about running pubs in general, and they were sure they could do a better job than incumbent teams, and, of course, the local pub is always 'our' or 'my' local in a way that most hotels and restaurants do not seem to be. Customers may spend long periods of time in a pub – it was not unknown for a local to stay at the bar from mid-day to midnight (almost). As such, staff often seemed to think that there is relatively little that head office can teach them about serving pub customers.

A number of participants discussed the importance of a sense of humour, which was sometimes linked to learning appropriate emotions and behaviour. A manager explained that 'in a way it's mock the afflicted sort of sense of humour. If someone's got a problem, you make sure they know about it, sort of thing.' The implication is that staff learn about their shortfalls when they are mocked by

colleagues, seeing humour as a tool in learning as well as a possible informal sanction. This could link with the need to avoid being overtly and confrontationally critical of a colleague, referring back to the need to retain a generally harmonious atmosphere at work, and the suggested futility of telling someone how they should feel discussed earlier.

10.5 Control of Service Staff Emotions

Fuller and Smith (1996:76) argued that 'bureaucratic' control by management is not enough when dealing with performance of service staff as the skills and outcomes required cannot easily be categorised and measured. This is especially so when the relevant guidelines (such as emotion rules) are not clearly identified in the first place. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993:102) suggested that effective control of workplace emotions is more likely to come through 'recruitment, selection and socialization' (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993:102). There are a number of ways that colleagues, management and customers and the emotional labourers themselves take part in such socialisation. They are all involved in assessing an employee's performance, rewarding appropriate behaviour or punishing unacceptable conduct and are not limited to the more obvious and extrinsic factors such as financial reward and dismissal.

One male member of staff explained that staff should not take themselves, or the job, too seriously in pub work, otherwise 'they don't last – or they don't have any friends.' The implication here is that being socially cut off from colleagues is a major blow given the importance of social support when dealing with work and personal problems. Colleagues' out-of-work social activities often seemed to revolve around a sort of mutual appreciation society, with individuals seeking, and usually receiving, approval of past actions and attitudes, especially related to dealing with difficult customers. Such pursuits seemed to both provide team bonding opportunities and 'social validation' (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993:103) which reinforces employees' informal feeling and behaviour rules. Such social support and cooperation was apparent in all the units studied. As shown in the last chapter individuals would often have disagreements and arguments – sometimes they would get very heated – but it was always expected colleagues would calm down and bury their differences fairly quickly. As one of the young male interviewees explained, if 'someone's done

something to annoy you, you've got to be able to brush it off, forget about what's happened'.

There was also evidence of internal control, with a number of colleagues apparently demonstrating effective internalisation of rules. The assistant manager, introduced earlier, who criticised his own behaviour towards a difficult customer as unprofessional, provides a useful example of one way of internalising emotion rules from an occupational or professional perspective. The idea of 'professional' feelings and behaviour seemed to be more prevalent among those who had had, and were pursuing a more structured career in the hospitality industry and aspired to professional status. However identifying what feelings are 'professional' seems quite problematic in an organisation with implicit rather than explicit emotion rules with little or no relevant training. This shows the value of 'guidelines' (Yanay and Shanar 1998:370) for individuals being socialised into an occupational or organisational culture.

Part-time and short-term employees reported a slightly different, more pragmatic approach to dealing with emotional demands at work. One part-time barmaid explained that:

> Things don't get to me any more. I think having Alison [her baby] put a lot of things into perspective. Things aren't as important as they used to be. It's very interesting, actually, just what I'd just let go these days.

Although she did go on to refute this later, and admit that some customers did still 'get to her' (this is discussed more in the next chapter, but the key here is that she had learnt that other things in her life were more important to her than getting visibly upset or angry with customers. She explained that this helped her take more personal control over her emotional reaction to situations). Another female part-timer, who was training to be a teacher, suggested that 'there's no point being confrontational' with customers – it makes too much trouble for staff. She continued that when she started working with people she took things:

> far too much to heart – you know, people shout at you, get really, you think "Oh god, it's my fault. I'm terrible." Now I just think "Right. I've heard it all before mate, [laughs]." It goes in one ear and out the other. I really just don't, I think it makes it easier if you just smile sweetly and then go into another room, and then call them everything under the sun, where they can't hear – or nobody can hear - and then get on with it really. At the moment I'm having to do that every day when I'm teaching, so, I mean I'd like to call kids a lot of things, but I can't, so it's the same sort of thing. You just treat them [customers] as if they are kids.

Perhaps it is no coincidence that both of these employees were female as well as being part-time. A number of male respondents admitted to losing control of their temper from time to time. Interestingly they reported a common cause of these tantrums to be empathy with a colleague – especially a female colleague – who was being treated unpleasantly by a customer.

10.5.1 Customers Involvement in the Learning and Control Process

Fuller and Smith (1996) discussed the increasingly important influence of customers on monitoring and controlling the performance of service staff. One relevant aspect of the pub-culture evident in the chain's units relates to tipping. Very few monetary tips were offered in the bar environment (although a small amount of tipping took place in the pubs' restaurants), with the main extrinsic reward offered by customers being when staff had drinks bought for them. This practice seems to reflect an idea of equality within the bar area, as it was seen as demeaning to offer money to bar staff. Bar staff perceived the number of drinks bought for them as reinforcing their service style and 'proving' their level of performance rather than financial payment. It apparently symbolised the level of acceptance by customers. Although alcoholic drinks could not usually be consumed within work hours, employees would normally consume such drinks after a shift, often joining customers on 'the other side of the bar.'

A number of different types of customer patronised the public houses studied, and there were a number of informal and formal types of punishments available to them ranging from complaining to head office to public humiliation of staff. During the fieldwork periods there were no incidents of formal complaints related to employees' emotion management, but numerous less formal customer reactions were observed. Regular, local customers seemed more likely to be involved in the informal socialisation process, often trying to mould new staff into 'their' environment, sometimes using bullying or sarcasm. There was some concern regarding less regular customers who might not overtly show dissatisfaction with the service received, perhaps instead complaining later to head office or friends, or simply not returning to the unit in the future. Staff often found it hard to interpret how happy an unknown

customer was, since this requires high levels of empathy. A male manager explained that:

> Every time you deal with a customer, you're looking for their facial reaction. If they're walking away thanking you for dealing with it [a problem] you can tell that they're still dissatisfied but that's as far as they're going to get with you. So you'll always be concerned about "Have I dealt with it properly?"

Controlling service staff emotions is thus seen as the product of external direction from other actors and personal controls arising from the internalisation of the service role.

10.6 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the processes by which employees learn the emotional skills necessary to work in the pub chain. Respondents reported a relatively informal organisational approach to training generally, and little structured input regarding customer service and emotional labour. Individual managers are given considerable autonomy in how they prepare staff for dealing with customers. All the units utilised an on-the-job system of training, often relying on employees to learn by observing colleagues and from their own mistakes. This system seemed to please most participants, many of whom criticised formal training programmes in customer care as inappropriate and of little value. The chapter builds on the previous discussion of emotion rules, with employees taking an active part in the socialisation of new colleagues through various bonding opportunities within the work environment, communicating and reinforcing informal and often implicit feeling and behaviour rules.

11 The Emotional Demands of Pub Work

11.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses research objectives three and four, 'to identify the emotional impacts of such emotion rules as perceived by service employees in public houses' and 'to explore how service staff react to and cope with the emotional demands of serving different types of pub customers'. In Chapter 3 a number of possible negative and positive impacts of emotional labour were highlighted. This chapter re-examines these in an attempt to understand the emotional impacts and coping mechanisms reported by the management and operative staff who participated in the study. The impacts are addressed in the next section (11.2) by highlighting a number of relevant emotional experiences reflected upon by interviewees, then considering these in relation to the impacts discussed in the literature.

Some of the approaches taken by participants when performing emotions at work are also outlined in section 11.3, 'Dealing with and Reacting to the Negative Emotional Aspects of the Job' especially those that appear to address the possible problems associated with such work and which could be considered coping techniques or strategies. The remainder of the chapter discusses participants' approaches to deep acting and analyses how they prepare themselves emotionally for the demands of the job.

11.2 Emotional Impacts as Perceived by Pub Staff

Not surprisingly, both negative and positive impacts of pub life were reported by participants. On occasion there does seem to be some contradiction about whether specific emotional attributes and effects of pub work are actually negative or positive. These will be discussed to determine the type of situational or personal perceptions that could explain any such discrepancies.

11.2.1 Pub Workers and Negative Emotional Experience

11.2.1.1 Complaints

Not surprisingly customer complaints were seen by participants as a major cause of job stress and were seen as being emotionally demanding for employees. One manageress explained that 'it is very threatening when someone complains. You do take it personally, unless you can turn it around.' During the fieldwork most of the units received some serious complaints that varied both in type and the staff or management response to them. Complaints perceived as being emotional in nature, coming from genuinely upset or angry customers, were generally recognised as justifiable by staff. Complaints perceived as calculated or mercenary, such as when customers appeared to seek financial discounts, were more of a cause for anger among staff. This was especially so when managers were seen to be 'giving-in' to unreasonable demands by granting such financial demands. However, this sort of situation was perceived as generally easy to deal with and anger was described as a relatively short term experience and generally linked to a single individual or small group. A barman explained:

> How I control those [angry] emotions is try as quickly as possible to get onto the next customer. And maybe a minute or two with that next customer, who's not aware of some other incident will tell me a funny little story, or say something nice, or be polite, or buy you a drink or whatever. That'll just lift you right out of it. You'll still be looking at that other customer, but it'll have been tempered, and just to keep out there working. If you do have a bad enough problem, you walk. Just walk. Calm down, get a drink, walk. And if you have to walk for the night, fair enough. If you have a big enough problem it's best to walk permanently. And that can be, that can happen, especially in so-called "community pubs".

The last comment about walking 'permanently' has implications for staff turnover, so high in the hospitality industry generally (see Wood 1997 for a comprehensive discussion of labour turnover in the hospitality industry generally).

Justifiable complaints, on the other hand, instilled a much more complex range of emotions in pub workers with customer contact. Firstly, the person dealing with a significant complaint has to deal with the emotional state of the customer. This requires the member of staff to avoid showing similar negative feelings as the complainer, and also try to turn the customer's emotions into more positive ones. A female manager described the process thus:

> I mean, obviously they need to get the emotions – as you're talking about emotions – they need to get the emotions out of them. So you need to encourage that flow of emotions.

The other key issues concerning complaints relate to the personal disappointment that a customer wasn't satisfied with the service provided by an employee and the desire to avoid involving head office in the situation. In all of the fieldwork units the latter was considered crucial by managers. One manager illustrated his attitude as follows:

> We make it as easy as possible for the customer to tell us what's wrong, rather than him going away thinking "The soup was just warm, it's not normally as cold as that." so that's what the customer care was about, to try and educate the staff – and managers, because even in our company, an area manager had 24 complaints last weekend. 18 of them were how the manager dealt with the complaints.

The emphasis was on ensuring that any problem was dealt with as soon as possible, with the intention of ensuring that customers were happy by the time they left the building. This manager's partner demonstrated a similar point of view when describing a customer care course she had completed before joining the company:

> So what the customer care training was about was trying to understand what the customer [feels] from when the customer leaves their house. They're not driving all the way to the Royal Oak to say "Let's go there for a meal and complain." They are actually coming here with the intentions of having a meal and having a good time. And it's only if something goes wrong, that then they start to feel that ""Wait a minute, this isn't right. Let's complain."

The assumption shown here is that almost all complaints come from individuals who have a real grievance and feel disappointed in some aspect of their experience and that very few people actually go out for a meal or drink with the express intention of complaining. It was considered very important for staff to recognise this and perceive the focus of their work as ensuring that nothing goes wrong. One of the managers explained his attitude when he thought that a complainer 'trying it on' or being unreasonable:

> I mean, if you can't satisfy them after about three or four attempts, then you're never going to satisfy them, and you have to stand up and say 'Look, we're not satisfying you. You know, we're trying, but obviously it's not good enough.' You're not going to change their opinion – if they wish to complain, they'll complain. That's it. And you weigh up the pros and cons, how much time and effort are you putting into this one customer? What effect is it having on the staff? What damage does it do for their morale? Everyone else is saying the food is nice and this one couple saying it's rubbish, you know

> 'Don't like this, don't like that.' Then you try and tell the chef who'll do it up again, and he gets frustrated because he thinks he's doing it right, er, they normally eat everything that we put on the plate, but they're still not satisfied.

He claimed to try to take a rational approach, being concerned about the impact that the situation could have on staff, recognising the stress that bar or restaurant staff (or even other customers) may be put through. Thus he advocated a pragmatic, non-confrontational approach to calming the situation and perhaps even asking the customer to leave if it seemed impossible to please the customer, possibly implying that some customers don't actually want to be satisfied.

11.2.1.2 Personal Relationships

Many of the less pleasant emotional effects of serving pub customers related to private life outside of work. A number of the participants who had spent a considerable time in pub and other catering work commented on the habit of discussing work matters away from the job. However, there was a common perception among interviewees that friends and partners without a pub or catering background would not understand the emotional demands of the job, and often react badly to excessive talking about work experiences. A young assistant manager explained: 'they don't want to hear it on, in their social time, so I suppose it [the job] could do [affect friendships and non-work relationships].'

Another side of this issue often brought up by participants related to working with partners. Many perceived a major strain that the emotional demands of pub work put on long term relationships. The same assistant manager explained that he had seen a number of couples experience marital difficulties when working together in pubs, suggesting that this forced them into each other's company more than many other couples. He also perceived a more direct emotional difficulty in the situation due to the demands of working closely with customers which he suggested makes it more difficult to keep their emotional life separate from the work environment. He asserted that this is likely to be exacerbated when marital strife is clearly visible to outsiders whether customers or colleagues.

A central issue here appears to be the difficulty with differentiating between work and private life, partly because so many pubs are managed and staffed by couples. This person suggested another twist of emotional labour with married

partners bringing work based emotion rules into non-work friction. The idea that not conforming to such rules could almost be used as ammunition when having difficulties with private relationships provides a slightly different view to the more direct impacts on personal life through work generated emotional exhaustion or burnout. The picture initially painted here seems bleak, with staff of all levels describing an element of alienation from non-pub workers, while also finding difficulties when living and working closely with partners. One female assistant manager explained:

> Living and working with Henry [her partner] – I haven't worked with him before – living with him in such a close, everything's really close, then if you have a bit of a problem, and then you come to work, then you have to turn those problems off.

One final, but important issue was raised by some of the participants (although not by those who had children) regarding children living in pubs. The pub environment was seen by these individuals as particularly damaging for youngsters. On outspoken assistant manager felt very strongly about the subject:

> With all the pub kids, who are just horrible, fucked up people, you know. They reach 20s and 25 and they're horrible obnoxious things. They've never worked in pubs, but they were brought up in the pub environment. They've never known other kids, they've never interacted with other kids, they're always interacting with adults. They become spoiled, pampered, you know. So it's very destructive, not only on yourself, but on the people around you.

It is perhaps interesting that the emotional aspects of such relationship and family issues were raised by respondents, as this highlights a potentially significant difference between pub work, especially for managers, and many other areas of service work. An extreme example of this is airline cabin crew where parents may often be separated from their families for up to four days at a time (Whitelegg 2003) providing such workers with rather different personal challenges. Thus some consideration of the practice of living on site in pubs seems appropriate here.

11.2.1.3 Living-in

The issue of working with partners discussed in the previous section suggests that the experience of working and living together can work two ways, with partners having the potential for work demands impinging on home life, and domestic problems on work. Although respondents often recognised that similar problems exist in other

types of work, actually living in the place of work was considered to make this situation more acute. An experienced male manager related the live-in nature of pub management to the visible, public nature of life as a publican by explaining that:

> Most live in people – especially managers – their whole life's on show all the time. The customers can tell the atmosphere between the manager and the manageress, whether they're having a good relationship or a bad relationship.

The need to live-in at work relates closely to the perceived difficulty of differentiating between work and personal selves, and the concept of work as leisure introduced earlier. Pub work itself seems to be especially linked to the practice of living-in and the public-private divide highlighted by Parkin (1993). This was made apparent to the fieldworker when working (and living-in) in a small country public house some years earlier. An elderly woman (in her nineties) visited the pub on occasional weekends and she explained during one of these visits that some years earlier she had been the landlady. She went on to describe how the building had changed and pointed out that the small restaurant had been her own living room, and that was where she would serve customers. At the time the room had no physical bar and was very much a part of her home. This experience was often brought to mind by study participants when they explained that they often feel as if they are serving customers in their own home. This was sometimes seen as emotionally draining and did seem to create a sense of increased pressure, especially amongst management. One female manager reflected on the difficulty of separating her private and public lives explaining:

> But there's always that underlying thread of professionalism where it is, you still need to be aware of situations, of how to deal with the customer, and just numerous things. So you're trying to get it, because I like to actually say "We view this business as an extension of our front room in a way," we look at this as if we did own it, so we want to get it right.

She touches on two particularly important issues here. She first considers a need to develop a sort of balance between being professional and personal with customers. Then she takes her idea a little further, claiming that although she and her partner are employed managers they treat the business as if it was their own. She goes on to explain how 'we went and got nick-nacks and I took things even from my own home to enhance the place. Just breathe life into the place'. This particular couple had the added challenge of living on the premises with a young family – the only couple that participated in this study to have children living with them at the time. Of all the five

management teams these were the only ones who would usually complain when employees having difficulties would call through to their flat for help.

It was suggested by a number of other participants that this sort of feeling among live-in staff experienced greater problems of separating the work self from the personal self. A male assistant manager, who had been hired as part of a couple, explained 'quite often my personal problems are also my work problems, because I live on the site, and also work with my partner on a very close knit basis'. Full time live-out employees were seen to have a distinct advantage in being able to get away from the work environment after each shift. Part-time staff were seen as having an even greater advantage, and as suggested previously, these often saw work as offering a type of leisure as well as an extra income. Full-time staff were less likely to consider their work as a form of leisure in itself, but often spent their leisure or non-work time in the work environment, either in their own pub or that of a competitor. This apparent part-time/full-time dichotomy does present an analytical challenge given the literature on leisure. For example, Parker's (1982) taxonomy of work/leisure relationships does not fully allow for this type of link. The closest example would be the concept of leisure as an extension of work which has been defined as 'where a relatively high degree of autonomy and intrinsic satisfaction is experienced in work' (Watson 1995:165) leading to a blurring of work and leisure, as applied more often to part-time, live-out staff.

There was also a recognition that management could exercise greater control over employees living on site, at least in part because of a less obvious separation between work and non-work, or the public and private divide. Staff accommodation was commonly made up of single or double rooms, often converted guest rooms, although managers usually occupied adjoining flats or cottages. The single rooms afforded few facilities, with occupants cooking, eating and often spending leisure time in the public[13] areas of the workplace itself. Perhaps the most obvious relevance of this type situation to the emotional demands of pub work relates to Hochschild's (1983:187) discussion of the 'stances that workers seem to take toward work'. In the first of these she suggests that a worker may identify too fully with their work, and is risking burnout. This would certainly seem to apply particularly clearly to the pub

[13] The term public includes areas open to customers and areas only accessible to staff. The latter is still seen as public as it affords little or no opportunity for privacy from colleagues.

situation where some of the respondents almost seem to be in danger of confusing their work-life with private-life.

Relatively little research has been conducted in the area of living in at work, and when it is discussed in the literature it is normally mentioned as a side issue (e.g. Shamir 1981) or as an example of the poor conditions that hospitality workers often have to endure (e.g. Goldsmith et al 1997; Wood 1997). However, there is a growing body of work concerned with working from home which could offer some insights to be pursued here. For example, Baines and Gelder (2003) discuss the growing trend towards tele-working which enables people to take their work at home. Although such research may seem dissimilar to this study, there are some striking areas of relevance, especially concerning physical boundaries. Baines and Gelder (2003:228) refer to how 'work related machines impinge on household space in ways that seemed unreasonable to other household members.' In the Coaching Inn pubs this was mirrored by workers trying to make their temporary accommodation more like home than just another hotel room often with pictures on walls and personal bedding, although bedding was always provided and cleaned by the company.

> Another paper considers the demands of e-working from home thus
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> In a further study of home-based teleworkers in New Zealand, it was found that the intrusion of work into home space ... often prompted forms of extreme behaviour by teleworkers, including banishing their children into areas of the house where they could not be heard by business callers ... It raises boundary management issues which confront eWorkers, between working and domestic life. The reconciliation between working times or places and children's needs appear to be uppermost in the lives of most eWorkers. Indeed, some forms of eWorking (such as on-call and shift-working) are less likely to be adopted where this is the prime consideration of the eWorker, because they are particularly disruptive of family life. (Webster 2003:49-50).

A number of the issues alluded to here call to mind experiences of living in public houses, especially the hotel like units researched here. Referring to the management couple mentioned earlier who lived with her children on-site, in all the time the fieldwork was taking place the youngsters were never seen by the fieldworker in the pub's public places. This is despite the assertion that these areas are like part of their own front room. The boundaries between work and domesticity were particularly problematic in the hotel environment with guests also living on-site, and potentially requiring staff to be available around the clock. The researcher noticed this particularly in the last period of fieldwork when required to provide such cover during

a management holiday. For some days even 'off duty' all telephone calls were routed to his room preventing any rest from guest demands and making it impossible to switch off fully from the job's emotional demands. This was one of the more stressful times, not so much due to responsibility for the unit's smooth running, but because even the illusion of private space and time was shattered by potentially constant intrusion of the public sphere. Even the final part of the quotation seems relevant to this discussion, as only one of the many couples employed in the participating units had young children living at home, and when families were discussed most suggested the pub environment was inappropriate for bringing up children.

The words of an experienced part-time barmaid with a young child who was living-out for the first time since starting to work in hospitality concludes this discussion of living-in rather well. She explained that she felt her situation was preferable to her earlier experiences of full-time, live-in catering work as she still experienced the social aspect of the work without the preoccupation with the job she had found before. 'I'm just me, and it's just a job, and I go home every night – which is nice.' A number of the unit managers also expressed a desire to live away from work in order to escape the workplace, but saw their role as requiring them to reside in their units. However, despite the problems associated with living-in, participants who no longer did so (like the part-time barmaid above) would often reminisce about the sense of fun and camaraderie that they used to experience.

11.2.1.4 Feeling 'Phony'

There were numerous examples of participants reporting times when they exhibited false emotions to customers, but there were few occasions when this was seen as particularly damaging. A more common reaction was that acting was often a necessary part of the job, but that it could be fun. For example, an experienced part-time barmaid explained that:

> Yes, there is quite a lot of acting involved, but I think there's not as much as you might think, because of the nature of the job – you have to enjoy it – so I think a lot of it is just natural. I've probably done it [acting] millions of times with every single complaint I've ever dealt with, I would imagine. I might come away from it and laugh about how false I was. But I'd never feel bad about it.

Another male participant explained that he recognised that he seemed like a very different person when at work: 'I mean, in some ways I am very much a Jekyll and Hyde ... and you know, the guy you see out in the bar or the kitchen is totally different from my private life.' However, this never made him feel phony or false; rather he explained that he changed when at work. He, like a number of others, saw changing into specific work clothes as a key catalyst in this changing process and saw it as neither negative nor positive. It was simply another result of working in an environment that he loved.

One part-time barman showed a different perspective, pointing out that phoniness:

> hurts more than anything, having to be false to anyone, you sit there and you think "Well why do I have to be false? Why can't I say what I really want to say?" but you can't, because it would affect... it would have repercussions afterwards. There and then it might not do anything at all, but after, like a couple of days later, you could have a letter come in saying that "Oh, your member of staff was a complete idiot, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah." And the manager would come in "Oh. What's all this? You're sacked. Bye."

This demonstrates a pragmatic, even rational view of the need to control emotional display, with an employee's job at risk if emotional labour is not performed well. A number of other participants agreed that there were times when they felt false at work, although these were often based on the type of work they were actually doing (with waiting tables in the restaurant at the top of the list and bar work being the least problematic).

Perhaps the lack of negativity associated with phoniness could be linked to the perceived level of autonomy. Hochschild (1983:119) seems to identify the worker as primarily being forced to 'give up control over *how* the work is done [emphasis original] with 'the "mind" of the work process' being shifted from workers to managers. Certainly the study participants did not admit to feeling that the organisation was taking excessive control over their emotions. Indeed they often pointed out that such control or emotional labour was their professional responsibility.

11.2.1.5 Commoditisation of Emotions

All the respondents recognised that their feelings were commoditised to some extent, although there were different ways of looking at this. The preceding discussion

suggests that the extent to which 'faking' and controlling emotions was perceived as integral part of their paid work varied from individual to individual. Some participants saw their job persona as totally different from their private self, while most valued being themselves for customers with relatively little emotional 'acting'. Even the more forceful members of this last category admitted to the need to manage the more extreme and inappropriate of feelings about customers or colleagues.

Despite this acknowledgement of the idea of emotions for sale, there was little evidence of staff considering such commoditisation as necessarily negative, despite the apparent focus of much of the literature as demonstrated in Chapter 3. Controlling emotions was seen as a necessary, but not usually onerous part of the job, and almost everyone questioned asserted that the negative experiences they could describe were relatively rare. There was a feeling that the job of serving people would always involve an element of acting, and that it is futile to see this as a negative attribute of service work. A female manager explained:

> I don't feel false or phony because it's, it's part of the job. If it wasn't part of the job, and I wasn't being true to what I was supposed to be doing, yes I would. But, it's human nature for Christ's sake, and there's not one person alive who feels 24 hours a day sort of bright, chirpy, happy and this, that and the other and go get them. It's basically a job that I get paid to do and you have to do it. And that's, like I said, if I didn't do that I wouldn't be here, I wouldn't be good at my job, I wouldn't be doing my job, I feel. I've heard the horror stories, you know, someone coming up saying "This glass of wine's not very good," and a manager said "Wheu. I don't care. Stuff you." You know, and it's like, "Christ." because they're not masking [their feelings], they're not showing professionalism, they're not taking on the role of what they are basically there for.

11.2.1.6 Stress, Emotional Exhaustion and Burnout

As already suggested, there was a general acceptance that working in a pub is a stressful and emotionally demanding occupation in a number of ways. The need to exert an element of social control (of customers) could be stressful for bar staff. Throughout the fieldwork there were few particularly difficult situations for the researcher to cope with alone, but one such situation was particularly emotionally challenging. A new local customer (Ian) had been upsetting members of staff and some customers, so the unit manager instructed everyone to refuse to serve him after closing time under any circumstances. The manager chose not to ban him as he was seen as annoying rather than abusive at this time. The closing time restriction was also

following licensing law. Although, as a hotel, residents were legally allowed alcohol service after closing time, there was normally some flexibility in serving non-resident locals as well. A few days earlier Ian had become so drunk that he had stayed overnight in one of the guest rooms, so he was also used to being served after hours drinks legally.

One this occasion Ian was drinking with Steve, a hotel resident. The fieldworker, as the only employee in the bar with Ian, Steve and a few other residents, duly refused to prepare a drink for Ian, the problematic local, that resulted in both becoming rather abusive. It was very hard to stay calm with two intimidating men shouting and menacing the fieldworker, especially with no immediate support from colleagues. The result was that Ian developed a grudge against the fieldworker which culminated in him making a number of threats within earshot of other customers and colleagues the next evening. The result was that the manager had to ban Ian from the premises. Some notes from the diary outline the fieldworker's thoughts on the situation:

> One interesting idea about Ian's case comes from delegation of 'policy' by management to front line staff. On two occasions James [manager] told me to say the hotel was full to Ian, to keep him out. He complained constantly about the room before, and obviously James didn't like him, although I'd been off when he stayed for the first night. I was also told not to serve him after closing at all – putting me in the difficult position of keeping other customers happy while not serving him – hence the Steve incident. On that occasion I was the only member of staff in the building at the time. This resulted in me being the major target for all the hassle. They both blamed me personally (on the first occasion he more or less said he'd ignore me, as did Steve, because "James is the manager not you!" This was particularly ironic as I was following James' orders, but they thought it was my decision not to serve him!

This example demonstrates the stressful situations with unpredictable circumstances in a public house environment when control of the situation often relies on staff remaining calm in the face of considerable provocation.

Aspects of role stress when separating work from personal life were given particular importance by respondents. As shown earlier, like the guides in Martin et al's (2000:129) study, many of the live-in staff emphasised the hours of work as problematic, rather than emotional labour itself. This is supported by Deery et al's (2002:478) and others' suggestion that 'high workload is perhaps the most consistent predictor of emotional exhaustion'. The 24 hour day experience of living at work (rather than having to work unsociable hours) was seen as one of the biggest sources

of stress. Other stressful areas of pub work considered include dealing with unpleasant customers and complaints. Participants seemed to accept the stress as an inevitable job attribute, but were less likely to admit to letting it affect themselves as describing colleagues who were obviously stressed by the job. This unwillingness to see stress as a personal problem indicates the importance placed on being able to manage stress levels at work, perceiving it as a key occupational competence.

The concept of emotional exhaustion was less evident during the study. Wharton (1993:220-221) found that such exhaustion was less evident in employees with a higher level of autonomy at work, and one clear trend from this study is that pub workers demonstrate considerable pride in the self-management of emotions. References to exhaustion from participants invariably related to physical exhaustion after long, busy shifts. However some individuals did occasionally exhibit symptoms of emotional problems at work. Perhaps the most striking evidence was outbursts of tears (especially from female employees) and anger (such as the incident between fieldworker and chef described earlier). However, most of these appeared to stem from particular encounters or situations, such as a particularly demanding shift) rather than a gradual build up. None of the participants admitted to 'inability to feel emotion' (Wharton 1993:209), although there were occasions when they admitted to being insincere in emotional display.

Earlier in this thesis it was suggested that employee burnout can be seen as another possible result of emotional labour. Hochschild (1983:187) suggested that an employees who 'identifies too wholeheartedly with the job' risks burnout, while those who 'distinguish' themselves from their work role is less at risk. This hypothesis is particularly relevant to this study given the findings already introduced about the nature of catering jobs, and pub work in particular. Shifts in the pubs that participated in the study could often be as long, personal and intensive as the flight attendants described by Hochschild (1983), with the added burden of often actually living on the work premises.

The findings outlined in the earlier in this chapter do not specifically refer to employee burnout, but some of possible symptoms are certainly implied in places. A number of the live-in participants recognised the possible problems of becoming too obsessed with their work role and unable to 'depersonalize and detach oneself' (Wharton 1999:163) from the job. One assistant manager in particular explained that 'Every now and then you do have to close off and not talk work, which I know I find

personally quite difficult, and everyone has always told me so'. This individual, like a number of other participants, would drink a rather large quantity of alcohol[14] outside of work hours, and explained this, at least in part, as a means of relaxing and coping with stressful situations[15]. However, much of the alcohol was taken in the public bar after a shift with either customers and/or staff, depending on the shift worked. He and other colleagues would therefore retain some of the stressful and emotional work role while 'relaxing', complete with the potential emotional disinhibition and physical harm of the alcohol consumed to facilitate such relaxation.

The individual employee's position within the pub and apparent orientation to the job affected the perception of burnout, and Meyerson's (2000) study of burnout in social work is helpful in analysing participants' differing views of emotions. A number of the experienced, full-time employees could describe individuals who they had known in the process of 'burning out' in the hospitality industry, although most such anecdotes referred to other sectors, such as larger hotels and restaurants. They often expressed a feeling that pubs were less likely to burn out individuals emotionally given the more relaxed working conditions, and generally indicated that they had similar attitudes towards burnout as Meyerson's (2000) first group of social workers who saw such burnout as evidence of professional incompetence. However, some did refer to other risks, such as a tendency to eat too much rich pub food (especially steaks and fried food) and drink too much resulting in a more physical burnout induced by major health problems while still relatively young. As shown above, most of the participants did drink a considerable amount of alcohol some managers even did so while working, although most would wait until the end of a shift. One management couple explained that they were investing in the property market as they planned to retire as early as possible in an attempt to avoid the physical burnout the associated with catering, and pubs in particular.

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[14] The number of units consumed would commonly exceed the 8 units daily which is defined by the Scottish Executive Health Department (2001) as binge drinking and the 50 units for men and 35 units for women weekly defined by Hutchings et al (2003) as 'harmful drinking'

[15] The fieldworker himself would regularly drink more alcohol when engaged in fieldwork than when away from the field.

11.2.2 Positive Emotional Aspects of Working in Pubs

One interesting discovery relating to the data is that when discussing the negative aspects of the job most had little difficulty thinking of some specific examples to illustrate their feelings, but many had more of a problem calling to mind particular positive experiences. This section includes reference to a few such positive experiences reported in interviews and field notes in relation to the more pleasant and rewarding emotional aspects or perceived effects of working in the Coaching Inn Company.

A few more positive 'impacts' of performing emotions at work were briefly suggested earlier in the thesis. However, there appeared to be little empirical evidence for these in the literature, and there appeared to be a hint of cliché about the ideas – such as Riley et al's (1998:166) claim that pub employees prize 'the chance to interact with other people' so highly that it makes up for poor working conditions and low pay. This questionable assertion seems to imply that such jobs are lowly paid because potential employees value working 'with people' so much. The practice of only offering relatively low pay is also relevant to the status issue considered elsewhere, especially when considering the issue of tips. Unlike restaurants there was little expectation from participants of high levels of tips from customers unless an individual worked in one of the pub restaurants. But that has already been shown as unpopular, especially amongst barmen. It was acceptable, indeed a sign of success in keeping customers happy and being a part of the group to have drinks purchased but financial tipping was almost seen as a sign of servitude perhaps because 'tipping institutionalizes the status differences between service providers and customers and enhances the customer's status' (Hall 1993:456).

A number of the reasons given by participants for working in pubs are relevant to the question of emotional labour's positive effects. For example, as discussed earlier, some of the bar-staff saw their position as being of high status relative to similar low paid service jobs. There was recognition that some customers – especially less regular drinkers and diners – did see pub staff as 'below them'. For example, a young barmaid perceived that a number of 'businessmen think they are one above you, sort of thing, or a few above you, and they just talk to you as if you have not got a brain cell'. Receiving the respect of many or most regular customers is very different to the perception of other such service positions such as waitressing (e.g.

Paules 1996; Seymour 2000). This differentiation between serving at the bar and in the restaurant was continually stressed by many participants although the internal organisational status differences were not as clear as in Spradley and Mann's (1975) cocktail bar. Gender differentiation was not so rigid either, with some unit managers apparently preferring female waiting staff, some male, and some with no noticeable preference. This is despite the fact, as explained earlier, that when waiting staff were specifically employed they tended to be female. Managers who expressed a preference for male restaurant staff tended to appoint more flexibly. For example, one unit only employed general staff who worked in all areas of the unit including rooms, bar and restaurant.

Another common popular aspect of pub work relates directly to Riley et al's (1998) suggestion regarding interaction. At one extreme this was not necessarily seen as particularly positive, with one experienced assistant manager claiming that 'people do become addicted to other people', seeing too much involvement in pub conversations with customers as potentially being a waste of time. However, most of the participants claimed to love the social part of pub work, with many even considering work as an important part of their own social life, as discussed earlier, often referring to it as providing a 'buzz' (although this term was also used to describe the exhilaration of being busy as shown below). One part-time barmaid who had been away from catering for some years before returning to pub work explained:

> I missed the general public because they're just so different, so varied. And that's what I like about working in a pub. Even if it's working in a shop – you know it's the same sort of thing. It's just dealing with people, because they're so funny.

This pleasure of working with people does seem to link quite closely to Tolich's (1993) analysis of possessive relationships between checkout operators and customers (with staff commonly referring to my customer), stressing the social aspect of their work. It was common for workers in all the pubs to refer to their pleasure at busy times when experiencing another type of 'buzz', while acknowledging that such times are also stressful. As shown in chapter three Faulkener and Patiar (1997:99) saw such stress as potentially beneficial to the organisation by 'increasing alertness in staff and mobilising their adaptive capabilities', but it is also fair to say that study participants perceived the nature of this type of stress as pleasurable as well. This was also

reflected in the field notes on numerous occasions. For example, the following was written after a rather busy evening

> For some reason I was on a real high all evening – something I hadn't experienced here yet (although I'm usually happy enough) perhaps because I got a real buzz from being busily active. It was quite demanding to keep up at times, with a number of demands at the same time. You don't get much chance to chat with anyone, but most of the customers acknowledge that you've got other demands on your time. Even so there are opportunities to pass a few comments with some of the customers, locals or residents, and the atmosphere is more fun and energetic. I do enjoy the occasional quiet talk with a small group of drinkers or diners, but there is less feeling of doing something, it's more like 'professional socialising'. When you're busy with colleagues running around like headless chickens it always seems more fun, like a party.

This was written early in the second period of fieldwork, and the weekly reflections returned to the issue, considering why this sort of experience is pleasurable:

> Rereading about Wednesday's "buzz" made me think a bit. It reminds me of the pleasure and satisfaction of holding a dinner party for friends. I'd insist on doing all the cooking and it'd all have to be "just so". This'd mean that I'd generally miss out on lots of the conversation, running about cooking, but I'd still be able to snatch some chat along the way, joining in for a couple of minutes, dashing off and then catching up later on. The technical side is good – getting everything organised; the social side is good – catching up with friends; the sense of achievement is good – making my friends happy. In a sense what happened on Wednesday was a temporary intensification of or "speeding-up" of service work with elements of emotion work – the idea that quantitatively intensifying professional socialising requires a different type of emotion management or emotional labour to the more common pub relationship. It can be great in small doses, but I wouldn't want to keep that level of effort up for too long!

Work satisfaction is often more apparent at such times, despite the impracticality of offering levels of service and attention to individual customers that were also referred to in interviews as being important sources of what Tolich (1993:368) would probably call 'stressful satisfaction'. This does seem somewhat at odds with a considerable portion of the literature that sees the quantity of emotion management or emotional labour as more stressful and likely to result in more chance of emotional exhaustion. Perhaps this is because such busy periods were not excessive and staff would be unlikely to be constantly 'buzzing'. Morris and Feldman (1996) did point out that interactive work that was especially 'emotionally intense and of longer duration' are more likely to have adverse effects, while in the pub environment emotional intensity was often less possible when very busy. Even if a single customer was being difficult

or unpleasant it was generally easier to move on to the next person making it easier to depersonalise the situation. Problems were much more likely to occur when a customer was abusive in a quiet part of the shift.

Another similar aspect to the service encounter is the professional satisfaction of ensuring that customers are happy and satisfied. This included both being able to provide good quality and appropriate service and, on occasion, being able to remedy situations where customers were rightfully disappointed with their experience. A young assistant manager described the feeling after keeping a group of customers happy in the bar one evening:

> You felt like you were really important, and like you was [sic] actually doing something to make the guest feel important and enjoy themselves, and when they came at the end of the night and said "Thank you. You've made the night really special." It really makes you feel good in yourself.

This sort of professional satisfaction was most noticeable if a dissatisfied customer could be made happy. On one occasion the fieldworker observed a manager sitting with a couple who were very angry with some aspects of the service they received when staying overnight. She talked with them for almost two hours and when they did eventually leave they were smiling and even sent the manager a large bouquet of flowers the next day. Her own analysis of the situation was interesting as she felt professional satisfaction, but this was mixed with personal feelings. Later on the fieldworker asked her about the experience during an interview. She explained:

> That sort of thing is terrific. It's great. It really gives you an incentive to go on, and when you've got a problem and you deal with the problem, I've done something to make their day better. And that is good. Having an effect on someone's life, having such an effect that it is obvious, is nice. It's the same as when someone leaves in the morning. I love it on check-out when they leave and they talk to you as if they're leaving your house.

She was taking a personal and professional interest in her job, but rather than seeing this as a negative blurring of the divide between work and private life she was celebrating the fact that her job gave her the opportunity to help people feel good. Similar ideas were echoed from a large number of the other participants who would often use the term professional when describing their behaviour and explaining their feelings. This was especially evident when discussing staff behaviour towards customers and suggests considerable internalisation of rules relating to a sort of duty

of care towards the emotional wellbeing of their customers and satisfaction with keeping to them.

As discussed previously, it was often possible to categorise pub workers as careerists or temporary workers such as students and travellers. A number of the younger student interviewees suggested that their work experience played an important part in their personal and professional development away from catering. They often pointed out that the emotional and social skills required of pub work helped them grow in confidence with interactions far beyond the workplace. An example linking emotional labour with personal development was highlighted by a part-time barmaid. When asked if working in bars had changed her she explained:

> Yes. [I am now] A hell of a lot more confident. But then I don't think it's just doing this job, I think other things that I've done – you, me and everything else, has brought me out to that sort of person, and now I'm more capable of doing it. I don't think I could have done it five years ago, I just wasn't the sort of person – I would have been far too sheepish. Definitely.

A male student working as a barman for the first time in the summer holiday echoed this sentiment, claiming that before the job 'I was a shy person. But working behind the bar, I have to talk to people. I have to be nice.' He went on to say that the positive emotions he was expected to show also helped, 'smiling helps all the time. I mean, smiling is meant to lighten the mood, isn't it? Everyone smiles [laughs].' Although an apparently light-hearted comment, this suggests that even if a smile starts off as 'part of the job' rather than showing an actual feeling, it can actually change his mood – surface acting directly resulting in mood change, or an almost inadvertent form of deep acting. Thus practicing emotional labour in such a situation could be seen as providing considerable benefit for younger, less experienced individual. Some time after this interview the same barman gave a further example of what he perceived to be his self development after asking a female colleague to join him on a date. He explained to the fieldworker that this was the first time he had ever had sufficient self confidence to 'ask a woman out', again attributing his experience in the pub as the source of his courage.

It seems, then, that the personal and emotional advantages of working behind a pub bar were seen from a number of perspectives. One school of thought common to a number of colleagues was that it was one of the few hospitality jobs that gave them an opportunity to be truly 'genuine' to the customer. The idea that bar staff are expected

to be themselves and not put on a false front was seen as very attractive, especially by the more experienced workers. On the other hand, a number of the newer recruits – especially those who did not perceive a long career in the business (such as students) – saw it as an opportunity to try out a new persona, as demonstrated by the two examples above. Taken one step further, it could be seen as a useful arena for younger staff to develop their social and emotional skills, as indicated by the trainee teacher quoted earlier. She saw her emotional learning from her work in catering in general, and pubs in particular, as helping to develop a relaxed and confident world-view which equipped her well for her chosen career with young children, rather than seeing it as alienating her private self.

11.3 Dealing with and Reacting to the Emotional Demands of the Job

A number of approaches to coping with emotional demands were identified during the study, most of which appear in the literature in some form. Hochschild's (1983:132) term 'identity confusion' and the need to 'depersonalize situations' was of particular importance to colleagues. Again interviewees often had difficulty clearly explaining how they actually did this, but they would discuss general changes in their attitude towards problematic situations. One approach was discussed by a female manager who claimed to erect a conceptual barrier between herself and people she worked with and for. She, as did some others, focused on the idea of professionalism as providing a 'rational' model for her behaviour, explaining that:

> You still have that invisible line, you know, where you can sit down and have a drink at the end of an evening, and a chat and a joke, but it's still, you keep that professionalism. And by that I mean, I don't go out, outside of here, with the customers – staff as well. Um, we keep that invisible line, and that – to me – is a step over from being professional about your job. There's nothing wrong with sitting down having a drink with customers and staff, but you don't actually overstep that boundary by actually socialising, going out, because it tends to create, you know, too much of a relaxed attitude.

Another attitude exhibited by participants showed a slightly more 'emotional' approach. As discussed earlier, a number of experienced bar-staff stressed the importance of showing their 'true' personalities to customers, relying on personal emotional skills, or emotional intelligence, to carry out their job well. Such individuals saw it as important to be able to feel certain emotions less strongly than others, almost shrugging them off. One barmaid explained how when she first started

working in restaurants she had taken complaints and insults from customers too personally, but had gradually learnt to 'ignore it. [Now] It goes in one ear and out the other'. It was particularly striking that one female manager who seemed exceptionally stressed during one period of fieldwork explained 'I take it personally if guests are not happy – I see it as my responsibility.' This could be seen as an understandable, even praiseworthy approach to service work and was exhibited to some extent in almost all colleagues, however, most agreed that it could be taken too far, and some level of depersonalisation was necessary. Certainly this particular manager was often criticised by some of her employees (although not to her face) as taking things too personally, getting very 'stressed out' and making their lives more difficult.

The problem of live-in staff being too close to their work all day, every day was also a target for coping techniques. A number of interview responses related to an attempt by individuals to distance themselves from the job to avoid stress and burnout. There was evidence of colleagues making considerable effort to physically get away from the vicinity of the pub on days off, no matter how appealing a long lie-in appeared to tired workers. Even some live-out, full-time staff reported the need to emotionally distance themselves from work after a shift. One manager explained that in his previous job he had been able to 'calm down' during the drive home, so that he could get his work feelings out of his system before returning home. This manager seemed to find the transition back to living-in to be rather difficult and often disappeared for many hours in his car.

Although colleagues recognised the importance of showing sincere emotions to customers most of the time, many admitted to deliberately showing obviously false emotions on occasion. When dealing with particularly unpleasant customers or situations they saw it as a useful and acceptable strategy to make it clear that the polite words and 'wooden smile' used did not reflect their true feelings. A barman recommended: 'Give them a smile that is a very false smile. Like, give them the answer [negative emotion] with your eyes while you're still smiling.' Such an approach could be seen as a sort of 'exaggerated surface acting' or 'veiled-authenticity'[16]. It was not only seen as a useful way of making a worker's true feelings felt without presenting a tangible opportunity for complaint (the same

[16] The former suggests that the surface acting is not meant to be seen as showing a genuine emotion to observers (colleagues or customers), hence the focus on exaggeration; the latter sees the genuineness or authenticity of a negative emotion being lightly obscured by an intentionally semi-transparent veil of emotional expression

barman could comfortably explain: 'I didn't do or say anything wrong') but also helped staff feel self-satisfied and superior for not coming down to the customer's level of abuse. Thus, it could be seen as a means of maintaining an element of emotional control over a situation that is otherwise likely to seem particularly biased to the advantage of the customer.

Such reactions to customers do seem to show a sense of conflict or competition with customers (although this was normally associated with difficult individuals, not all customers). As Janine, a female manager explained:

> You can be so sickly sweet they can see through that. Sarcasm is big from me, as a West Midlands girl. It is a bit like winning a victory – the nicer you are to them, the worse [more frustrated] they get.

Such display of obviously false emotions to customers seems to be a commonly used strategy by workers dealing with obnoxious customers, offering a sense of satisfaction and gaining the upper hand in difficult interactions. This approach to emotional labour does not seem to have been discussed in the literature and it is relatively hard to categorise in the emotional dissonance/harmony divide (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987). It could be seen as taking Hochschild's (1983:126) view of emotional resistance to management's requirement for empathy and deep acting from workers a little further. Such 'resistance' may, like the waitresses avoiding eye contact, represent a conscious decision to resist or a less conscious reaction to a work situation in an attempt to make work easier to cope with. On the other hand, actively exaggerating the effort of surface acting is very much a conscious effort to communicate displeasure to customers without actually breaking basic display rules.

This was used as a way of dealing with particularly unpleasant situations. The member of staff is not only showing a false emotion, but doing so openly with the intention of letting the customer know. The colleagues who described doing this all discussed the pride they felt in usually showing genuine positive feelings with most work encounters and didn't like 'faking' excessively, but saw this strategy as very useful in protecting themselves and avoiding showing (or feeling) anger without losing face. Such personal scripting seems to fulfil a similar role (although in a slightly different manner) as more formal, company imposed scripts, 'offering psychic protection from the demeaning aspects of the job' (Seymour 2000:8-9).

11.3.1 Gender based reactions

One of the advantages of the fieldworker's participatory role was being able to follow up a particular experience with different individuals, gaining various perspectives and ways of dealing with a situation. One such example seemed to identify an element of gender influence. The following descriptions of the same situation were given by two individuals, the first a part-time barmaid, the second by a male, part-time assistant manager after a drunken customer was being abusive to the barmaid one evening:

> If you knew him [the customer] – like maybe how I do now – then I wouldn't, I wouldn't have a problem … I thought "How rude. Don't talk to me like that." But as it went on and on, over, [I thought] "This one is just pissed," and let it go. Just let it go. I just thought "I'm not going to allow you to wind me up." You know, because I'd only been here about a week, a week and a half and I just thought, "You know, you're probably a regular, I'm going to have to deal with you." And thought, "Just get on with it." And he, he's a lot nicer to me now, and I think – talking to Paul [male assistant manager] about it, and her, er – not so much bad, I think it was just because I was a girl, I don't know.

> It wasn't actually me that the customer was actually getting at, it was June [part-time barmaid], and it was Henry [regular customer]. And he came in drunk and he didn't want anything to do with June. Didn't want her to serve him, er, if he wanted change for the phone he didn't go to her, he came to me and I was off duty – he said "Oh, Paul can you get me this, that." and I don't mind doing it but I thought, "Well, why won't you speak to June?" And when you ask him about that he says "Oh, she's a woman. She doesn't like me anyway." Now, I've not come across June in that way in the time that I've known her, and it did like, I was thinking "Well, no." And then when like he goes and talks to someone at the bar, like Dave, and then starts calling the person behind the bar. That riles me a little bit. And then when they ask you a question you're very sharp with them, and then they stand back and think "Well," and then you go away and think "Ah, I shouldn't be like that. It's not the professional thing to do."

It is possibly significant that the barmaid, after initially feeling reactively angry seems to be almost making excuses for the customer's bad behaviour – 'this one is just pissed', 'if you knew him', 'he's a lot nicer to me now'. By doing this she does what the Delta trainees are told to do when instructed to 'adopt the passenger's point of view' (Hochschild 1983:105). On the other hand, Paul's post-event rationalisation of the experience was that it was unprofessional to feel as angry as he did – nothing to do with the customer himself at this stage. This could be indicative of the sort of management attitude towards gendered emotional labour highlighted by Taylor and Tyler (2000) when they discuss the idea that recruiters see women as more naturally

qualified to empathise with and care for customers than men. The idea being that professionalism is something to be trained, while empathy is an expected attribute of women more generally. Certainly June did not put her internal response down to any formal training, but suggested that she had learnt how to deal with that sort of situation after years of experience. The examples in Appendix 7 also demonstrate apparently gender based expressions of anger in line with Timmers et al's (1998:974) ideas, with the barman 'looking like thunder' while the barmaid expressed her anger through tears. These examples again show the reflections of two interviewees, while including an extract from the field diary as well.

It was interesting and rewarding to discuss such matters with female staff relatively deeply, encouraging them to reflect on their experiences and analyse their own feelings. This often uncovered a measure of ambivalence towards gender stereotyping and emotion management, where they showed a sort of unwilling acceptance of their lot, but only after probing discussion. For example, June, the same part-time barmaid, who had worked in hotels for a number of years previously, tried to explain her feelings about another incident from earlier in her career when working as a front-office manager in a larger hotel. She refers to a time that a male customer had assumed her to be junior to a subordinate male employee thus:

> It did [irritate me when a customer assumed a male member of staff was senior to me, although the opposite was true]. I don't care any more, but I did... Because you, you know, because there's two of us [members of staff] standing here, there's me and a barman or a porter or something - not that they don't do a very good job, don't get me wrong - and then, I'll ask him [customer] a question and they're talking back to the bloke. You just, it's like "Hello. You know, I'm here. I'm the person who's dealing with this problem, not him." And it's very, very annoying and I'm sure there have been times when I've said - politely – "Um, deal with me, not with him." Or something. I don't know. Well, maybe it does [make me angry], because I still, it's still in my mind, and maybe it does bother me now.

Older females were often described as more adept in dealing with unpleasant customers by male colleagues, being less likely to take sexual banter (or harassment), seriously than barmen overhearing it. This is interestingly at odds with the stereotyped ideas evident in the more dated literature, such as Philips (1946) who warned the then predominantly male pub managers of the difficulties of dealing with jealous and over emotional female staff. However, when probing female interviewees about their feelings, the first idea of mild amusement or 'fun' was often shown to be covering more ambivalent feelings about their position. June had started by confidently

explaining that she didn't take 'banter' and sexual stereotyping seriously, but as the interview developed she soon started to show a slightly different view. 'Well, maybe it does [make me angry], because I still, it's still in my mind, and maybe it does bother me now'.

This demonstrates how the in-depth interviews often helped uncover deeper feelings that were often covered up by an idea that female bar-staff felt that they should not allow themselves to be upset by such harassment. The idea being that they should expect such treatment as 'part of the job' seemed to be very high in their minds and that they should at least accept it in good humour and perhaps even enjoy it. It could be argued that this represents a variant of the deep acting introduced by Hochschild (1983), whereby women who work in service roles act to themselves in an attempt to cover up their real emotional reactions to unpleasant customers to the extent that the false feeling becomes the real one, at least until they engage in deeper reflection than they would usually. This attitude would be encouraged by the cultural 'litmus test for femininity' (Geraghty 1991: 40) of situations portrayed in UK soap operas, with barmaids apparently conforming to the stereotype of the brash flirt, and being criticised by female landladies if they react negatively to sexual 'banter'. A similar type of deep acting was also uncovered by Folgerø and Fjeldstadt (1995) when interviewing service workers about their experiences of sexual harassment by customers. They explain that a number of their respondents initially claimed to have never experienced such harassment, but as the interviews progressed they all described such encounters. They linked such contradictions with service rhetoric such as 'customer first' and 'it's different at work' (Folgerø and Fjeldstadt 1995:309) and therefore trying to explain sexist behaviour as not really being harassment. This certainly seems to be one approach to dealing with the emotional dissonance of working under patriarchal emotional rules.

One other approach to coping needs consideration in this section. When asked how they dealt with anger at customers at work, a common response was to physically leave the 'stage' to calm down, often with the assistance of a cigarette, cup of tea or alcoholic drink. There did seem to be a considerable reliance on alcohol in particular to help individuals relax – normally after work, but there were cases of drinking during a shift as well. The association of pubs with alcohol and easy access to drink made such activities particularly visible among pub staff, especially those who lived-in.

11.3.2 Personal Approaches to Dealing with the Demands of the Job

The various approaches to dealing with the problems of emotional labour outlined here do appear to fall within Dobson's (1983:119-120) two types of response to stress or anxiety. The 'direct action' approach attempts to deal with a perceived problem, such as the manager who erected barriers between herself and staff. The other approach, striving to reduce the actual damaging feelings, seen as Dobson (1983) as a defensive strategy equates with the more internal, and apparently less planned techniques relating to such ideas as 'taking it less personally'. Both techniques were referred to as strategies, although this term seems less appropriate for the second concept given its more tacit nature as reported by participants.

These approaches are comparable to those discussed in Chapter 3 reviewing the literature on emotional labour. The reactive coping techniques show similarities to attempts to reduce the actual feelings such as the cathartic effects of crying (Whyte's 1948) or temporary retreating off-stage. While the female manager's barrier is a more proactive attempt to depersonalise the encounter (Hochschild 1983) and relying on props, especially uniforms (Seymour 2000). The age or emotional maturity of individuals also affected the way these approaches were used, with younger, less experienced employees often using more blatant techniques. For example, the young waitresses who avoided eye contact with customers were attempting to avoid dealing with customers' problems rather naively, rather than insulating themselves from the possible resultant demands by depersonalisation. From a management perspective this sort of resistance would be seen as not only offering poor service, but also as a missed opportunity for cross-selling. Such cross-selling is increasingly practiced in all areas of service work associated with sales and commonly associated with the routinisation of fast-food worker scripts (Korczynski 2002:113) which were often more linked with up-selling rather than showing 'genuine' emotions to customers by study participants. Even from the waitresses' perspective it can only be seen as a short-term approach, as they are more likely to have to deal with more disgruntled customers later in the service encounter if they have served them adequately initially.

Until now the focus has been on the more personal and individual approaches to coping. The next section goes on to consider the value social support at work as an important coping mechanism.

11.3.3 Social Emotional Support

One element of pub work which attracted a number of participants to their jobs was the social environment provided by work-mates, in the words of Druskat and Wolff (2001:84): 'Something that seems upsetting initially can seem not so bad – or ten times worse – depending on whether one's colleagues are inclined to smooth feathers or fan flames'. Morris and Feldman (1996:1005) suggested that such support from colleagues could:

> enable individuals to cope better with job stressors ... aid them when they experience conflicts between organizationally desired emotion and felt emotion ... boost morale of depressed co-workers and ... [allow them to] blow off steam and express their real feelings without violating role requirements.

Colleagues would often offer support when customers or management were perceived to be unreasonable, although such support never took the form of collective action against management, rather being private conversations sympathising with, calming down or cheering up co-workers. A number of interviewees stressed the importance of supporting emotional colleagues. One male manager explained 'Be concerned. Even if you couldn't care less, you've got to seem concerned because, at the end of the day, he's a member of the team.' A female member of staff remembered a time when she was angered by a particularly drunk and obnoxious customer, and told us that 'sharing it [with colleagues] – those angry feelings – it sort of exorcised them.' A young male interviewee spoke of the manager 'I can open up to him, and I come down feeling "Yes, someone does care." and then that just gets you through the day.' On another occasion a relatively new and inexperienced male member of staff explained:

> I was quite apprehensive [of the job] at first. If you guys hadn't been here I don't think I would have wanted to stick around. And, er, it's because, over the last – I've only been here for four weeks – but over that last four weeks I feel like I've developed some quite good potential friends.

The type of support offered by colleagues ranged from practical support such as covering for someone who needed a short break to recover when obviously upset or angry, through to listening to each others work and personal problems outside of work hours. The first of these approaches generally requires considerable empathy with work-mates, as with customers. There was a feeling that live-in staff got to know each

other very well, being able to pick up any little emotional changes and difficulties, and acting in a protective way towards each other. A barmaid explained:

> You learn a lot about them [colleagues], and you see them as different people, and then it's almost like – when you do work together – it's almost like helping friends rather than "Well, she's getting paid the same as me to get on with this and do this and do that." You actually appreciate what they're going through who they are really.

Colleagues were not the only source of such support for pub workers. Numerous examples of help from customers, especially locals and regulars, were also given by participants. These extended from a kind word to employees after abuse from an unpleasant customer to physically defending them from violent guests. One female manager summarised the views of many participants when she explained:

> It's good when you get support from other customers about obnoxious customers – when they show empathy it feels good. Sometimes you need someone to say something nice to people – not just complaints.

One of the male assistant managers summarised the value of social support thus:

> Yes, it is because you're sitting all day with them [customers; interviewee emphasis], you know, the populace, and listening to them and dealing with them and working with together. It's nice to have a good old bitch at the end of the session. Swap your little stories, get to know each other. No, I think it's a very important thing. OK, the job might not be well paid, but sit down and have a drink together; it's a bit of courtesy, a bit of respect. And then it gets a few things out, you know, and it does. And you can solve a lot of things late at night over a boozy old drink.

It was interesting that such social support in the pubs did not only come from colleagues, but also customers. Indeed, in the bar environment they were often likely to speak out against obnoxious customers when staff were unable to. The sympathy offered after the event was often much appreciated and would help a worker calm down and put a negative experience to one side, especially as they were more likely to actually observe an unpleasant situation than a colleague or manager. One example from the field notes illustrates this recounting the aftermath of an unpleasant encounter with a family who were eating in one of the restaurants and seemed to be complaining about everything:

> We didn't charge for anything, and they had a few more freebie drinks. That always makes me feel uncomfortable, but I had to try to remain calm and polite. It was amazing how quickly they calmed down and started being obnoxiously loud and happy instead of loud and angry! Professional complainers! I did feel bad that they got away with it. At the time there was one other table eating, and when they left they commiserated with me about

> the trouble, it made me feel a lot better to get some support from their fellow customers.

Support from customers came was often less obvious than this, based on a mixture of served-server and equal 'buddy'. The issue was brought up when reading a brief, relatively innocuous entry which told of a time when the fieldworker was revising the chef's specials blackboard (a job that was normally done by one of the more artistic employees who was away on this particular day):

> There were three locals in the bar (including the guy who came to Bath with me on Christmas Eve) and they constantly took the piss (he was the worst) as I did the board: "That's crap!" "It's a bit uneven Peter." "You've spelt garlic wrong." "What a twat" etc. Typical bar regulars.

This short entry inspired considerable thought, and part of the resultant reflection included the following:

> Thinking back to this later on it makes me reflect on other similar experiences. This sort of mild mocking goes on for much of the time but I never felt that anyone is ever really having a go apart from that time at the Ship. When I think back to that now I find it hard to put my finger on what the difference was, apart from a vague, general idea of atmosphere and a feeling that its just not serious (even when an outsider may think that major abuse was being given. Am I "doing" emotional labour here? What is the difference between an organisation needing to protect staff against verbal abuse and seeing it as "part of the job"? I surely don't see this sort of joking as damaging; in fact it really seems like the sort of joshing that I get up to with friends. Is that part of the point here? Are we "pretending" to be (or actually being) friends within a customer-server relationship? Perhaps it was significant that I couldn't (and still can't) even remember that guy's name!

This seems to exemplify the rather strange and informal relationship between pub staff and their regular customers, something that does not seem to be identified in the same way in much of the service sector and emotional labour literature. However, it does need to be stressed that this does not describe all customer-staff relationships during the fieldwork, only those with 'regular-like[17]' customers, and even they can change in different situations, perhaps when drunk or when using the pub in a different context. A barmaid described, what was to her, a humiliating experience. On one occasion, a normally relaxed and pleasant regular customer brought a business acquaintance to the pub for some drinks and his whole character seemed to change, giving her the impression that he was showing off to his associate by demeaning her

[17] Not all regulars were 'regular like' and neither were all strangers not 'regular like'. The concept is intended to suggest a customer who exhibited the characteristics of a relaxed participant in such situations as outlined here.

and appearing to completely lose his respect for her. Thus, participants did identify the need to be aware that the server/served relationship is not wholly equal and be sensitive to customers' mood where customers did not really need to themselves.

11.3.4 Humour as a Defence Mechanism

In the previous chapter the use of humour as a means of socialising new staff and exercising informal sanctions was considered. A number of participants agreed that there is a unique 'pub sense of humour' but few could clearly define it, although a strong suggestion of humour as defence developed from the data. Hochschild (1983:135) suggested that not taking a job, or a work role, seriously is an approach taken by some employees to distance the self from the job. This opens up an interesting concept which she does not really develop within her text, which seems to have a certain, if indirect, relevance to humour in service work. There was also evidence of staff occasionally 'parodying roles' (Taylor and Tyler 2000:89) to distance themselves from some encounters with customers. One part-time barman described how he often 'overacted':

> I do tend to be myself, but I tend to be more than myself at times. I wouldn't normally be so sarcastic about myself, but it, because it lightens up the atmosphere, it helps, and it, I get on well with the customers because of it, because it makes me seem like a very easy going person, very easy to talk to.

He not only saw the technique as useful to improve the atmosphere, but also as a way of redirecting negative feelings about customers. If a customer was being abusive he felt he could not respond directly, but would transfer his negative feelings towards himself:

> If they [customers] start criticising you, you have to stand there and say "Yes, thank you very much. I am a complete arse-hole, I know that. But would you like anything else to drink other than that?"

Humour, like abusive comments with colleagues, was seen by almost all respondents as cathartic to some degree, and everyone prized their own sense of humour. One male barman explained his view on humour at work:

> How important is a sense of humour? More than essential. You will have to serve people that are either very strange, very arrogant or just very plain stupid. You have to be able to do that with such a straight face [at the] front of house, that as soon as you get back of house you have to be able to share with another member of staff – a colleague – how much you were holding back

> bursting out laughing while you were serving a particular customer. I mean, even with the arrogant ones, who, to a certain extent, you would think wind you up, a lot of the time -- especially if you know that another member of staff, or even another customer who knows the way that your mind works, is watching you serve this arrogant bastard. Being able to go back and make quite a witty joke about the whole scenario is quite often the only way you get through the experience.

This interviewee clearly saw laughter as a way to turn what could be unpleasant, difficult situations into light relief to be shared with colleagues. The humour shared with colleagues about customers can often seem rather cruel, and is certainly not politically correct. The field notes provide a number of examples where difficult customers are the object of ridicule by staff (although generally in private either off-stage or after a shift. One example from the field notes outlines an incident with a complainant:

> One guy who couldn't speak very clearly had a whinge about the horseradish ("You should serve it in a bowl" "you should know your job!"). It was easy to avoid biting back and had a joke about it with Patrick [colleague] – if you find something funny about a complainer (in this case a speech defect) it's often easy to laugh it off.

However, it is important not to oversimplify the position of humour. In most of the cases identified during the fieldwork, the 'amused' participants could clearly be seen to take their work very seriously indeed. The participant observation and much of the deeply probed interview data supported this assertion very clearly. Despite this, many – especially the male – participants seemed to try to communicate a 'devil may care' attitude towards their work to others at most times. When reflecting on such situations witnessed or described by colleagues, during the fieldwork, two interesting ideas emerged. These relate the external {sharing a joke with colleagues and regulars later) and internal (focusing on the joke privately) focus. The more 'external' approach could be an attempt to protect oneself from the humiliation of being observed by a colleague as not being able to respond in kind to abuse from an unpleasant customer. The more internal protection would relate to the actual feeling of humiliation, attempting to pass the position of weakness on to the customer, perhaps defensively perceiving the *bad* customer, as Goffman (1972:135) put it, as not 'being a person of normal competence and character' because she or he is not responding to the 'obligation' of being served by the subject. This approach sees the customer as

breaking an informal emotion rule, with the sanction of being mocked imposed, albeit normally secretly.

One aspect of this issue that struck the researcher while analysing the fieldwork data is that in the pub bars this mocking was by no means always kept secret from the customer, especially if a 'local' was involved. Regulars would often become involved, often laughing with staff at the culprit, which seemed to empower bar-staff in the process of social control more than in other catering environments (e.g. restaurants, large hotels). This could certainly be seen as another approach to managing customer behaviour and expectations as a coping strategy.

11.3.4.1 The 'Tall Story'

The position of humour within pub work is particularly well exemplified by the 'tall story'. As suggested in the previous chapter, the period after service was seen as an important source of informal learning, as staff sat together sharing their experiences, telling stories about situations and how problems were dealt with. These informal situations helped colleagues share attitudes about less formal emotion and behaviour rules (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987), and in this way are an important further source of socialisation. A unit manager suggested that 'you learn off other people and also what you pick up yourself, you know? You have to talk to people.' However, these after-hours chats also seemed to serve the additional purpose of enabling colleagues to let-off steam by joking about customers, themselves, colleagues and situations from the shift or previous experiences. This type of sharing could be seen as an informal example of what Putman and Mumby (1993) propose as a means of 'developing a sense of *community* [emphasis original]' (Putman and Mumby 1993:51) in the workplace. In this context, emotions can serve 'expressive functions that build interrelatedness' (Putman and Mumby 1993:51) rather than contributing to self estrangement and mistrust of co-workers which they agree with Hochschild (1983) as being possible outcomes of prescriptive, bureaucratic emotional labour as enforced by management.

During the many such talks that take place between colleagues, sometimes involving small groups of customers (which again illustrates the closeness of the relationship between staff and some regulars considered in Chapter 9 in relation to the setting of emotion rules), alcohol seems central to such sessions, and discussions

would often stretch well into the night. Although it may not seem so to the casual observer, these sessions have a fairly strict etiquette, complete with emotion rules. Many amusing anecdotes relating to past experiences were recounted to an eager audience. This eagerness was one of the key rules – no matter how many times someone has heard the same story, interest must be convincing. The embellishments that seem to be added with each retelling, often making the story more and more unbelievable, must also be accepted without question. Naturally enough, many of these discussions led to the mocking of the less pleasant customers and colleagues remembered by participants, and the volume of laughter (and 'tallness' of stories) seems to increase along with the quantity of alcohol consumed.

This type of discussion seems to represent another type of the catharsis by social support considered earlier, as it gives workers the opportunity to expel any emotional frustrations experienced during the shift with a sort of mutual back-slapping conversation. One of the informal emotion rules of such conversation seems to be that participants should not become angry or take the situation under discussion too seriously. Frustrations with customers from earlier are dealt with in a mocking and amused tone. Apart from a type of approval seeking from colleagues these stories seem to often encourage a supportive opportunity to reflect on experiences and share them with co-workers. Perhaps this helps them to develop greater 'skills for coping with people ...[and] self-understanding and self awareness of cognitive and affective reactions to interpersonal events' which Kagan et al (1995:72) suggested are central to coping with the stress 'caused by unexpected or threatening interpersonal events in the [work] environment' (Kagan et al 1995:72).

Perhaps the 'tall story' is one of the reasons the critical incident questioning utilised during the interviews was so successful in generating discussion points from participants, as interviewees were accustomed to sharing stories with interested listeners. It should be noted that any 'tallness' of stories recounted during the interviews was addressed by follow up in depth questioning and discussion.

A fuller study focusing on pub tales would certainly provide some interesting insights into the minds of pub workers, perhaps following a similar 'fly on the wall' approach used by Gough and Edwards (1998). During the fieldwork one such session was recorded as an experiment, however the poor sound quality made this technique impractical at the time.

11.4 Getting 'in the Mood' for Service: Approaches to Deep Acting

The last area to be considered in this thesis relates to how participants prepare for working in their respective pubs. The preceding discussion of approaches to coping with emotional aspects of the job focused particularly on what could be seen as reactive techniques. The idea of 'getting in the mood' for service suggests a proactive approach to dealing with the emotional demands of serving customers. It should be stressed that when discussing preparation for a shift in the bar participants appeared to be thinking more of the practicalities of pleasing, or at least serving, the customer rather than coping with the demands of the job. However, much of what was said did seem to have important, if not explicit, implications for emotional health. As one male assistant manager explained when 'you're in work mode, to a certain extent, the idea of auto-pilot can kick in', facilitating a certain emotional insulation or 'depersonalization' (Hochschild 1983:132; Wharton 1999:163) to take place.

A combination of rational, conscious effort and habitual, pre-programmed approaches to getting ready for work were reported, often with the latter resulting from deep, reflective probing during interviews. As with other areas of tacit cultural knowledge, many participants found themselves thinking about feelings or actions that they admitted to previously taking for granted.

The rational approach was exemplified by a female assistant manager who had worked in various pubs before. She explained:

> I think "Well, I don't want to be miserable, I don't want to be in a bad mood, so, while I'm here doing what I'm doing now. If I'm in a bad mood it's going to make it even worse." so I guess you just think "Well, I've got to do it." You've just got to do it.

The less conscious approach was often linked to tangible aspects of the job such as the physical setting of the pub or, more commonly, the uniform. As explained earlier, uniforms varied greatly from unit to unit, but even in the most casual outlet some form of dress code existed, even if it was not explicitly expressed. A male assistant manager gave outlined his feelings:

> It's like when I get changed, I'm putting on this. I'm putting on a uniform type thing, and you're, it's like even in the bar you've got the trousers, shirt and tie. And you, it's like the uniform changes your personality sort of thing. It's like if you're a doctor or policeman or fireman, whatever. Yes, I know it sounds silly, you put on, it's like when I used to work – I even used to feel different when I used to work in an office. You put on a suit, and you go to

> work and you'll be all serious and everything. You get home; take off the suit; put on a pair of jeans; messing around laughing with the kids and stuff.

One of the female managers took a more conscious effort with her attire, explaining that each morning she would think about what her key role of the day was likely to be. If she was going to assume a 'management' role she would wear a formal suit, but if she expected to concentrate on 'hostessing' she would prefer casual dress.

There was a feeling that acting served an important purpose in getting ready for work. This initially sounds contradictory given the earlier discussion on authenticity, with so many participants stressing their pride in letting their genuine personality show to customers. However, they rarely seemed to notice any discrepancy, seeing a little early personal scripting as a useful way of breaking the ice with initial customer contact. Various references were made to thinking about how to start a conversation with regulars, perhaps considering the weather, a sporting event or similar topics of conversation. This was generally thought of as an acceptable way of getting started at the beginning of a shift, with the assumption that a more 'natural' interaction would follow, perhaps representing an approach to Hochschild's (1983:90) 'deep acting'. It was also seen as useful when greeting less regular customers, giving them the chance to join in and feel welcome, or show a lack of interest in interaction with staff. This latter example appeared to give the staff member some additional protection from a possible snub. In such a case if a customer made it clear that she or he wished to be left alone, the server would be less likely to feel personally insulted as the initial overture was not 'authentic', being consciously planned.

11.5 Conclusions

This chapter has addressed Objectives 3 and 4. in relation to the first of these, one theme that recurs throughout the findings is the participants' perception that pub bars (often carefully excluding pub restaurants and accommodation provision) provide a generally healthier emotional setting than some other catering and service environments because of the perceived greater level of emotional freedom when serving customers. Employees would often focus on what they perceived to be the benefits of working in the environment, discussing broad concepts such as the job satisfaction gained from working with and serving people and specific ones such as relatively high status and acceptance into external communities that were new to staff.

Perhaps it should be noted at this stage that the latter is particularly relevant to companies such as this one where a considerable proportion of the workforce is introduced from other geographical areas rather than locally recruited.

However, despite these perceived advantages some important problem areas have been identified, especially in relation to personal relationships at work and the practice of living-in at work. Staff would often discuss emotional costs and dangers of working in pubs by considering third parties who they had observed suffering from such ill effects. Although they would describe what they saw as negative and unpleasant emotional experiences these stories would rarely demonstrate more than temporary ill effects, such as anger with difficult customers.

These anecdotes would often culminate in the teller showing how she or he overcame the negative emotion and avoided longer term effects whether in a formal interview or one of the 'taller' stories recounted after work. Therefore this led on to a discussion of how respondents react to emotional situations when working. A number of mechanisms that participants use to cope with the perceived negative effects are explored, showing how individuals seek to protect themselves from such impacts while facilitating effective performance of emotional labour. It seems wrong to refer to most of these as strategies as they often are not consciously planned in advance, but could more often be seen as reactive to situations and customers.

12 A Reflexive Discussion of Emotions and Public Houses

12.1 Introduction

As explained in the first chapter of this thesis, the initial broad aim of the study was to investigate emotional labour within the UK public house sector. The Coaching Inn Company has provided a focus for the investigation. The objective of this chapter is to provide a reflexive and critical discussion of the data and its analysis outlined in the previous chapters, drawing together various types of evidence from this study and others from the literature. Mauthner and Doucet (2003:420) assert that research can be seen as the product of a researcher's 'academic and personal biographies'. This chapter demonstrates how the fieldworker recognises that elements of his 'biography' have contributed to this particular investigation. As Rossman and Rallis (1998:24) recommend to researchers, it is important to 'state and make clear who you are and what assumptions drive the study'.

Since this is an ethnographic study there are a number of important issues to consider when presenting and evaluating evidence collected. The importance of a reflexive approach to ethnography was highlighted earlier in the thesis. The researcher considers the influence of the various selves (Reinharz 1997) experienced during the fieldwork and subsequent analysis and interpretation. The three types of data (empirical fieldwork data, the literature and reflexive accounts of personal experience) are drawn together in an attempt to make better sense of the subject area.

12.2 Making Sense of the Research

12.2.1 Fieldworker Self/Selves

The data collected during the fieldwork does not represent the impartial investigation of a wholly objective researcher. Effective participant observation requires fieldworkers to live the life of the group studied, thus this document seeks to describe and explain (by Geertz's 1975 thick description) his or her 'everyday life' as a participant. As suggested in the methodology chapter, such immersion can be challenging regarding role and self.

Reflecting on some experiences is not a comfortable activity, especially if it identifies what are perceived as personal or professional weaknesses. For example, on occasion the 'self as myself' (being somewhat hot-tempered) did take control (which is probably inevitable in six week periods of intensive fieldwork). The fieldworker did get involved in heated exchanges between staff, and on occasion forgot the role of fieldworker and observer. On one such occasion the fieldworker was serving in a pub restaurant and had a dramatic argument with the chef on a busy evening. At the time all thought of the research objectives, ideals of intrusion or interference in the research arena were temporarily forgotten, not an easy thing for any researcher to admit to his or herself, let alone publicly and on paper. However, such incidents did actually prove valuable in the long-term. They often provided interesting material to reflect on after recovering from such emotions. However, when recalling experiences and revisiting data often resulted in a certain reliving or re-experiencing of the situation and emotion, something that positivism is likely to see as evidence of subjectivity impinging on research, although this actual experience is perceived as a core advantage of the ethnographic approach. As Hearn points out:

> writing about them [emotional incidents] is also a rather emotional process, slightly rather than massively. Reconstructing an emotional memory or a memory of emotion can itself be emotional' (Hearn 1993:145)

Such experiences also demonstrate the humanity of fieldworkers to other participants who go through similar crises and develop a sense of camaraderie. In the above example the fieldworker was in the middle of serving a large group of customers, and collected some dishes from the kitchen while engaged in a furious shouting match

with the chef, then turned around and walked into the restaurant. As soon as he pushed through the door his whole demeanour changed and he was calmly smiling at the customers. This was all done without thought, without instruction. It wasn't until some time later that he realised this instance was so relevant to the investigation underway. How were the expressed (and felt) emotions changed so suddenly? Was there a feeling of dissonance or ambivalence?

On this particular occasion the change was helped somewhat by focusing on something funny that a customer was engaged in at the table. He was throwing a bread-roll at a friend – something that a waiter may normally be irritated by, but on this particular day it was seen as an amusing distraction from the chef. The value of participant observation was shown particularly clearly when reflecting on this incident – could such an experience have meant so much if simply described by an interviewee away from the environment? The value was further highlighted by this identification of an additional line of investigation. Humour as a means to help manage emotions at work, and as a defence mechanism was subsequently discussed at some length with a number of respondents.

Self as worker was a particularly important identity during the fieldwork. The researcher was treated as an employee in almost all ways – except in level of remuneration. This role also had different sub-selves, depending on unit and situation, including self as colleague, subordinate or supervisor (in the last unit serving as deputy manager on occasion). There were some clashes between the employee and researcher roles, and mention was often made of the investigation by other participants although this rarely seemed to affect their behaviour. Perhaps the other key role was that of friend. This particular role poses a variety of possible problems for the researcher. The literature includes a number of examples of friendships developed during fieldwork, Cavendish (1982) talks about the relationships she develops with colleagues on the production line and Whyte (1981) discusses his experiences developing the trust and friendship of the key informants in his well known study of an American slum.

Adding the researcher 'self' into the friend-colleague relationship that was discussed earlier (and shown as important to a number of study participants) exacerbated the potential for bias and conflict of interests. As a fieldworker reporting findings to a wider audience there can be a feeling of discomfort when discussing a friend's attributes and behaviour, although it is clearly known that identities have

been effectively disguised. Thoughts of such individuals reading about themselves and taking offence can be distracting. One way this was addressed was by being as open as possible with such individuals. The pub atmosphere of the study setting did give the opportunity to deal with such situations in a relatively light-hearted way, while also giving the opportunity for some additional informal member checking of data and interpretations.

Perhaps of more concern from a research perspective is the potential of a 'horns-halo' effect (Kakabadse et al 1987:81). The fieldworker found the periodic reflection 'retreats' from the field to be helpful in identifying such biases. For example, the weekly reflective field notes did discuss relationships with colleagues, both friendly and not. For example, in one unit a close friendship was built between fieldworker and an assistant manager, while a mutual dislike developed between fieldworker and the head chef. Writing about personal experiences with these individuals actually helped revisit and reconsider any ways that such feelings may influence work and research orientated activities. The more extreme case, discussed at some length earlier, where the early days of one period of fieldwork was affected by a rather uncooperative unit manager showed the value of academic, professional and personal support systems. It is unlikely that the fieldworker would have been emotionally able to remain in that position without initial support from his own wife, other employees at the pub and his supervisor.

Although only lasting six weeks each period of data collection involved working very closely with a relatively small number of colleagues. In the smaller and more isolated outlets, especially the Ship, there were few live-in staff, and the sense of isolation did lead to some quite close friendships developing in a relatively short time. This is perhaps most interesting due to the fact that after the fieldwork very little contact was maintained, except for occasional post-fieldwork visits and one short-lived correspondence by email. This experience of short-lived, but intense friendships was commented on by some of the more itinerant and experienced employees, and seen as an inevitable and pleasurable aspect of high-turnover pub work. One male assistant manager explained how he saw this as good for customers and staff alike:

> People won't stay long, you know. They have nice Australian girls, and New Zealand girls and Scottish girls, and people from all [over] come in, breathe a nice bit of fresh air in, they know that they're going to be about day-in, day-out, every day and they only see them both sides of the bar.

12.2.2 Interview Data in Context

Earlier in the thesis the importance of context and situation in influencing behaviour has been discussed. For example, the importance of uniforms and place (bar or restaurant) were generally seen to influence the personal behaviour of staff. The same could be said, to a certain extent, of the interview situation. In the discussion of the study design interview strategy was considered, and the more formal, semi-structured and away-from-the-field nature of interviews was considered. Without wishing to negate the value of this approach, it is important to draw attention to certain behavioural changes that were evident among some of the interviewees which appear to have a certain relevance to the study itself.

After working with the interviewees for a number of weeks it was inevitable that the fieldworker should become relatively familiar with mannerisms, modes of speech and attitudes commonly exhibited. This gave the opportunity to compare these with those of the individual taken from the work situation and interviewed formally, usually with the overt use of an audio tape recorder.

This helped identify three clear interviewee types, the 'no-change' interviewee, the 'polite' or 'politically correct' interviewee and the 'self-consciously informal' interviewee. This provided a further insight into the nature of respondents in the study and required the fieldworker to respond appropriately to different individuals in order to help them feel at ease with the interviewing situation. It should be stressed that there were no obvious changes in overall attitude noticed by the interviewer, and these apparent differences seemed to be limited to self-expression. For example, one male assistant manager who falls into the second type spoke in an unusually formal manner when interviewed shied away from certain concepts (such as barman or barmaid) which he commonly used in everyday language, and his speech generally had a more stilted, artificial feel, especially earlier in the session:

> The only way that you could probably say, on a percentage, that flirting towards females is higher, is because there are more female bar staff. I'm willing to say that when I've been behind the bar I've had a woman try and verbally put me down in a sexual, flirtatious manner

On the other extreme, another male assistant manager seemed to become even more colloquial and informal in his speech, especially swearing much more than usual. The fieldworker certainly felt that this reaction could have been partly as a result of self-consciously acknowledging his speech was being recorded, although there was also

the feeling that he was being given the opportunity to talk about things that really mattered to him. For example, although a big drinker himself, he felt very strongly about the hypocrisy and dangers of attitudes towards alcohol generally. He explained:

> With a drink, you get it in a nice glass, presented by somebody that's nicely dressed and polite, it's in good company, it's seen as, um, you know, quite a respectable thing to do, you've got a nice flavour and a nice smell and a nice colour, but it's fucking evil gear, you know? And people whack it into themselves, and bang [emphasis original].

It was interesting that, despite such examples, most individuals settled into the interviews naturally after a short period of self-consciousness – often seeming to forget about the tape-recorder within a minute or so. The fieldworker is confident in this assertion due to the work relationship and resultant familiarity developed during the participant observation. In addition to the rapport that developed between interviewee and interviewer (discussed in the pilot study chapter) this also helped the interviewer compare behaviour and language of respondents with that exhibited in the work (and leisure) environment.

12.2.3 Gender Issues

Earlier chapters of this thesis have considered a variety of apparent weaknesses in much of the research into gender relations. Much of the criticism seems to have been levelled at the feminist literature that could be perceived as demonstrating bias on the part of the researcher. Certainly there is a danger that the gender of a researcher could skew the perspective and resultant argument presented in a thesis. When reflecting on the planning, fieldwork and resultant analysis and interpretation there were times that the researcher did feel a little defensive when his sex were apparently being systematically condemned by feminist writers. Perhaps this was accentuated by his involvement in the hospitality industry prior to conducting this research. Reading and thinking about his earlier career as being devalued and demasculinsed (as a reaction to 'feminised') is hardly calculated to minimise emotional reactions to such literature.

The fieldwork process during this study did offer considerable opportunity for reflection on personal experience, bias and data collected. A number of experiences prior to the project while working or being served in licensed premises inevitably coloured attitudes towards the literature or fieldwork incidents. For example, when managing a night-club some years earlier the researcher had been approached by ex-

schoolmates who asked him what his 'proper' job was, as if this was not a career for a man, but only likely to represent a part-time or casual occupation to boost finances. Likewise the vast number of women who had been served 'pints' as a matter of course – and men asking for 'halves' does seem to refute the arguments of such feminists as Hey (1986) about the sexual deviance associated with women and pints. However, there have also been numerous examples of males referring to half pint glasses as 'ladies glasses' and being affronted if their female partners are served in half-pint 'pots', 'jugs' or 'handles'.

Thus, as an insider or native fieldworker, there was a danger of perhaps missing certain phenomena due to selective perception as a result of years of prior experience and socialisation (another possible example of 'self' or role conflict). Having previously conducted eighteen months of similar fieldwork in a totally alien village culture (in Hong Kong), the fieldworker did feel that observational and interviewing skills had been developed to avoid such problems, at least in part. However, fieldwork in a familiar environment is somewhat different as was discussed in the methodology chapter. The case of gendered drinking habits given in the previous paragraph provides an example of this. The fieldworker came to the research with prior experience of serving drinks to men and women, and already knew that it is uncommon to serve a woman a 'half pint' of beer in a glass with a handle without needing to be told (although in the pubs investigated such glasses were rarely found anyway). The reflective field-notes again serve to address this issue, with experiences being considered away from the field, either in the fieldworker's room or outside from the pub when not working.

Another important issue relates to the ethical and trustworthiness dimensions of research practice. In particular the influence of fieldworker on research participants and interviewees needs some consideration. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:129) point out 'the influence of the researcher on the production of data, but [assert that] it is misleading to regard it simply as a source of bias that must be, or can be entirely, removed'. This aspect of bias is particularly relevant when discussing gender. Later in their text they do discuss the issue of gender, backing up their earlier point of the inevitability of influence and suggesting that 'no position of genderless neutrality can be achieved' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:92). In this study, with its male fieldworker it is inevitable that readings of the literature, field observations, interviews and analysis will in some way reflect his gender.

In addition to the fieldworker's bias, responses from colleagues and interviewees could also have been affected by a male researcher. He always strove to hide (although it should be admitted, not always effectively), or at least minimise any personal views about gender issues, such as dislike for certain pub based stereotypes and patriarchal influences, or, at the other extreme, his negative reaction to some of the more militant feminist literature as discussed earlier. Perhaps the key implication here for this particular study was that the researcher was aware from an early stage of both his uncomfortable reaction to this literature and what he perceived as some of the apparent methodological weaknesses within it (discussed earlier in the thesis). Thus he sought to avoid giving the data collected too narrow an interpretation, while recognising the need to include the present discussion in the thesis to enable the reader to make a personal judgement as to its usefulness and trustworthiness.

There was no obvious and direct evidence of comments or ideas from participants of either sex being tailored to suit a male interviewer, although the nature of the problem would make the identification of such evidence very problematic. However, the thoughtful and reflective comments of a number of interviewees – especially female ones – were encouraging in this respect. The apparent openness exhibited when talking about sexism in the workplace, that was discussed earlier did seem to demonstrate a certain undisguised honesty about many responses when interviewees were encouraged to reflect on their feelings.

June, the female interviewee referred to in the previous chapter, seemed almost surprised with her conclusions regarding the subject which were at odds with her initial response. The process of reflection she went through certainly felt as 'genuine' and meaningful as any other observed throughout the study. She seemed to come to a self-realisation that her first reaction to the questioning was false, and represented a passive acceptance of a situation she could not change (which she perceived as realism and a sign of maturity). There was almost a feeling of anger (something that she did not show often during the fieldwork) about her when she finally admitted (or realised?) that the sexism of some customers did still bother her. Exchanges such as this could suggest that it is possible to gather meaningful data in a cross-gender setting. Perhaps June may have been more open from the start with a female interviewer, perhaps the opposite is true. Perhaps it is simply evidence that in the interview situation she felt sufficiently comfortable to reflect on their experiences

deeply enough to go beyond their initial socialised responses as discussed in the previous chapter.

Whatever the case this, and similar incidents do demonstrate the need to consider the nature of data carefully – the first answer in this case was seen to be refuted quite convincingly merely by encouraging a reflective approach to being interviewed. Such turning-around of interview responses was not so apparent when interviewing male workers, although men did also seem to contradict themselves as was considered earlier in areas such as authenticity as considered earlier in the thesis, although this normally appeared to relate to different types of situation rather than representing a change of mind.

12.2.4 Considering Feminist Approaches to Research

It is often tempting (and maybe psychologically necessary) to attempt to evaluate researchers' work from a very personal perspective. While reviewing the relevant literature it was certainly easier to empathise with some writers rather than others. It is likely that individuals' value sets or, at least the assumed similarities/dissimilarities of such values were an influence here. For example, the fieldworker often felt rather defensive when reading openly hostile feminist writings (e.g. Hey 1986; Adkins 1995) which seemed little more than condemnation of all things male almost inevitably taken as a personal attack. On the other hand, it was easy to find himself nodding sagely while reading what seemed to be more balanced accounts and interpretations. Fineman (1993b:19), for example, appeared to take a reasonable (from a male perspective) view of service workers such as waiting staff or nurses flirting with members of the opposite sex, while Adkins (1995:93) interpreted any such behaviour as 'sexual servicing' and exploitative. While Fineman carefully defined such staff as either male or female, Adkins very much focused on the female. Certainly the fieldworker felt more empathy with the Fineman's perspective initially, and this does seem to provide a good (or bad) example of bias on his part. This feeling can often be accentuated when female writers seem to be aiming a direct attack on men as individuals, as Cockburn (1988:35) demonstrates when generalising that working with women, especially female supervisors is 'uncomfortable for the individual male'.

Perhaps the main impact this issue had on this piece of research was a recognition that researchers are likely to have differing agendas resulting in considerable reflection into the origins of this particular piece of research. The researcher began the project out of a mixture of general interest in the topic and a need to research something in order to pursue an academic career. However, as the literature was originally reviewed he became more familiar with feminist writings which Martin (2003:66) categorises as sharing:

> two objectives. The first is descriptive: to reveal obvious and subtle gender inequalities. The second is change oriented: to reduce or eradicate those inequalities.

This realisation showed some differences in focus as the researcher had been educated in management schools which encouraged a critical view of management research and theory. Thus he felt professionally as well as personally uncomfortable when reading what often appears to represent rather selective analysis and interpretation of data in order to make personal and political points. Being aware of such issues was of value to this project especially as the methodology employed was similar in many ways to that of much feminist research, which often seems to follow a qualitative approach. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000) show how feminist research, especially that discussed in this thesis, is often characterised as less likely to 'embrace the ideal of a split between the detached observing subject and the object being observed' and often suggests that 'a close and mutual relationship between researcher and subject here is seen as important' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000:215). Given this apparent paradox of discomfort with the feminist literature despite methodological similarities with the current study, a reflexive consideration of this project's methodology seems appropriate at this stage.

Hammersley (1992:15) provides a summarised 'rationale' for ethnography, suggesting that:

> The purpose of ethnographic analysis is to produce sensitizing concepts and models that allow people to see events in new ways. The value of these models is to be judged by others in terms of how useful they find them... they are simply contributions to a public dialogue that should compete on equal terms with those from other sources.

He goes on to consider whether ethnographic 'theoretical descriptions' are necessarily '*insightful* descriptions [emphasis original]' (Hammersley 1992:16). Certainly it is important for the reader of any ethnography to be able to identify how various biases

have affected the construction of such concepts and models – it would be all to easy for individuals to find one particular interpretation which she or he found personally attractive without considering alternative perspectives on similar data from differing ethnographers. As such, the fieldworker has attempted to look at his position within the research project, considering personal selves at work within the data collection and analysis.

It is difficult to be fully open and honest with a reader, despite an almost third-party approach to the relationship between writer and reader, quite apart from the difficulty in knowing oneself in the first place. A multitude of difficult questions arise such as: 'What does influence me?' 'Why do I interpret one datum differently to my supervisor?' 'Why do I select one story, situation or quotation to illustrate my point in the text?' and so on.

12.3 Managing Emotions at Work

The nature of ethnographic participant observation, especially with relatively intense participation as in this study, does lend itself well to dealing with such issues as emotional attachments at unit, organisational and industry level. It is also a powerful tool for investigating the techniques and demands of emotion management in the workplace as the fieldworker is exposed to similar situations as those being 'studied' and has the opportunity to try out first-hand various coping techniques and experience the type of reactions that are outlined in the literature.

Again the developmental nature of ethnographic research and specific elements of the fieldwork strategy utilised here proved helpful in a variety of ways. Field-notes written on a working day would often be rushed and almost done on 'automatic pilot' after long shifts – sometimes more than twelve hours. Initially this was a worry, causing some concern that entries may not be as full and detailed as would normally be expected.

When rereading the notes there were some days when writing was rather sparse, showing the potential pitfalls of the participatory roles (employee, colleague, friend etc) becoming over-emphasised. However, the nature of this day-to-day record had a rather unexpected bonus. Rather than presenting a carefully thought out and constructed monologue of the day's events, entries were often more candid than the fieldworker expected. In his previous experience of participant observation (18 months in a small Hong Kong village, Sandiford 1996; 1997) there had been plenty of time for writing – perhaps too much at times. The pub study necessitated snatched moments of writing, often completed impatiently with a meal, bath or bed waiting.

The weekly reflections again gave the chance to revisit and expand on these entries in a more thoughtful and reflective manner. There was often some embarrassment at what had been written after a particularly tiring or trying evening's work, but this was actually useful – perhaps if more time (and self-control) had been available a certain atmosphere or emotional moment could have been lost. Thus the mixture of sometimes abbreviated daily entries and the recollections and thoughts inspired by them when rereading and reflecting were invaluable in making sense of the experience. Cohen (1992) considered the nature of field-notes in relation to his own long term, intermittent fieldwork (in his case over nineteen years). He considered the difficulty of keeping and interpreting such notes, suggesting that the tacit nature of

society is perhaps reflected in the almost tacit quality of societal analysis and understanding. Thus he mused:

> Might it be that our attribution of near sacrality and confidence to your field notebooks contradicts strangely a tacit recognition that so much of what we say about a society is owed to what is not written down [emphasis original], but comes from that mental notebook which is never closed and which certainly does not recognize the geographical and cultural limits and specificities of our putative fields. (Cohen 1992:339)

In this case it could be argued that the field-notes do sometimes write down that which is not usually written down – certainly in the case of the Hong Kong study.

The usefulness of this in recounting emotional experience became apparent during the more reflective times spent away from the immediate field. The reflection gave the opportunity to consider such data from more of a (temporal and physical) distance, with the earlier accounts acting as a partial aide-memoir. The following two entries give a feel for a couple of the more emotional encounters with the manager (Damien), who often consumed sufficient alcohol on duty to excite comment from staff and customers alike, and his wife (Janine). The first refers to some insulting comments made by them about the fieldworker in particular (most of the other staff had similar experiences on a regular basis). The second excerpt refers to my personal reaction and feelings after a particularly unpleasant episode with the manager screaming at the staff generally:

> Entry 1:
> Janine introduced me to her mum as 'the spy.' I still don't really know how to take her, but I'm starting to like her less and less all the time. Perhaps it's her sense of humour, but she seems to be serious to me most of the time rather than joking about things, using snide, sniping comments, and her facial expressions! I really didn't feel like going down for a drink after dinner, and not just because Terri [the fieldworker's wife] is here[18]. I must admit I feel much less comfortable in the bar downstairs when I'm off duty. The atmosphere is just so weird, with Janine sniping at everyone, Damien getting

[18] As the fieldworker spent a considerable amount of time away from home during the fieldwork his wife did occasionally visit him in the field. This seemed a normal practice to both, and it wasn't until later in the analysis that the matter was considered more deeply when discussing the matter with a colleague who had carried out her fieldwork in an American hotel company. She suggested that feeling comfortable with a close relative or friend visiting (or indeed his supervisor, as happened in some of the units) demonstrated that a fieldworker is comfortable and settled in the fieldwork setting and has developed a sound relationship with the venue and participants. She herself had experienced relatively difficult field relations to the extent that she expressly forbade family members from visiting her. When a group did visit against her wishes she felt uncomfortable as it accentuated the difficulties she was experiencing.

more and more pissed and Chris [Bar manager] with his slimy, smarmy, *knowing* smile [emphasis original]. It is not a pleasant place to work.

Entry 2:
The whole atmosphere changed immediately with the staff – we were stunned at first, then all morale seemed to crumble. I had a 'hard stare' but didn't want to get into a yelling match in front of customers (we did that in the kitchen afterwards).
I went to see Janine in reception about it, and said I'd had enough, as we'd worked bloody hard for a bloody long day for no thanks, just abuse from Damien. She responded that they get no thanks from head office, so don't give any to staff. "I wouldn't have dealt with the situation like him, but that is his way, and I'm not going to try and change him! You and other staff can vote with your feet!"
I was absolutely fuming and came *very* close to walking out. As it was, I "walked away". Terri had just finished eating in the lounge, and I recommended her go to the bedroom in case he had a go at her, that would have been too much for me! I went up there for a cooling off' too. If buses/trains had been available I'm sure we would have left there and then. I tried to phone Diane [the fieldworker's supervisor], but only got an answer phone, then called Steve [a friend]. I almost asked him to pick us up, but remembered he'd lost his license, but it did help having a chat with him about everything.
Went back down pretty soon after that. I was definitely not in the mood to serve, but felt I had to finish the shift.

These give an idea of how some of the less 'rational' entries developed[19] – definitely not objective accounts of specific situations, but useful for recalling feelings and experiences quite vividly when reflecting on, analysing and interpreting data away from the field. Even now, writing out this chapter the feelings resurface with an accompanying 'cold sweat', this despite eventually parting with the actors described above on very good terms.

When writing about incidents with customers a variety of approaches were used. Occasionally script like records were helpful, as this could summarise a situation and mood particularly well. For example, this is the record of the first time the fieldworker served a regular customer referred to as 'the General' who was obviously becoming a little senile.

> I did have one interesting customer – an old guy who had been in each day. Later I found out that all the others know him and he's the 'General' and who

[19] These can be viewed as 'less rational' in so far as they are actually written soon after the events described, often whilst experiencing the emotional reactions of the encounters or situations and before being able to 'calm down'. Future reflective recall would often rekindle some of these feelings, but with the benefit of at least temporal difference it was easier to reflect on them more (although not totally) dispassionately.

could be a miserable sod (I could have worked that out for myself! Our first conversation:

"Are you going to fill this? [indicates empty ½ pint jug on bar]"
"Certainly sir. [he looked like a 'sir'] What did you have in it?"
"Speak up, I can't hear you!"
"What would you like?"
"Don't be so bloody stupid. What does everyone drink in England?"
"But what type of beer would you like?"
"I don't bloody know! Anything!"
"Would Directors be OK?"
"Yes, anything."
(Service)
"£1.13 please."
"Help yourself. [cash on bar] Why is it more than last time?"
"Our beers have different prices and I didn't know what you had last time."
"[disgruntled Cough]"

It's very difficult to get angry with such bad customers as they are so ridiculous and funny. After he'd left the customers on either side of him breathed big sighs of relief with amazed comments like, "Misery guts has finally gone!"

In a relatively short entry the content and flavour of the interaction was captured and available for fuller reflection, analysis and 're-experience' when time allowed.

This excerpt contains a variety of ideas that were discussed in earlier findings' chapters in the thesis. Especially noticeable is the coping mechanism (hardly a planned strategy) of being amused by customers and situations that may otherwise inspire anger or frustration. It is perhaps significant that 'in the heat of the moment' when recording the encounter the idea that 'it's very difficult' to lose your temper. This does not suggest that the fieldworker was trying to be angry, but seems to be a rhetorical device written to 'self' to stress the idea that anger was the last thing in mind at the time. But the very act of mentioning the concept could be seen as 'protesting' too much?

Another personal observation alluded to during the passage is the form of address – the minor aside 'he seemed like a sir' has implications for the study. How does an employee judge which approach each customer expects? In the individualistic pub environment many such customer analyses are carried out by staff. The concept of using honorifics to depersonalise encounters was referred to earlier in the thesis as a coping strategy, and the fieldworker did find himself using 'sir' and 'madam' more than in previous working environments. He was often more cautious with 'mate' and other informal terms as forms of address, partly because of the nature of the Coaching

Inn Company, and partly as a response to the habits of colleagues (being socialised by imitation). However, the value of the technique was obvious in some situations with difficult or unpleasant customers.

The final point clearly arising from this short passage relates to the idea of strategies for coping with emotional labour. Nowhere in the field notes was there a record of a conscious decision to behave in a particular way towards a customer or colleague, except with one customer who had behaved particularly badly, and the manager and staff planned how they should best handle his being banned when he came to the pub next. Thus there was very little personal evidence of strategic coping and even the idea of proactive techniques, highlighted in Table 2 seem rather questionable when reflecting on emotional labour incidents. The note made here that the General 'looked like a sir' could be seen as a sort of post rationalising of the fieldworker's behaviour, and other incidents recounted in both field-notes and interview transcripts very much follow this pattern. Indeed, some incidents such as one variation on the concepts of 'exaggerated surface acting' and 'veiled-authenticity'[20] was recorded in the field notes describing a group of difficult customers on a busy Bank Holiday lunchtime

> Five [customers] came in for a late drink and lunch, and one started making pointed remarks about waiting, saying we should have more staff (to his companions) as I was alone on the bar for a few minutes. This although they hadn't been waiting long. It pissed me off so I slowed down on the order I was doing; a large booze and food order for a group of regulars. When I served them I calmly and politely said I wasn't the manager etc. when he had a go at me, and hinted gently that loud comments often meant they'd be served slower (though of course, not by me!). Later on I politely asked what his business was – a furniture manufacturer – I had a quiet smile – no comments – but felt better thinking about the crap new furniture sold these days (he had seemed proud of his work too!).

When looking back at the incident it was possible to see very reactive 'exaggerated surface acting' at work from a personal perspective, a sort of combination of the exaggerated surface acting considered earlier and the type of reaction identified by Rafaeli (1989:264) when one of his check-out operators protested to a customer thus:

> Why do you have to yell? Why do you have to talk like that? You think I do it on purpose? You think it will help that you tell? It only slows things down and makes them worse.

---

[20] As discussed in Chapter 11, under the subsection 'Dealing with emotional impacts'.

Being determined not to react in this way, the fieldworker maintained a formal (depersonalised) politeness that was really not usual in this pub, while giving a 'friendly warning' just in case the customers found themselves being served by a less professional pub worker in future (this at the same time as 'going slow' anyway). As the icing on the cake, the tone and what was not said made it clear that this employee was not happy with the customers, but would not react to their poor behaviour. Thus the fieldworker was reacting in various ways, including what Hochschild (1983) would call educating the client; resisting by 'going slow'; utilising a type of exaggerated surface acting; and even striving to find the situation humorous rather than irritating.

Another reflective entry showed one more, almost reversed, view of veiled authenticity. It was found invaluable to reflect on interviews when actually typing-up interview transcripts (an example of the value of researchers doing their own audio-typing as discussed in the methodology chapter). This particular entry highlighted a part-time barman's slightly different approach to dealing with difficult customers, situations or emotions

> Rodney [part-time barman] talked about using a customer to help change mood (or hide negative emotions).
> 'Well, what I tend to do is I have a laugh with the customer. And if I'm, if it's a really busy day, I'll stand there and I'll just look at him "Oh god, I'm so stressed out." and they'll laugh about it, and if they're laughing about it, that will automatically, it calms you down.'
> Interesting idea, as he's hiding stress in expression, but admitting it in words.

So his reaction was to poke fun at himself, admitting to being 'stressed' or other negative feelings or even incompetence and laugh loudly (and falsely) at his own behaviour.

None of these examples were strategic or pre-planned, rather being reactions to specific situations and individuals, although differences in content or approach could certainly reflect differences in personality, or at least personal preference. Thus, it seems rather questionable to refer to coping strategies at a personal level, although it is likely that at an organisational level training programmes, such as that of Delta (Hochschild 1983) could be more strategic in approach. The intention does appear to be to rationalise certain 'tried and tested' approaches to dealing with people to trainees and/or indoctrinate them into a relatively homogenised approach to coping and performing.

12.4 Some Implications of the Research Experience

Ethnographic research is often seen as particularly valuable given the multi-method approach and the nature of researcher as participant in the real world. As Hort et al (2001:15) point out, 'the levels of trust that self disclosure required were not things that could have been automatically assumed' from respondents other than themselves. This suggests that by actually researching themselves and their own experiences they ensured a level of trust that could not be assumed when researching other people. Their point referred to self-as-researched trusting self-as-researcher, although the converse could be said to be equally true. Ethnographic participant observation seeks to gain an even deeper understanding of a situation through direct experience and triangulation with other types of data sources. However reflexive self-analysis is central to making most sense of such personal research. Central to this view of research is the idea that a researcher's interpretations and resultant theories 'are joint constructions of knowledge produced through the interaction between respondents' accounts and how we make sense of these accounts' (Mauthner and Doucet 2003:424).

The current study also highlights the issue of 'nativeness' discussed in the study design chapter. In this case the researcher has had considerable experience working in various sectors of the hospitality industry including pubs. As such, he had first hand (and admittedly biased) experience of many issues discussed in the literature. This can be positive in identifying questions in need of investigation, while requiring care to avoid seeking evidence to support a point of view and ignoring contradictory data. One example of this is the multiple accounts of conflicts between kitchen and waiting staff in restaurants (Wood 1997; Korczynski 2002) which has long been seen by the fieldworker as a distortion of reality. What to an 'outsider' may appear like extreme conflict during service is seen as a sort of catharsis of raised voices and verbal abuse which disappears after a shift when the same individuals take up their friendly and often close relationships. Now this is the fieldworker's perception of working in a variety (but not necessarily representative sample) of restaurants, thus being anecdotal evidence. It is possible that many other outlets differ greatly from his experience, however, the similarity of observable evidence does suggest that there may be a flaw in the popular interpretation made by 'non-natives'.

Nativeness can be considered in relation to the somewhat different issue of 'going native' which was indicated to some extent (such as with the argument with a chef as outlined above). There would seem to be a relatively fine line between participating appropriately and losing sight of the research project. When juggling work and research roles it seems inevitable that one or the other will gain in prominence while the other recedes from time to time. Indeed it could be argued that this is necessary in order to collect and analyse trustworthy and useful data. It also shows the value of being able to temporarily leave the field at times to consider and reflect on such experiences, perhaps highlighting a difficulty with more traditional ethnographies in more geographically and culturally isolated communities.

It is also important to consider the position of emotions in the research process, especially in this study. In addition to the emotional labour performed during employment by the company the act of research itself can be emotional. In her own reflexive account of an ethnographic study Harris (1997:6) pointed out that 'At times, even "small" events within research settings can be "the last straw" – reducing the ethnographer to an angry mess.' Some examples of such angry (or other types of) messes with customers, colleagues, managers and himself appear through the data, and reliving such experiences has proven to be invaluable in analysing and interpreting the mass of data generated. The discomfort alluded to from time to time when reliving experiences demonstrates that the fieldworker was experiencing (and to some extent still is) the rather unpleasant recognition that his own emotional regulation and emotional labour skills are by no means infallible. This draws out memories of what he can only see as unprofessional behaviour in his chosen topic for research. This could be seen as a sign that he has broken personal, rather than professional or occupational) emotion rules during the course of the fieldwork.

12.5 Conclusions

This chapter has reflected on the research project from the fieldworker's perspective. It has considered some relevant elements of the fieldworker's own story of the research project. It was felt essential to consider the implications of individual biases and influences on the findings of the project. Some of the key findings that were discussed in the previous five chapters have been revisited in a generally reflexive manner in order to re-examine and discuss them from a more personal perspective.

The importance of a fieldworker's prior experience, expertise and gender is clear when collecting, analysing and interpreting data. Although this is particularly noticeable in an ethnographic study there is little doubt that the same can be said of any social or psychological investigation.

Writing this chapter was a useful but not wholly comfortable experience for the researcher. It was helpful for him, and hopefully the reader, to examine more of the field-notes than was done earlier in the thesis where interviews and the wider literature provided more of the directly cited evidence and examples as is normal in ethnography. Some of the process of analysis and interpretation is exemplified through discussing specific examples of such notes. The less comfortable aspect of the exercise relates to publishing extracts from field-notes that do not necessarily show the fieldworker in the best light. Although championing such an approach within and beyond this thesis, the fieldworker did find it difficult to lay open such excerpts as are shown here. In his amusing popularised account of fieldwork in the Cameroon, Barley (1983) pokes fun at ethnographers striving to build an image of 'wonder worker' (Barley 1983:44) with all manner of wonderful qualities who somehow gloss over or even forget the problem areas encountered. Anyone engaging in such reflexive analysis seems less likely to fall into the trap he identifies below.

> One suspects that the whole business was rather like those cheery war reminiscences that make one regret, against all better knowledge, not having been alive at the time (Barley 1983:8).

13 Conclusion

13.1 Introduction

Wolcott (2001) considers the difficulties apparent when concluding qualitative studies which lack the generalisability of more quantitative work. He recommends to researchers writing up such research 'rather than striving for closure, see if you can leave both yourself and your readers pondering the essential issues that perplex you' (Wolcott 2001:123). This is what this final chapter seeks to achieve revisiting some of the key issues raised by the project. The chapter begins by revisiting the key findings in relation to the research objectives. The first four objectives provide the focus for this empirical findings section, referring specifically to the emotion rule setting and enforcement, the learning of such rules, the emotional impact on employees and their reactions to the emotional demands of their work. The chapter then reconsiders the major issues drawn from the literature in relation to those findings, leading to a section that outlines the implications of the research in line with Objective 5. There follows a discussion of the methodological contribution of the current study before specific recommendations are for future research are made. The thesis concludes with a brief and personal closing statement.

This study was based on the idea that performing emotions as part of a job is a trend of growing importance given an increasingly service orientated society. It contributes to a growing literature that recognises the importance of emotions in organisations and shows the weaknesses of research that strives to ignore the influences of emotions in the workshop. Hochschild (1983) critiqued this sort of social psychologist who takes 'exquisite care ... to *avoid* discussing feeling, in order to focus ever more intently and narrowly on cognition [emphasis original]' (Hochschild 1983:201) because allowing emotion to enter into an investigation suggests a lack of objectivity and scientific rigour. She explained her critique by observing that to such researchers 'emotion is more central to life as they live it than to life as they study it' (Hochschild 1983:202).

The choice of public houses as a focus was influenced by a combination of the researcher's previous experience and interests, and a significant lack of literature about the sector. The particular relevance of emotional labour to the public house sector was apparent from the project's early stages. A rich database of the emotional

experiences and reflections of a wide variety of staff and management was gathered, providing a useful insight into the work involved in running pubs and dealing with a diverse clientele.

The next section of this chapter outlines the key findings of the study and this is followed by further discussion of the central theoretical issues from the literature. After considering some implications of the research the research methodology is evaluated leading to some recommendations for further research in the area. The thesis concludes with a brief personal statement.

13.2 Empirical Findings

The present study's objectives (specified in chapter one and appendix one) have led to a detailed investigation of the nature of emotion rules in the Coaching Inn Company, considering the mechanisms by which these rules are designed, enforced and learned, and the reactions of employees to the emotional demands of their work serving a variety of customers. Thus this thesis includes, but is not limited to the concept of emotional labour which conceptualises the performance of emotions for customers by service workers. This project provided the opportunity to investigate the ideas of other researchers who had researched emotions in the workplace in a slightly different part of the service sector, that of the UK public house.

The first objective focuses on the setting and enforcing of emotion rules. Although much of the literature focuses on the role of management (e.g. Hochschild 1983) and/or customers (e.g. Weatherley and Tanisk 1993) in the area, this project has shown how the influence of colleagues and personal perceptions of professionalism can also affect emotional exchanges between the service worker and customer. This is especially important in organisations like the Coaching Inn Company that choose to pursue a flexible policy of soft branding thus resulting in a lack of formalised and explicit emotion rules. It soon became clear that the individual employees exercised considerable autonomy when dealing with customers and setting their own personal emotion rules, which could sometimes differ from those of colleagues.

This did make it rather difficult to identify specific emotion rules that apply throughout the whole organisation, or even within a single public house, given the complex interaction of emotional influences at work. Indeed the most clear type or rule was related more to the pub sector in general rather than relating to a specific

organisation within it. For example, both service workers and their customers (although the latter are less susceptible to sanctions available to other pub-goers whether employee, manager or customer) were subject to the norm of light-heartedness and requirement to not take themselves too seriously.

Researchers who identify a primarily worker-employer divide seem more likely to suggest that management enforced feeling or display rules may result in workers' alienation from emotions and seeing this as the prime difficulty with managing emotions in service work. However the situation seems rather more complex in the Coaching Inn Company. Study participants did discuss actual and hypothetical situations, mostly outside this company which they perceived to be damaging or at least unpleasant which would fall into Hochschild's analysis especially in what Ritzer (1993) would describe as Macdonaldised organisations with heavy managerial participation in emotion rule setting. This certainly supports the idea found in the literature that greater autonomy in performing emotional labour, or emotional empowerment, can lead to less adverse impacts on service workers.

Taking the analysis of emotion rules further a more complex state of affairs soon became apparent during the fieldwork. Issues such as contradictory messages from different stakeholders including customers, management and colleagues can result in dissonance and discomfort for service workers who can feel caught in the middle and unable to keep everyone happy with their performance. The evidence from this study certainly suggests that focusing on the worker-employer divide only gives a part of the overall picture of emotion management at work. Even including customers within the equation is not quite enough, and some analysis of colleagues' interaction and influence on each other seems essential if the nature of the formation, communication of and enforcement of emotion rules is to be understood.

The second objective considers how emotion rules and skills are learned by the pub workers. Employees in the Coaching Inn Company are expected to learn how to serve and keep customers happy by experience, with management relying more on informal socialisation and enculturation in the workplace rather than more explicit teaching processes. This flexible approach to learning is based on the idea that customers do not necessarily want service that can be perceived as artificial in the pub setting. The despite that is often shown to organisations that try to tell their employees exactly what to do, feel and say in every service situation suggests a feeling of pride

held by Coaching Inn employees and seems to link somewhat with feelings of relatively high status expressed by some participants.

The learning processes outlined in Chapter 10 do suggest that emotional skills are neither easily nor quickly learnt. Younger workers, could more easily identify how they had changed and developed during their employment, generally by observing interactions with customers and being forced to 'sink or swim' on-the-job. Emotions were seen by the older participants as being central to their identity and that their interpersonal abilities were the most important skill that they brought with them to the job, seeing more mechanical skills such as tending and pouring drinks as relatively unimportant. There was a feeling that the organisation was paying for such skills, already learned through more general life experience, rather than teaching them how to keep customers happy. This is reflected in the common management assertion that it would be both inappropriate and futile trying to carry out rigid and prescriptive training of the sort described by Hochschild (1983). How far this sort of laissez faire approach to emotion learning could transfer to other service environments is doubtful as it assumes that workers gain most of the required skills from outside the organisation and observing colleagues at work if, indeed, it could be seen as appropriate in the study setting anyway.

The third objective focuses on the employees' perceptions of the possible emotional impacts of their work. A number of both negative and positive emotional aspects of pub work were identified by participants. However categorisation of positive or negative impacts is not always an easy task. Tolich's (1993:368) reference to 'stressful satisfaction' highlights the relatively unclear divide between the two. As in other studies, participants did emphasise the appeal of working with people as a source of job satisfaction, while the same people (both colleagues and customers) were also identified as causes of discomfort as well. Likewise busy times were seen as stressful and both physically and emotionally demanding, while also being fun and enjoyable. Another, slightly different view of job satisfaction was also identified by participants. The concept of a form of professional satisfaction was often evident. This was displayed in the effort often put into keeping customers happy and distress when customers were genuinely dissatisfied.

Colleagues also perceived their work experience in the sector as helping workers (especially younger ones) to develop their self image and self-confidence, a rather different view than the idea that such work is emotionally exhausting and

damaging. Thus the view of emotional labour as a negative concept is considered questionable and it has been suggested that personal authenticity is not so much threatened by organisational emotion rules as enhanced by professional or occupational emotion rules.

The fourth objective centres on how employees react to and attempt to cope with the emotional demands of serving pub customers. The study participants exhibited and discussed a variety of reactions to emotional aspects of their work in the pubs, supporting ideas expressed in the literature. However, some concepts, such as the 'exaggerated surface acting' or 'veiled-authenticity' are not easily visible in other studies and seem to warrant further consideration. Whether this could be seen as a form of resistance, a more subtle approach than the waitresses who relied on avoiding eye contact and running to hide off-stage, or an attempt to defend the self from unreasonable customers is not completely clear. Indeed, whether the customers can actually perceive the real message that is being given with workers' eyes or vocal tone is not really demonstrated. If so, employees could be seen as protecting themselves against possible sanctions (through a complaint) at the expense of the organisation losing the customer who would be unlikely to leave happy. Even if the customer does not receive the complex message, the server can still feel the satisfaction of maintaining an element of control over the situation as she/he still believes the communication was successful.

Gender did seem to be a key issue in much of the literature, explicitly or implicitly (Mass observation 1970; Hey 1986; Smith 1985b). There was some evidence of gender stereotyping in the company and observable differences in emotional reactions to situations, but this was certainly not seen as pervasive as these earlier studies suggest – although this is only one type of pub chain and should not be seen as representative of the whole sector.

13.3 Theoretical Issues from the Literature

In the literature review chapters a variety of theoretical issues were identified as relevant to the concept of emotional labour. For example, there is a debate as to whether emotional labour necessarily results in emotional alienation of workers. This project's findings do support Korczynski's (2002) critique of Hochschild's (1983) apparent interpretation of organisational feeling rules as necessarily leading to such

alienation. The data collected identified a variety of situational factors that influence such effects. Participants in this study often stressed the significance of such issues as: different places (restaurant or bar; village, town or city centre); types of employer (Mac-Drinks type, Coaching House style or up-market units); type of customer (local 'regular' or occasional user; visitor; drinker or diner); types of job (manager; bar staff or waiting-staff); situations (busy or quiet; party atmosphere or quiet social drinking).

The topic of public/private emotions (Parkin 1993) could also be seen as of relevance in a study of public houses. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that a distinction between such public and private emotions is not as straightforward as it may appear on the surface. This is exemplified by, but not limited to the practice of living-in at work where employees often reported a blurred line between public and private experience. Participants referred to living-in as providing workers with social support networks and the availability of work relationships outside work hours, although still physically in the work environment. Respondents also drew attention to the potential pressures and emotional demands of living and working in the same building and the need to actually leave this environment when possible to get away from the workplace in order to retain some form of privacy. Managers with young children were considered to be particularly at risk of letting work affect their home life which was seen as another example of difficulties in differentiating between work (public) and non-work (private) selves.

Another area of relevance to this field of study relates to emotional authenticity. The present investigation draws attention to the nature of authenticity, suggesting that it not a straightforward concept to apply to emotion. Issues of authenticity and the naturalness of emotions were highlighted as being of considerable importance to bar staff. Many of the male bar staff protested the importance of genuine displays in the bar area although some observed and reported behaviours did seem to contradict this from time to time. However, there was also a feeling from some that although authentic or genuine such feelings could be inspired by another side to the individual's personality. This was exemplified by the assistant manager who referred to himself as a Jekyll and Hyde character depending on whether working or not. He saw these sides to his personality as both being authentic, although reflecting different aspects of himself. Much as the researcher recognised the need to identify self-as-observer or self-as-participant (amongst others) this individual sought to differentiate self-as-barman from self-away-from-work, both of which were

perceived as authentic to himself. Such examples demonstrate the difficulties with authenticity facing researchers. For example, it is likely that research based wholly on observation could misconstrue such changes in an individual's behaviour and demeanour as examples of inauthentic emotion out of character with private or non-work.

Further issues of alienation from personal or private emotions (Hochschild 1983) are also raised here, but these seem to be of less relevance to organisations such as this one where employees express relative comfort with the emotional situation in the workplace. As Goffman (1971) suggests if individuals and their 'audience' are happy with the reality and authenticity of an act, 'then, for the moment at least, only the sociologist or the socially disgruntled will have any doubts about the "realness" of what is being performed' (Goffman 1971:28). This also returns attention to the concept of staged authenticity (MacCanell 1973) where actual inauthenticity can be seen to provide actors, whether performer (bar staff) or audience (customer) with a level of emotional or psychological protection rather than necessarily damaging or alienating them.

The evidence is equally complex when considering the influence of gender within the pubs investigated. The idea that women are often seen as more naturally able to perform empathetic emotional labour (Taylor and Tyler 2000) was reflected in interview data. However, the less explicit emotional reactions to aspects of their work provided some insights into the nature of gender relations in the pub setting. There was considerable evidence that female workers were more able to deal with some of the more unpleasant emotional experiences, at least on the surface. Statements about such situations not bothering them anymore have been highlighted in earlier chapters, although this attitude does seem to have been a sort of deep-acting approach to coping with negative situations, especially relating to customer abuse or harassment. Thus, although the research offers some evidence that women are no longer as obviously and openly discriminated against as earlier studies (Mass Observation 1970; Harrison 1971; 1973) there are still a number of often less visible indications of the problem.

13.3.1 The Rhetoric of Emotions in Service Work

The evidence provided by this study adds to the growing literature that questions the validity of the often negative view of emotional labour shown in the academic

literature. Like a number of other fields of study relevant to management, there seem to be two polarised perspectives. 'Management' orientated writing (such as Goleman 1998) and often sees emotions at work as an opportunity for organisations and individuals to improve their competitive position or a human resource problem to be solved, especially in the emotional intelligence school of thought. More mainstream academics, notably sociologists (such as Hochschild 1983) tend to take a more critical view as would be expected given the nature of academia. However, there is a danger that this result in a predominantly negative perspective stressing the potential problems to the individuals involved rather than a full analysis (Wouters 1989; Tolich 1993; Morris and Feldman 1996; Korczynski 2002).

The rhetoric of the two viewpoints provides readers with useful clues as to the perspectives represented in the debate. Concepts such as emotional intelligence and emotional 'capital' (Thomson 1998) seem to serve as inspiration to management writers, while they are likely to evoke considerably different responses from sociological critics. Such individuals would be likely to see the championing of 'capitalist' emotion as much less positive and exemplifying their concerns about the potential emotional cost to service workers.

The service workers discussed in this thesis provide an insight into the emotional experience of employees in a pub environment that adds an additional perspective to the literature. Rather than viewing emotion in the workplace from a managerial or Marxist-feminist point of view this study has sought to take an ethnographic stance and focus more on the perceptions of the workers themselves. Hochschild (1983) felt that being obliged to display false emotions leaves workers at risk of 'losing the signal function of feeling' (Hochschild 1983:21) a concept discussed throughout the literature in various forms such as emotional exhaustion or burnout. Many of the bar-staff questioned prided themselves on being 'genuine' with customers, often explaining that the pub environment gives them the chance to be themselves when serving customers. This perception of the importance of authentic or real emotions would suggest that any situations where a bar-person needs to put on a false or 'phony' smile to keep a customer happy would not be welcomed and support Hochschild's idea. However, on the contrary, the fieldworker was told of numerous occasions when the false smile was not only helpful in dealing with difficult and abusive customers, but seemed to result in considerable self-satisfaction at not 'rising to the bait'. Examples of what they perceived as obvious exaggerated surface acting

were most striking when they involved an employee recovering from a loss of temper. It would, of course, be inappropriate to dwell on the rather aggressive and competitive image presented by these words. Such incidents were relatively rare, and according to interviewees, the more likely reaction when being rude or miserable towards a customer would be the realisation that their behaviour was not appropriate or professional.

13.4 Implications of the Research

Research into emotional labour in public houses has implications for managing emotions both in and out of work. The idea that service work is facilitated by emotional commoditisation, and that this can somehow harm employees should be of concern to anyone involved in such employment. One key issue that needs to be considered by researchers is the wide diversity of sectors and organisations within the service industry, if indeed 'industry' is an appropriate term to use. This was demonstrated by analysing certain differing attitudes, especially on the part of some managers who perceived themselves more as hotel managers than publicans, often despite a considerable part of their clienteles seeing the unit as their local pub which could lead to some confusion of service styles. This also raised an apparent problem with the way head office level was perceived by the same local customers as somehow trying to take what they saw as their pub away from them. There are certainly practical implications here for managers striving to change the nature of newly acquired units in an attempt to boost turnover by seeking alternative, more lucrative markets at the expense of their original core segments of drinkers. How successful such changes in service style and associated emotion rules (for customers as well as staff) will only be discernible over the longer term.

Employers would have an obvious interest in employees displaying and feeling emotions appropriate for organisational image and customer demands, demonstrating relevance to marketers. Organisations such as the Coaching Inn Company that do not clearly communicate their vision and values to employees cannot expect to have much direct control over organisational norms, such as feeling and display rules, leading to a flexible, heterogeneous culture with numerous differing sub-cultures at unit level. This trait was seen as advantageous by study participants, giving pub managers considerable autonomy in catering for their clientele, although

the negative or apathetic feelings sometimes shown towards senior management should be of concern to head office if, as seems likely, the organisation is trying to move towards clearer and stronger branding for customers.

Although this particular study has not considered the concept and rhetoric of empowerment explicitly, the relevance of emotional labour to the idea of empowering employees is apparent immediately. Not only are do both notions involve a discussion of the rights and wrongs of delegating more (or less) autonomy to lower levels of employee, but the literature seems to have a similar academic-practitioner/manager divide as the one suggested earlier regarding the analysis and application of emotion at work. This dichotomy was well illustrated by Hales (2000) when discussing the 'increasingly documented divergence between the widespread rhetoric of empowerment and scant evidence of substantively empowered workers' (Hales 2000:516). His paper strikes a similar chord to the debate that makes up a major part of this thesis between the management and more mainstream social science academic perspectives of emotions in organisations.

However, the apparent laissez faire approach to the learning and control emotion rules identified within the Coaching Inn Company did seem to have some problem areas. It could be argued that the less emotionally experienced employees – notably the young waitresses referred to actually need more guidance and/or supervision to ensure that customers are provided with the service required. If such guidance is to be offered care should be given to any resultant training given the negative attitudes often exhibited by employees to such activity. It would be preferable to tactfully guide such employees rather than prescribe rigid rules of behaviour and emotion if the personalised attributes of pub work, much valued by participants, are to be maintained. This issue also highlights one of the dilemmas of relying on recruitment of emotionally skilled servers when there are few such individuals available in the pub's locale, especially in a small village environment. It is perhaps of particular significance as these employees were often too young to serve in the bar, thus they were often legally limited to food service, which most of the participants agreed required a more formalised type of server/customer interaction.

Employee emotional health should also be of importance to senior managers with a long-term business vision, if performance is affected by such factors as emotional exhaustion and burnout. The discussion of perceived negative impacts insinuates that such burnout was seen as a possibility by workers, although not

inevitable. In an industry notorious for high staff turnover any factor that could influence an employee's long term ability to work (and work well) is of importance to employers, especially if staff recruitment is difficult in particular geographical areas. Thus the question of negative and positive impacts of emotional labour is an important one to consider. When reviewing the earlier chapters of the thesis the issue seems to become, if anything, less clear than before. The field of study is littered with dichotomies such as public/private, male/female, spontaneity/planned, authentic/inauthentic, employee (or unit manager) autonomy/ management (or head office) control, occupational/organisational culture, which impinge on the implementation and potential impacts of emotional labour in particular and the demands of service work in general. The participants in this investigation have reported some potential negative (such as relationship breakdown and burnout) and positive impacts (such as learning how to deal with difficult people and becoming more self-confident) of working in pubs generally, but most seemed careful not to attribute such effects wholly to emotional 'causes'. Rather they seemed to perceive such impacts as simply being attractive or less-attractive parts of the job in hand that would suit some individuals more or less than others, much the same as in any other employment.

It is also true that recognising the relevance and importance of emotions in any organisation provides an additional (or alternative) way of thinking about organisations to the more traditional rational approach (Fineman 2000). Ironically, not recognising emotional influences among employees and customers indicates an element of short-sightedness or lack of rational analysis of organisational and work behaviour. Since Darwin (1998) first published *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* more than a century ago, the value of emotions and emotional expression has been considered in a variety of academic disciplines, demonstrating their importance in communication in social encounters. This thesis has identified some examples of such interactions within the pub environment, often involving the communication of relatively complex messages from employee to customer and manager to employee. A good example of this was given by those participants who stressed the value of using emotional expression to show disapproval of a customer's behaviour while still displaying positive (if openly or obviously false) emotions, thus not 'giving them something to complain about'. Thus, if researchers attempt to understand any social situation or experience from a purely rational perspective, it is

argued they would be ignoring a major part of the human experience, and one that goes a long way to helping explain certain aspects of human behaviour.

13.5 Revisiting the Methodology

The complex and tacit nature of emotions presents researchers with a variety of methodological issues to address. This study has applied the practice of ethnography to organisational research, developing an in-depth investigation into work within the important pub sector. Studies of pubs are relatively few, and generally take different approach.

The ethnographic approach taken for the study seems to have been an effective way of investigating this topic, providing a deep investigation of a small number of public houses. This project has focused on the worker perspective, with the fieldworker taking on the role of bar worker both to ensure close contact with other employees and to share in the actual experience of working as a Coaching Inn employee. The value of this study is emphasised by the small number of full-participant observation studies in the field of emotion in organisations (such as Pierce 1999 who discusses the interviews she underwent to find employment in suitable law firms) despite a growing literature in the area generally. This may be because it is relatively difficult to gain temporary employment in many areas of service work, especially those which require specific job skills and a considerable amount of time to learn how to do the job. Hochschild's study of cabin crew was limited to non-participant observation and interviews, as were Tolich's (1993) and Rafaeli's (1989) studies of supermarket clerks. Thus, the nature of the pub sector, with its relatively low barriers to entry and a tradition of high staff turnover, provides researchers with ample opportunity to engage in this type of fieldwork.

Even when observation based studies have been conducted in the pub industry, whether participant or otherwise, they tend to have focused on observing encounters from a customer (or outsider) viewpoint (e.g. Hey 1986; Smith 1985a; 1985b; Mass Observation 1970). The ethnographic approach taken for this study proved invaluable in developing a relatively deep understanding of the nature of emotion management at work and emotional labour from the workers' perspective. However, this project still focuses on one perspective – that of the employee. Although this study did have the stated purpose of exploring the worker experience and perception of workplace

emotionality a more rounded and fuller view should perhaps give more attention to customer viewpoints and investigate senior management more fully. One interview was held with a director, but this could have been extended to even include a period of participant observation at head office. However, this would have been problematic if full participation was sought, as it is considerably more difficult to find suitable employment in such a setting than in the pubs themselves.

The periods of participant observation, although physically and emotionally demanding helped the fieldworker develop insights based on actual experience within the work setting, rather than relying on second hand accounts from experts. Given the fieldworker's previous experience working in the hospitality industry it was often difficult to adopt the role of naïf investigator, which could be seen as a limitation of the study. However as a native fieldworker it was generally found to be easier to integrate in each unit, saving time, which facilitated a greater number of fieldwork periods, thus building a particularly rich database of useful material. Like any research endeavour, the potential disadvantages and limitations of an approach should be weighed against its distinctive advantages and strengths. So, although considerable depth is possible through first hand experience and observation, any ethnographer engaged in participant observation is subject to the numerous dilemmas, distractions and biases of the field which are considered earlier in the thesis.

The interviewing strategy gave the opportunity to consider the ideas generated from the field and the literature. Respondents told their own stories, in their own way, providing a rich variety of experiences and perspectives of managing emotions in the pub environment. Thus the interviews provided a form of data source triangulation comparing with and developing from the field diary observations and, as well as discussing differing perspectives of emotion at work and examples of data from both sources are used throughout the thesis. Such triangulation should be viewed from the ethnographic tradition rather than seen as a straightforward test for reliability or validity as the researcher recognises that the data represent individual views and perceptions of reality rather than a single objective truth.

The probing of interviewees encouraged them to reflect on ideas and situations to a depth that they often acknowledged had not been achieved by them before. One advantage of this was a certain moving beyond initial responses which may be made with little thought or are seen by interviewees as appropriate, such as in the case of

the barmaid who reconsidered her feelings toward gender stereotyping. The reflective field-notes considered this issue, suggesting that:

> This could also link with validity or trustworthiness of data – often the first response to a question changes when interviewees think about a subject (especially when asked for explanations). This could indicate a possible problem with single response "tick a box" questionnaires – the fist thought/idea/response may not be true, but not necessarily because respondents mean to actually tell a lie, rather they may simply not have thought through the question at first or maybe they are even (subconsciously?) second-guessing what the interviewee 'wants' to hear or what is socially acceptable/politically correct.

This is also important given the use of critical incidents as a useful way of instigating interviews. Critical incidents described by the interviewees could often be critical in their distinctiveness, thus not everyday experiences. Thus focusing excessively on them would inevitably result in weak and unconvincing conclusions. However, using them as an initial vehicle for probing about wider emotional issues served to help respondents take a reflective approach to the interviews.

Although the number of interviews would seem small to a positivist seeking reliability through large, representative samples, the study design was more concerned with seeking explanations of social happenings through in-depth discussion with service workers, encouraging respondents to talk candidly about their feelings and experiences in a way that rigid questionnaires would be unlikely to. Another criticism of any use of interviews as sources of evidence is that they rely on respondents' perceptions of their experience rather than necessarily presenting reality. At best researchers using such data collection techniques can develop a personally constructed version of reality, based on respondents' interpretations of their personal experiences and observations. At worst, it is possible that respondents may even seek to mislead researchers. It seems important to point out that these provisos would also apply to some quantitative techniques such as questionnaire surveys as well.

The very flexibility of the research design could be seen as another possible limitation given the potential for the fieldworker to subjectively decide what to observe, do or ask. Questionnaires are written in advance and systematic, non-participant observation would provide more prescriptive guidelines as to precisely which elements are to be addressed, observed, asked about and recorded. In this case, however, the study objectives developed over the course of the project. Some key objectives and research questions arose as a result of a desk-based analysis and

evaluation of the literature, while others evolved from the fieldwork itself. Paradoxically, given the above idea that such flexibility could bias the data collection by relying on the fieldworker's subjective judgement, it actually gave interviewees and other study participants the opportunity to greater influence the project's progress. This certainly shows a commitment to the ethnographic ideal of trying to see the full picture (or at least as full a picture as is possible) from the perspective of the people being investigated.

13.5.1 Ethical Issues

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) stressed the need for ethnographers and all social researchers to avoid allowing their political and other values to influence their work. They assert that 'the only value which is central to research is truth: the aim should be to produce true accounts of social phenomena.' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:263). However, whether there is, or could be, an objective truth given the nature of human investigations is questionable. Perhaps an ethnographic account or narrative such as this thesis can only really be seen as a form of subjective truth, a thick description of complex social occurrences observed, analysed and interpreted by a single individual (the researcher). The presentation of data, findings and interpretations is perhaps one of the most important issues in any discussion of research ethics. In this case the researcher has striven for transparency throughout the process, evidenced by the reflexive chapter, reflective statements on methodology and considerable openness relating to the data and analytic processes (specifically illustrated in a number of appendices).

Other ethical issues also warrant consideration here. Questions of nonmaleficence and beneficence require consideration in relation to Osman's (2001) guidelines outlined in the chapter on study design. Beyond a small number of discussions with colleagues about anonymity, the participant observation itself did not seem to result in any particularly difficult ethical issues given the research approach of openness with participants and identity concealment in reporting. The interview programme also seemed ethically sound. In fact, although long and intense the interviews resulted in considerable positive feedback from respondents. They welcomed the chance to share their ideas and experiences, and claimed to find the

experience rewarding. They also valued the opportunity to reflect on their feelings in relation to work in a way that they rarely, if ever, did in their everyday life.

Some additional ethical issues about field research and researcher selves are raised in the following passage from the field-notes. The reflection was triggered by a discussion the fieldworker had with one of the managers about the nature of his role in the pub. The manager (Ben) seemed surprised that participant observation was a 'real' type of research as the fieldworker can not be expected to retain objective distance from the research surroundings (something that was considered more fully earlier in the thesis). The resultant conversation led to the fieldworker reflecting on the issues that evening after his shift:

> One of the key issues regarding research (data collection) relates to research ethics and degree of participation. Ben's comments about my role as observer were certainly relevant, although I believe I found an appropriate and practical balance. It is true that I "influenced" phenomena (inevitable if a researcher is to actually work for the organisation studied. Cavendish [(1982)] is perhaps a good example of this when she gave her colleagues expert advice, although it would not really be fair to criticise this as her intention was not specifically to study those women, rather to live with them and experience their type of existence. The book she published was almost incidental to her work), but my participant role needed a degree of immersion and enculturation that prevented objective isolation. Perhaps more difficult for me (personally) was the reaction to unethical (illegal) management practices that I observed, and was told to participate in by Ben himself (e.g. re-filtering beer from the dregs at the end of a shift or fiddling company stock records). This led to my biggest difference of opinion (with Rodney) and was difficult to come to terms with.

Such practices were observed from time to time, and it did cause the researcher unease in relation to his role. If he was simply a member of staff he would be uncomfortable working in such units, but as a participant observer he endeavoured to avoid actively participating in them (which was possible to an extent as they were rarely directly relevant to the study objectives except in cases of opening beyond licensed hours for non-residents in some units). Interestingly he found this particular practice less problematic as, although illegal, it did not seem to be an attempt to cheat customers or the organisation, hence not doing harm.

13.6 Recommendations

13.6.1 Research Topics for Further Investigation

No single investigation can hope to give attention to all the relevant and important factors, issues or theoretical considerations of a field of study. This study has focused on one part of the economically and socially important public house sector and started to consider some emotional issues within this segment of the hospitality industry. Breweries still retain a considerable proportion of the total number of units, with a number of privately owned properties. The growth of privately owned pub-chains has led to a wide variety of types from heterogeneous groups of units, such as the one featured here, to much more heavily branded, town-centre chains. Given this variety there is considerable scope for further research into the sector, comparing the types of emotional demands in different environments.

One area that does not seem to have received much attention in the literature is that of the social support offered by colleagues (and occasionally customers) when dealing with the less pleasant emotional parts of a service job. This study suggests that this is a relatively important approach to coping with the demands of emotional labour in pubs and catering which is worth further investigation both in this industry and other customer contact sectors.

As suggested in the previous section, the potential relevance of emotional labour to empowerment is quite clear. Future research into either concept would probably be strengthened by some level of integration of the two ideas.

One other important theoretical area that has received no specific attention in the current study is that of emotional contagion (Pugh 2001) which could be seen as when 'people automatically mimic the expressive displays of others and, through somantic feedback, experience similar emotions.' (Briner and Totterdell 2002:241). Throughout the thesis oblique reference has been made to the idea of emotional labourers as somehow aiming to alter the emotions of customers (or indeed colleagues and subordinates) or as Hochschild 1983:7) puts it, manipulating the 'state of mind in others', with little real consideration of how this can be done, short of rather vague assertions based on the clichés of service. Although this has not been a central focus of this particular study, ideas such as emotional contagion are likely to help better understand the intricacies of emotional processes within and beyond the workplace.

13.6.2 Research Methodology

Of course the ethnographic approach can not be seen as problem free or ideal. Earlier discussions have identified weaknesses to the nature of ethnography as a relatively subjective methodology, although the same could be said of other types of social research, especially when studying difficult-to-measure experiences such as emotions. This project only represents a necessarily incomplete view of a relatively small number of stories, told to, participated in, experienced, observed, discussed, analysed and interpreted by a single fieldworker by and/or with a small number of informants. Reflecting on the effectiveness of the research design it is inevitable that improvements could be made with hindsight.

Ethnography provides the opportunity for researchers to continually add to their arsenal of data collection and analysis techniques, and, over the course of this study, a number of such potentially useful methods have been identified. The enthusiasm with which many of the interviewees took part in the study was encouraging, and the reflective value many reported suggests that such a rich source of information could be more fully used in future projects. Perhaps such individuals could be asked to take part in more longitudinal studies, keeping personal reflective diaries that could be periodically reviewed and discussed with fieldworkers. Although high staff turnover would present problems in this type of longitudinal study, this approach could encourage such participants to keep in touch with the researcher, enabling a rich database to be developed, based on varied work experiences in different settings.

Although this focus on workers seemed to be an appropriate approach for the research, more consideration of customers would give additional points of view, perhaps helping triangulate findings from an alternative perspective, especially given the nature of pubs. Another possible tool could be introduced into such studies, making use of video technology to develop the idea of critical incident analysis. Recording 'authentic' or staged service situations would provide relevant situations for discussion in interviews. Interviewees, both individually and in groups, would be asked to discuss what they observe in such videos, interpreting any visual and verbal messages of emotion in the light of their own experience.

13.7 Concluding Statement

This chapter has reported and discussed some of the key findings of the project, considering their implications and outlining some recommendations for future work in the area. The research reported here seems to contribute to the field in two ways. Empirically the study adds to the growing literature on emotions in organisations by investigating the public house sector. Methodologically the study shows the value of ethnography to organisations such as the Coaching Inn Company. Theoretically the research draws attention to a number of relevant issues such as emotional alienation, the work/leisure divide and authenticity. Although a challenging approach to research, working as a full-time member of staff offered an insight into the demands and pleasures of a complex and often misunderstood type of work. It adds to the literature on pubs that usually relies on interviews alone (e.g. Guerrier 2000), questionnaire surveys (e.g. Riley et al 1998) or participant observation as customer (e.g. Smith 1985a; 1985b; Hunt 1989).

The study has outlined a number of insights into the emotional demands of working in UK pubs, building on the limited recent research in this important sector of the hospitality industry. It is hoped that this will provide a sound basis for further studies in the area, not limited to the field of emotional labour.

The study produced a number of personal highs and lows for the researcher. The fieldwork took place over a period of almost two years, with intensive periods of participant observation supported by in-depth interviews. This approach enabled the fieldworker to become thoroughly acculturated into the units studied, learning about the demands of the job first-hand. As with any fieldwork, this period had a number of problems, most of which (such as the abusive manager and dealing with both long hours and difficult customers) have been detailed in the thesis. After the fieldwork the research process became almost more demanding – not so much physically, but definitely intellectually and emotionally (surely there is a potentially fascinating investigation in the emotional demands of completing a research degree in itself?). Personal circumstances led the researcher to begin a full-time teaching job before the thesis was completed, leading to a considerable delay in writing this document. The increasingly demanding schedule of UK higher education teaching has extended this project by well over a year, although when reflecting on the experience this has not necessarily been a bad thing. This extra time has probably resulted in more real

thinking and reflective time than is likely in a 'full-time' project when the pressures to complete may paradoxically rush the student more. Although there is definitely pressure to complete as a full-time student, everyone (employers, colleagues, supervisors, and perhaps most importantly researchers' partners) seems to understand the balancing of different commitments on available time.

Thus far the focus of this last section has been on problems. It is important to balance this by briefly considering the highs of the project. The first day in the research students office (although nervous, it was finally starting); finally completing, submitting and passing the proposal (not always straightforward); being told by a director that the Coaching Inn Company would allow the research within the chain (so many colleagues had many problems gaining access); the first day of fieldwork (the excitement of being back in the field); the *last* day of fieldwork (although tinged with some sadness, what a relief!); completing and submitting the first full draft of the thesis (despite the subsequent criticisms from the team); the conferences where various papers were well received (especially those conference dinners – one of which took place during the final of Euro 2000); seeing the first article derived from the research in print (so despite all the doubts there must be *some* value to the work).

The support of colleagues, both from the Coaching Inn Company, Oxford Brookes University (where the PhD is registered), University College (a previous employer) Northampton and Leeds Metropolitan University (the researcher's present employer) proved invaluable in coping with the low points and making the most of the highs. In particular the supervision team were supportive, often asking those difficult questions essential to any successful research. The project was a personally rewarding experience, building a greater understanding of the pub industry in general and the Coaching Inn Company and its employees in particular.

A final note must be made of the latter stage of this project. It is not easy to be open and reflexive in writing. Indeed the 'reflexive discussion' chapter was not added until the researcher and supervision team agreed that the first draft of this thesis was rather lacking in reflection on the research process. This was despite the researcher stressing the value of such an approach in the methodology chapter – an important lesson in the need to 'practice what you preach', and be seen to be doing so. This enables the reader to follow the process of reflection, qualitative analysis and interpretation of data more fully. The researcher hopes that this is the case throughout the thesis and that the research process is transparently and usefully recounted.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. From Aims to Objectives

Given the ethnographic approach taken to this study, the objectives were developed over the course of the research. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) explain, research problems and questions are often transformed as a project proceeds, perhaps because the original question(s) are based on inaccurate assumptions and that additional issues are uncovered as more data is collected and analysed.

Focusing the Study

In the early stages of the project the overall aim was not very clearly defined. This initial aim could be described as a general intention to understand better the emotional nature of service work by examining service interaction within the hospitality industry. Naturally, such a broad aim required considerable development to present a practical topic for investigation.

A proposal was developed, based on a thorough review of the literature, seeking undeveloped areas and focusing the researcher's interests. It soon became clear that the public house sector had received relatively little attention in the academic literature, while presenting itself as a major source of emotional labour given the size and nature of this part of the hospitality industry.

A series of specific research objectives were developed as follows. The research project intended to:

1. Analyse the nature of emotion rules within a public house environment.
2. To identify the emotional impacts of such emotion rules as perceived by service employees in public houses.
3. Discover and evaluate how service staff cope with and react to the demands of serving different types of customers, especially relating to the performance of emotions in relation to those suggested by employers, trainers and in the literature.
4. Recommend measures that could be adopted by organisations and individuals to improve the emotional demands of service work to the benefit of employers, employees and customers.

As the study progressed the last of these seemed particularly problematic given the wide variety of individuals involved in the public house sector. As such it

seemed more appropriate to develop an analysis of the implications of the emotional side of pub work for participants to consider, whether service provider or customer.

The remaining objectives derived heavily from the literature on emotional labour which seemed to focus on the possible negative emotional impacts of service work on customer contact staff. The apparent 'mono-focus' on harmful effects (Korczynski 2003:55) and lack of consideration of positive impacts gave some concern. Even when any such beneficial emotional effects are hinted at, there seems to be little attempt to collect supporting data. Thus, it seemed important to investigate the possible emotional effects of working in a service organisation to include both positive and negative viewpoints.

Additional Objectives

The first objective was rather broad in nature, but provided scope for objective development as additional themes and issues became apparent through the emerging data according to ethnographic principles. The nature of rules and norms governing emotional management had an obvious relevance to any impacts on and coping techniques utilised by staff, and it was felt important to investigate these in more depth than originally intended.

The key additional objectives could be identified as: The research project intends to

1. Identify mechanisms for the setting and enforcing of emotion rules in public houses.
2. Analyse the processes by which customer contact employees learn such rules and the emotional skills necessary to follow them effectively.

The researcher recognised that the inclusion of these additional objectives would somewhat lessen the attention given to the original ones, but it was felt necessary that they be included in order to develop a more complete understanding of the phenomenon.

The thesis structure is intended to reflect these objectives appropriately. As such it seems useful to alter the order in which each is addressed, thus enabling the logical development of the thesis. The original first objective (to analyse the nature of emotion rules within a public house environment) can effectively be subsumed in the resultant list.

6. Identify mechanisms for the setting and enforcing of emotion rules in public houses.
7. Analyse the processes by which customer contact employees learn such rules and the emotional skills necessary to follow them effectively in public houses.
8. To identify the emotional impacts of such emotion rules as perceived by service employees in public houses.
9. To explore how service staff react to and cope with the emotional demands of serving different types of pub customers.
10. To consider the implications of the emotional demands of service work for employers, employees and customers.

Appendix 2 Some Excerpts from the Field Diary

From the Ship

Saturday 5 Dec

Lie in until 10.00 for an 11.00 start (very nice after doing breakfast so much last week).

I did the bar alone for lunch - no restaurant for Saturday lunch.

Slow start, but a few locals arrived in dribs and drabs after midday. A few of the 'very' regulars already started to greet me by name – a good sign I think. Chatted away with them between serving. A few people came in for bar meals. I had a few minor problems with the till (especially opening tables) and the credit card machine, but James quickly put me right.

I felt in a very good mood and very comfortable with the bar and customers – possibly because of a good lie in and enough customers not to be too bored (and not so many as to make it crazy).

None of today's (lunch) customers were unpleasant or arrogant, so no problems so far.

Had some lunch just before 3.00 then cleared around the bar a bit and left James to it for the afternoon - cup of tea and fag in my room.

The evening was the first moderately busy session for me.

We had a party of 22 (that became 23) from a nearby cricket club, 4 for the restaurant (in the snug as there was no room for them in the restaurant itself – mix up with bookings) and 6 booked in the bar - the remnants of yesterday's wedding party.

I started in the bar (Paul had set up the tables while I was off) at 6.30.

Had the usual crowd in for happy hour, and we were chatting away. I brought up the subject of rugby (as they seemed the 'type' and I'd watched the England-south Africa match in the afternoon – we won 13-7, so that gave us all something to chat about).

A group of the locals were talking about something – they were 'winding up' out of one of their number. He was getting a little upset, and was pretty sure of his point of view. However, he soon seemed to realise that his friends were just having a go and he came back to them with a classic "you can believe what you like - it's only bar talk after all." – says it all.

There hasn't really been too much piss taking really, although last night James was the butt of a bit. He commented early on that it seemed quiet in the bar (it was v. Cold and raining) and every couple of minutes one or another of them would say 'it's quiet tonight' with much sniggering.

One by-the-by - it's bloody hard writing notes after 10-14 hour split shifts.

June joined me on the bar and I was supposed to cover the snug and bar food.

The Germans (wedding party) were sitting in the bar waiting to eat and the cricket club started arriving. It got pretty mad in the bar for a while before they went through at about 8.00. The 'snug 4' got in about the same time.

From then until after 10.00 I was pretty occupied with the snug, bar and fetching a few bottles of wine for the restaurant – lots of claret.

Had a few more bar meals – one table had 3 courses (quite unusual in the bar). All were pleasant and easy to please, although one woman (with her husband) had a disconcerting habit of talking to him while seeming as if she was talking to me when clearing the table and delivering dishes – weird feeling.

It got a bit rushed at times - pause, then lots of things coming out at the same time, especially dessert time. James seemed to get a tiny bit panicky at times - 'peter, deserts ready,' 'come straight back to pick up table whatever's stuff,' I found myself apologising a bit for silly mistakes (or often – nothing) felt comfortable most of the time, but was a bit flustered when I found that we'd run out of rolled cutlery.

I still get on well with the kitchen. They seem VERY mellow for chefs, no doubt yelling comes sometimes.

No-one seems to drink much during shifts (the chefs and James don't seem to have much after either).

It started to thin out after 10.00 and the bar was empty by 11.00 (except for a couple who sat with empty glasses on their table for ages).

Started polishing cutlery, then had dinner. James had ordered some pizzas for staff, but my dinner was already done. They went up to his flat and the chefs went home.

When everyone came down June went home and I carried on polishing cutlery and washing glasses and serving a few cricketers from the party – although most of them went home before 11.45. One of them, a loud American, pissed me off a bit taking the piss out of James's accent (behind his back) – perhaps I felt defensive towards the boss, or just liked James (or maybe disliked his apparent arrogance).

Stopped serving at 12.00, and they all left. Paul wanted to go to bed, so he said he'd finish the last of the bar cleaning – so, gratefully, I went to bed.

Sunday 6 Dec

Started at 9.00 and spent some time serving the 6 (wedding party) their breakfast – they came down pretty late so I helped Paul (who was on breakfast) out a bit.

Next I rolled the bar cutlery ready for lunch and set the tables in the restaurant.

Took another lunch booking making it 17 in all, so Paul 'closed' the restaurant bookings for the session.

I finished preparing the bar and James went off somewhere. One of the waitresses was sick, so the little housekeeper – Jo – (a young girl with no waiting experience) took over – interesting.

I was on the bar, with Paul and the girls waiting (mainly in the restaurant).

Within seconds of 12.00 there were quite a few customer (all arriving at once) leaving me pretty busy for all of lunch – I hardly stopped serving for a second.

Lots and lots of bar food was ordered – we managed at least 2 sittings (including the snug area).

It was frustrating to be messing with food orders at the bar, with so many others waiting to be served – and the till takes a while to get used to.

We had problems with the beers. The Harvey's went off and the new barrel wasn't quite ready, then the directors seemed to turn sour (probably the pipes) so lots of the locals didn't stay very long (Harveys is definitely the most popular beer) although we did serve a few more John Smiths and Guinesses than usual.

The bar food crowd thinned and refilled and finally died down around 2.00; but a few latecomers who arrived after we stopped serving were disappointed.

I had little to do with the restaurant except delivering a couple of drinks to waitresses (who seemed to get quite stressed – twice I was interrupted with an "I need a 'whatever' Now." while in the middle of a round, but I tried to keep my cool as they're both young and inexperienced.

Things slowed down, with a few drinkers from time to time. The chefs finished and came through for a beer (halves of shandy) and a quick chat before going home. Someone made a minor negative comment about the Spanish KP who didn't sit with everyone else while having his lunch.

I stayed on in the bar until about 5.30, having some dinner (pork) mid afternoon.

It was a relief to finally get off, although I was back soon, starting again in the bar at 6.30.

When I came back there were a few locals in the bar, but Paul and James weren't about. A three cover sat at table 3 for meals (but had to wait for bar food) and wanted to put their drinks on the bill – but I found table 3 was still open from lunch. I tried to find someone to help me clear the table account, but my operator number got stuck so I had to use June's EPOS number for a while.

Paul eventually turned up (after I'd had a moan with Gordon about finding the bar unmanned when I arrived). No-one had come for about 15 minutes and Gordon had

said he thought the pub was being badly run – probably because Paul and James are hotel people rather than publicans. I was pretty pissed off – as much with my mess-up on the till as with them.

When Paul came I told him about the open bill, assuming that it hadn't been paid for. He didn't seem too bothered (luckily.). The bill was for about £25.

There was a local woman in the bar (turned out to be Gordon's wife) with a gorgeous border collie – quite a large one – and it was the centre of attention for a while.

Another woman came in to order food – she turned out to be a resident and joined in the conversation about Shep (the dog) until her dinner came through.

Paul and Hugh did a food stock-take (apparently a regular thing on Sunday evenings).

After the diners left a couple of drinkers stayed on for a while, but they had all gone by about 8.00 leaving me with an empty bar, so I cleaned the glass fridge doors and moped around the bar a bit.

Paul came back to the bar about 9.00 and we sat down over a beer chatting about his career - he's interested in hotels (especially in Canada), cruise-ships and outside catering, but definitely not pubs. He said he's only here to help James out over Christmas – they had worked together in James's last hotel (James was GM and Paul his banqueting manager.

The chefs joined us (Hugh and Mikey – the part timer) and we sat talking in the bar. Later on a customer (regular resident) came in for a beer before bed.

I had dinner with David, the Spanish KP and took the opportunity to talk to him for a bit. He's from Barcelona and is only here for 3 months to improve his English. He said that he finds the pub staff to be OK, and feels quite happy here (apart from missing his friends and family).

After I went into the bar and served Carla, a local girl as Paul wasn't there, chatting about cars, bikes and crazy drivers until Paul came back. I left them to it and went to my room, knackered, at about 10.30.

Monday 7 Dec

Got up around 11.00, had some breakfast and phoned Diane to tell her what's going on. Did some washing in James' flat.

Had a quick walk around the village – not much to see.

Back at the pub for some lunch then watched some TV and sorted my washing. Did my new employee paperwork (need to get my national insurance number.).

Started work at 3.00. James and Paul went out to take James' car for an MOT. While they were out I polished and wrapped cutlery and tog the bar ready for the evening. Liz (waitress) called and asked if she was working, I checked the rota and said yes –

big mistake. When she arrived it turned out that she is 'Elizabeth' on the rota, and 'Liz' works in the kitchen – so she had to be sent home. Shit! Felt pretty guilty about that one, getting her in when she wasn't supposed to be.

A few customers started to filter in. A couple of guys wanted to eat at 6.15, but had to wait until 7.00.

I checked in my first accommodation customer – no problem, except that I don't know how to put it on the computer.

Served a few locals and forgot about happy hour beers – Gordon, one of the regulars, soon put me right though. They certainly won't let me get away with that sort of mistake!

June got in about 6.30 and we kept the bar going. Had quite a few bar meals – mainly residents. I was mainly waiting tables – generally smooth.

A guy in the bar ordered a meal from me and wanted to eat at table 3, but when the food came (brought in by Paul – he didn't do much serving staying in the kitchen). A girl was sitting at the laid table, confusing me a bit, but I managed to sort it out. As a result Paul asked me to wait tables while June took all the orders. I must admit I took offence a bit, as I assumed he was implying that I had messed up, so I tried to explain and got a bit frustrated as I didn't want to seem to be making excuses, although at the same time I didn't want him to think I'd messed up.

After the meals were cleared, June asked if we could sort out the cellar ASAP (our job for the evening) as she didn't feel well and wanted to go home early.

I found Paul setting the restaurant for breakfast, told him and helped him finish off.

We cleared the cellar (very messy, wet and smelly) a bit and bleached part of the floor, then he went up top. I was surprised that we didn't do a more thorough job and suggested finishing off the next day - OK.

I had some dinner then took over from June. We had a couple of drinkers, but they left early. By 9.30 Hugh and Liz (kitchen) left and James hadn't been around all evening, leaving just Paul, Carla (customer) and me. A single guy and two other guys came in for a quick drink later on, but apart from that it was just the three of us. Paul had a good few halves and I had a couple of pints and we were chatting away until about 1.00.

The subject of working on Christmas day came up. Paul said he loved it and told us that he and James both said that the day they didn't enjoy working on Christmas day they would give up catering! He also said he loved taking time with families (while serving), chatting with kids ("What did Santa bring you then?").

I think I pissed Carla off a bit later on, talking about 'the mushroom and the cross' (weird book about religion) – she really seemed to take offence and I was very surprised) after our earlier conversation when she seemed much more placid and relaxed, so I was quite quick to say good night after that. Perhaps she was tired,

though she seemed to be coming on to Paul, so maybe my presence at that time (1.00) was enough to piss her off.

Tuesday 8 Dec

Almost overslept (despite the alarm call) but managed to get ready by 9.30.

Started off setting the restaurant up – there's a party of 12 (Christmas menu) tonight. Then set up the bar for lunch.

Did lunch with James – very slow, the first customers didn't come in until 12.30. Only served 8 lunches with no drinkers in until quite late, so I was able to serve customers 'at table' more – like a restaurant rather than a bar – without keeping other customers waiting.

Everyone was happy with their food and I felt pretty good about the session - apart from being slow, at least there were things to keep me going. I sold my first glass of Seddlescombe (local English wine) to an American woman and she praised it, wanting to see the bottle.

A couple of locals came in later on in the session, including Gordon, who is definitely the pub 'character'.

Polished and rolled cutlery for the evening and got the bar ready.

James and I also talked about the pub more generally – before James came it opened from 11.00-3.00 and closed in the afternoon. James opens the door at 7.00 am and welcomes coffee sales and doesn't close in the afternoon. I recommended inviting the WI or whatever for a coffee morning to show people we open early - he's already done one for the lifeboat association. He also mentioned the cricket club and offering nibbles next week when they come – as they are likely to drink lots.

Paul took over at about 2.30 and I got some lunch while he cleaned the beer pipes.

Back to the bar at 6.30. Gordon was still there with a couple of the other locals. He finally left after 7.00, spending about 5 hours in the pub and drinking lots of beer. He certainly looked pissed.

A couple of residents came in for dinner about 6.30, and after 7.00 a few more gradually arrived – mostly single residents, but most of them know some of the others and shared tables. Quite good business in food, but only a couple of eaters aren't residents. It's a little bit worrying that so few locals come here, although last night Carla told Paul and I that Kent people like to 'save up' for Christmas and don't go out much in early December – very different from the north and the east - not like Norfolk at all.

Paul and Liz looked after the party of 10 in the restaurant (2 of which were residents). Liz had spoken to me, telling me not to worry about Monday's mix up, but I still feel bad about it.

The residents started to float away and Carla came in with a guy (Henry) for a few beers. I said that I hoped I hadn't offended her last night – of course not. She was as bubbly as ever and didn't seem to remember our disagreement at all – acting?

Earlier Gordon (chef) had been taking the piss out of Paul, warning him that Carla would "eat him alive" so I'm not the only one who picked up that Carla is interested in him!

Two local 'ladies' ate in the side bar, and they seemed a little stand-offish and snobbish to start with (and asked for extra vegetables – winding up Gordon [chef] who doesn't like changing his service at all. – he gave them some green beans in the end) but after their meal we chatted quite amicably as they had a few drinks. The seemed worried that the place might change 'under new management'. I said they'd be silly to change it too much and risk losing the few regulars they've got. It turned out that one of them is the vice president of the local cricket club.

The only other couple (residents) eating in the bar seemed very-pleasant to start with, and James served them a coffee while I was elsewhere, then the guy came to me at the bar (with the chefs who'd just finished) to moan about a jug of milk that "hadn't been cleaned properly" and "had something floating in it." I took it, looked – it had a stain in the bottom that 'flashed' as the milk slopped about, but certainly wasn't floating! Gordon seemed concerned, but I showed him. We were a bit pissed off as the guy's attitude changed so quickly and he "wasn't happy" – git! I changed it, but politely told him that 'it was just a stain.' Although I wanted to show the customer that he had exaggerated, it was important not to give him an 'excuse' to get more angry, so of course gave an apology – a fake one, in name only (that's something to follow up later; how does that fit into the idea of emotional labour?).

Later on a resident from the restaurant party was also pissed off. I was the only one around at the time, and he "wasn't happy" either, as he had gone to his outside room and had been locked out: "Ridiculous to be locked out at only 9.30." I was sure no staff had done it and again used the calm 'apology and reason', saying that a guest must have done it by mistake (obviously implying that he might have done it himself, but giving no further reason of complaint).

A small group from the local PTA came in to the bar later and talked about having their annual do here, but it sounds as if there'd be too many for our restaurant (about 100).

Later on I offered to join the conversation when they were discussing skiing, but they seemed to want to keep pretty much to themselves so I butted out.

Helped Paul relay the restaurant, then sorted the bar when the PTA group left just after 11.00, then had a beer and a cigar with Paul. Bed by 12.30.

It's amazing how a perfectly happy, pleasant customer can change late in an evening over a silly little thing, into a negative, semi-abusive guy – is it just drink?

Reflections - week 2

Boredom! When people in the bar keep to themselves.

Last night when serving the PTA group (4 or 5) they were the only customers for about an hour. They were talking about different topics, and when they started on skiing I made the effort to join in – they responded briefly when I mentioned the 'long' Zermatt run, but soon reverted to group talk, effectively shutting me out (not necessarily intentionally, but that's how it seemed at the time). Being the barman I was 'stuck' on the bar most of the time with little to do. It was not so much uncomfortable as a little frustrating as I couldn't relax very much and didn't feel involved. Thought – do I like pub work as it is usually so easy to feel as if I belong and am acknowledged as part of the group, even though they are being served while I serve?

The regulars (most anyway) already greet me by name and, if they don't always involve me in conversation, take it as natural when I join in. I do enjoy chatting and often stay by a table discussing whatever – the pub, the weather etc. customers (regulars and/or locales especially) often ask about me (the new one) and often seem interested in my research. Gordon (the centre of the regulars) often brings up the subject, offering tips (e.g. "You should go to the Black Lion" a somewhat busier nearby pub).

Sport is a regular-at-the-bar topic, especially rugby and cricket (this isn't a football pub) Longish, sometimes serious, dissections of matches (especially the Saturday defeat of South Africa by England – despite winning we all criticise elements of England's game, especially the 2nd penalty goal, when all good sense suggested a try attempt would be the only course to force 2 scores by S. A. for a win. Everyone in the pub is an expert, and there is a real tendency to criticise even when the outcome is good. Does that say something about the nature of pubs and pub conversations?

Being in a new place with 'strangers' has thrown me in at the deep end. No worry of being a privileged spare part here which was a worry when starting as 'the student'. James is very solicitous and makes life here; O.K. long hours but flexibility. All the staff are friendly and don't hassle me (so far) although he young waitresses can get a bit stressed at times. All in all it's an OK working environment so far.

One interesting thing (from the customer centred point of view) is the different attitudes towards the pub.

A couple of days ago Paul said that he didn't like to call it a pub. He's from a hotel background (also working in his parent's wine bar). I don't know if this is a sort of snobbery? As he had earlier said, since coming to the Ship to help out James (his ex-boss) that he definitely didn't want a career in pubs. From other things he has said I think he prefers the hustle and bustle of very busy hotels (or clubs, wine bars etc) with big functions. He and James often talk about some of the massive functions they've done in the past with hundreds of customers – almost denigrating a mere pub with a 34 cover restaurant (and that is pushing it).

Paul also has problems with the kitchen (again "in the past I used to...") and whinges at James when Hugh (head chef) moans about the old days ("before the Coaching Inns took over" when "we used to get GP in the high 70s")

The regulars often criticise James (mostly in jest) to me, saying he's not very good at running a pub, and that there are a lot of differences between pubs and hotels. But he does seem to mingle quite well with the regulars – Northern charm? It is particularly difficult in a place like the Ship because local drinking trade is a very small part of the business – a small group come in every evening, but don't stay for long and rarely come back after dinner, so most business comes from letting rooms (hence hotel) and food (the regulars very rarely eat – even a packet of crisps, which often winds James up.

Interestingly the most offended I've been (so far) by a customer was the American from the cricket club on Saturday. After their dinner a few of them came into the bar for farewell drinks, and the American was going on about the Northerner who 'can't speak English'. Was I feeling defensive of an OK boss? It is interesting to me that I can feel defensive of the boss with 'strangers' while every day joking with colleagues and even regulars about his weaknesses. I seemed to deal with it by privately defining my disapproval for the customer's comments to myself and trying not to get too involved with their conversation (probably best anyway) apart from a few minor, pointed but polite retorts. Here I avoided getting involved in the conversation as I found his attitude offensive, whereas I was 'snubbed' by the PTA people when I tried to join in, neither of these groups were 'regulars' even if they were locals, and I never really experienced either situation with Gordon and co.

Different people see the Ship in a different light, for whatever reason. Chefs – restaurant; Paul and James – hotel; Regulars – community pub (that belongs to them rather than Coaching Inn Co., and needs a community landlord). James always wears a dark suit and had the piss taken mercilessly when one day he work jeans (it was his day off, but he had a brief chat with the drinkers from behind the bar). There aren't any 'professional' pub people working here – even June started in hotel front office – but by and large everyone gets on with it and each other OK.

One more thing, after talking with Paul yesterday – Acting (surface acting) can be useful in situations like that - whether exaggerated or not – as you KNOW an apology is insincere, so can feel good about yourself placating irate customers (the best solution) or winding them up more, but taking away the excuse of getting even more overtly angry. It also gives the member of staff a good story or moan during after work drinks with colleagues. I think this is another area that needs following up, especially when I carry out the interviews.

Drinking after work:

All the adult staff (except perhaps June) have a beer or two. The chefs have a staff drink in the bar after work with whatever regulars are about but they don't stay for long.

There is some repartee with the girls (all underage) but no alcohol (e.g. 'you can give me a vodka.' – 'Fat chance!')

James has the occasional beer, but isn't usually in the bar at all late in the evening.

Paul has halves (usually) later in the evening and told me to "have a couple of drinks a day – so long as you don't take advantage on the house". Staff drinks aren't even written down. That must surely affect stock takes.

I can have a smoke whenever I want (within reason and not behind the bar) and a beer or two is encouraged (but not forced) after (or near the end of) the evening shift, often with a gossip and chat before bed. As a result it seems that Paul and James aren't too bothered about wet (or dry?) GP. Is this because it's a temporary assignment or their usual style?

They don't seem to have too much time for the company, and James says they'll 'pick my brains' about marketing as 'nothing's been done by the company.' They see this as highlighting a major difference in corporate culture between Coaching Inn Co. and their old employer (Forte) – especially Paul who is always talking about how wonderful Forte was.

From the Royal Oak

Sunday 25 July

So, I'm finally getting phase 2 of the fieldwork underway. The Royal Oak seems much bigger than the Bell & the Ship.

Ben showed me around before he started in the kitchen - the usual mass of names to remember – the only new ones that I can remember now are Ben (coincidence) & Jason (one of the many AMs.).

Had a good dinner with Giles a new AM & a long chat with him over a couple of beers.

Ben told me they lost a lot of staff recently, and a few more will be going soon (one couple will be taking over their own Coaching Inn pub), so there are quite a few new staff. I briefly met another new couple (Patrick & Georgia).

Sorted out a bit of paperwork with Jason.

I am a bit concerned about my role – Ben said they're over-staffed & I'll just be 'filling-in'. I thought I was going to have a 'useful' role in the pub – we'll see.

It's definitely a 'pub' – but has lots of rooms (22) although 6 are occupied by staff. There is a small restaurant too – about Ship size – but just one menu & all the food is sous-vide.

I will be starting at 10.00 tomorrow - I'm sure they'll manage to keep me busy - it can't be as bad as the Ship.

First impressions seem OK overall - hopefully I won't feel like an outsider for too long.

Spoke to Jason, Ben & Giles (new Assistant Manager) briefly about the research, but will go into it more detail later. They all seem OK about it.

It should be interesting to compare my progress here to the Ship with so many staff (many of who are live- in).

Monday 26 July

Up in plenty of time to start at 10.00. Jason asked me to help set the bar up and do bits of cleaning for the afternoon. I started off cleaning glass shelves with Giles. The other new couple were also in, setting up the bar area.

Jason was in the kitchen for the day and Ben was off, so it was just us four in the bar – all new – so it seemed a bit strange.

Jason gave us a brief demonstration of the till, & I was sure there would be problems, especially as I (the only one with experience of the till) was on cleaning duty.

Jason also asked me to set up the lounge for a conference.

I was a bit disappointed not to get onto the bar, and had a very boring lunch, although I did help out a little when the others had problems with the tills.

Peter [colleague from previous pub researched] turned up – a nice surprise – and had a couple of drinks at the bar while I was working. We exchanged a number of amused glances when the others had the usual first day problems – mine will come later.

I did some cleaning in the lounge & restaurant as well, but was VERY happy when 3.00 came and I could finish for the morning.

I changed & had a half with Giles then we went to the other pub for another drink & a chat. He stayed until after 5.00, then I changed & got ready for the evening.

Jason had put me down for cleaning & sign writing again, so I wasn't looking forward to work at all, but in the end I spent a lot of the evening on the bar & had quite a good session overall working with Giles & Emma (Jason still in the kitchen).

I did have one problem later on with an order for 2 Irish Coffees – the cream just wouldn't float & I got a bit stressed & snapped at Jason's advice. Afterwards he took me aside & I apologised as I did overreact a bit & felt pretty bad about it. I suppose it's really about an older M.O.S. not liking such advice from a 'young upstart'. Pretty stupid, but you often get little flare ups during service. I suppose I felt pretty stupid messing up in front of everyone on my first day, but it was only a minor thing, soon forgotten by everyone but the 'messer-up'.

It wasn't busy & we had plenty of staff in, and they all seem OK, if some are a bit inexperienced. It seems to have the makings of a good, friendly team.

We had an interesting mix of customers – young & old, regulars & guests, & everyone I served was friendly.

By closing time I felt a lot happier – looking the bar is what it's all about, not getting bored searching for something to do. Jason showed Giles & me the locking up procedures.

Ben got back fairly late in the session & had a few drinks – a vodka man.

One resident & a local (Harry) stayed late talking away about places. The resident is an old pilot (ex RAF) & the local is a flight engineer (18 yrs with Cathay Pacific in Hong Kong)

Ben, Giles & I sat with them for hours talking away – especially when the conversation turned to H.K. They were pretty pissed by the end, but it was quite fun chatting to them.

I had a couple of halves, Giles wasn't drinking at all, but Ben must have got through a bottle of vodka (private stock).

Eventually the resident went to his room (about 3.00) & left the other soon after, largely thanks to Ben who said he wanted to debrief us (new staff).

The three of us started talking about my research & I got lots of ideas & interest from Ben.

His attitude towards staff seems quite good, & he's happy to let them get in with the job, not keeping on their backs & seeking perfection. Rather, he's happy if the customers are, & takes the complaints level as indicator of success.

Ben also talked his goals & openly admitted money ruled everything. He makes a lot of money out of the company (on a percentage) and plans to move on in the next couple of years. He came to the pub more than a year ago & massively improved profit, but said that when it becomes to stressful & challenging to keep to ever increasing budgets it's time to more on.

We also talked about managing staff. He said he's the boss during working hours & doesn't take nonsense from staff but after work over drinks tries to find any problems they have with work or him. 'They aren't under my control then' & it's important to find & solve problems or else they just build up & the MOS leaves.

He tells us AMs not to get too close to staff & hardens them if necessary - telling them to sack staff they get close to (if the person deserves it – i.e. stealing) rather than do it himself. If they deserve he'll tell them "Well you'll never make it to managing your own place" – they usually change their minds. He is not afraid of sacking someone on suspicion or if he doesn't think they're right for the job.

Giles also talked about his experiences – especially his assault. He was badly 'glassed' in his last job (London) & left the company because "they didn't want to know" and offered no support (financial or personal) after the incident. Another example of poor employment practice in the industry – it is frustrating hearing stories like that when employers don't fulfil their responsibility to staff.

Tuesday 27 July

Woke up at about 9.00, very tired. Had a shower & went down to the bar. The same staffing as yesterday (Ben off & Jason in the kitchen) but the KP was off, so Jason asked me to help out in the kitchen.

Sorted out some chefs' whites (very short trousers) & started off with some washing up.

Jason was in and out, helping out his commis at busier times. I did some 'prep' and helped with some of the sandwiches.

It never got very busy, but there were a couple of 'steady' periods, & the time certainly passed quicker than yesterday lunch-time as I had something to keep me more occupied. I must admit it was almost fun to be back in the kitchen again (officially) after all these years.

I finished at about 3.30 & had a sandwich in my room – very tired so I got an hour's sleep before going back down.

I had been asked to KP for the evening too, but we had a one & a six in the restaurant so I was going to cover them too, switching from whites to black & whites as necessary. In the end we had yet another three booked in the restaurant & Jason decided to put Rodney in the restaurant, Giles and I, in the bar leaving just two in the kitchen (as Rodney knew the system better).

The evening was a fair bit busier than yesterday, but not crazy. It was fun on the bar with no problems. Quite a few meals were ordered – it's often necessary for the kitchen to call us to collect food as they're too far away to shout. This works much better than most places I've worked (especially the Ship) as food is picked up much quicker.

I did have one interesting customer – an old guy who had been in each day. Later I found out that all the others know him and he's the 'General' and who could be a miserable sod (I could have worked that out for myself! Our first conversation:

"Are you going to fill this? [indicates empty ½ pint jug on bar]"
"Certainly, Sir. [He looked like a 'sir'] What did you have in it?"
"Speak up, I can't hear you."
"What would you like?"
"Don't be so bloody stupid. What does everyone drink in England?"
"But what type of beer would you like?"
"I don't bloody know. Anything."
"Would Directors be OK?"
"Yes, anything."
(Service)
"£1.13 please."
"Help yourself. [Cash on bar] Why is it more than last time?"
"Our beers have different prices and I didn't know what you had last time."
"[Disgruntled Cough]"

It's very difficult to get angry with such bad customers as they are so ridiculous and funny. After he'd left the customers on either side of him breathed big sighs of relief with amazed comments like, "Misery guts has finally gone!"

Quite a few drinks served and a number of diners filtered through into the bar, with a fair group of younger drinkers turning up towards the end of the evening.

I kept popping into the kitchen to see if they needed any help and, as it got quieter after 10.00, I started the washing up that had accumulated throughout the evening. Massive files of it.

By the time I'd finished & cleared up it was around 12.00 and I went back to the bar. Giles had just about finished the commis had gone home (I had a chat with him earlier when we were cleaning the kitchen) and Rodney & Jason jointed the six in the restaurant, who stayed late.

Giles & I sat down at the bar chatting and drinking 'soft' and both went up around 1.00 ish. I took a couple of sandwiches – couldn't be bothered to cook.

Bed – knackered.

Friday 30 July

Up at 9.00 to start at 10.00. Started off watering the plants – now my official daily job (thanks to my height.)

Into the bar by 10.30 & started helping set it up before Agnes asked me to mend a picture frame that had been dropped. I had to get some glue from the local hardware shop.

Some of the others were setting up the restaurant for a wedding tomorrow afternoon (the rest will close tonight) & they were having fun trying to fit 40 places in. I suggested an 'L' shape.

The bar opened at 11 and I was cooking with Patrick. It was pretty quiet for all lunch-time, but I felt on a high to finally serve for a lunch session.

We had a trickle of food orders (but mostly sandwiches & baguettes) and a few drinkers, but no one stayed long. Quite a few locals asked about me, & seemed a bit interested in my research. One guy asked about courses for his daughter who's doing a GNVQ in catering.

The old guy (the Colonel) came in and was actually OK. Always serve him the cheapest beer IPA. You soon learn the foibles of the regular. We even had a little chat about the weather (although he said English beer is terrible – so why does he drink it?) I'm glad I didn't lose my cool the last time he came in although he didn't seem to remember me at all anyway.

Harry was in for a couple and was his usual talkative self, and a few younger guys had drinks outside. Very friendly and good atmosphere – I was bought 2 drinks (a good measure?).

Had quite a chat with Patrick. He's worked pubs, off and on, for years & has the Irish gift-of-the-gab. He and Georgia went to Sudbury for their days off & found a bikers pub he ran one before). I mentioned Holt's (rugby club) disgrace the last time I was there (96-3).

I took an order for a beef sandwich and he phoned through (a bit pissed off) to say we had no beef as "we discussed before" – did we? He hadn't said anything to Patrick or me, which mildly amused us.

When they'd almost finished in the restaurant Sarah (Ben's missus) came down and told them to set individual tables – much irritation caused. So they had to redo the whole room. It's going to be messy & cramped & hassle for waiting staff (I bet I'll be in the restaurant tomorrow lunch-time.).

Finished at about 3.10 & had a quick half with Giles (who's off today) then lunch.

It felt good to be behind the bar. I keep knocking my head on the tankards hanging in the bar. Much to everyone's amusement (staff & customers), but at least they've got some 'give' unlike low wooden beams, so no bruises or pain.

Back into the bar at six – four staff members. Crazy.

There were a few customers, but not many.

Jason asked me to try to sort out an ant nest near the outside fridge – boiling water seemed to do the trick temporarily. I noticed loads of crisps & empty packets behind the shed & cleared them up. Sarah was concerned as they weren't out of date – it looks as if someone got hold of a box somehow – probably for the star wars game cards.

Back into the bar for the rest of the evening – very quiet.

We did a few meals - mainly couples - and a few drinkers. A couple of large groups of youngsters, and one or two older regulars.

Sarah took me around a few of the rooms so that I will know the 'better ones' at my request, but they are pretty similar in general. We had quite a chat about my research & pub management in general. She seems OK & pleasant, but I get the feeling she could be very difficult if crossed.

Most of the evening it was Patrick & I on the bar, with Georgia in & out and Emma later on, but she left quite early.

It was quite slow – but we managed to keep reasonably occupied (better than the Ship.)

A stag party of locals turned up just before closing & had one (loud) drink amongst much singing.

We cleared the bar quite quickly & Patrick set up for breakfast.

Harry was the last to leave (as ever), but not too late. Sarah, Patrick, Georgia & I had a couple of drinks taking until around 2.00 – mostly reminiscing & telling stories about working in pubs & bars (gradually getting more extreme, almost as if we were competing to give the most outrageous stories).

One key topic was dealing with complaints & obnoxious customers (Patrick had some good examples.)

Eventually, we dispersed – I got a sandwich & set off the alarm (they thought I'd gone to bed) so Sarah had to let me out. Bed by 2.30.

Saturday 31 July

Very good day!

Got up & showered in time to start at 11.00. It was quite a slow start – most of the prep had been done by the others, so I watered the plants outside as usual.

Lunch started quite slowly, but got busier.

I was on the bar with Patrick while Georgia & the waitresses (who arrived gradually) got the restaurant ready. Giles & Agnes were organizing them.

The wedding party (or some of them) came in in their morning suits for a couple before their ceremony.

We had quite a few food orders & most of them went smoothly, but one customer complained about rotten apples on a couple of ploughman's so I replaced them & apologized profusely. Then it turned out that the other two in that party didn't have any apple at all so I sorted it & Jason & I had a mild/polite go at the KPs – they thought we'd run out of apples, but I found some more. Told them that they need to tell service staff so we can find out if customers would prefer something else instead of apples.

While serving we had to sort out wine glasses & plates, so we had lots of polishing to do. We were 2 plates short, so Agnes had the brain-wave of serving the bride & groom with champagne saucers – romantic?!

The guests started arriving earlier than expected – before 2.00 – & we ushered into the lounge for drinks. They supplied wine, bubbly & OJ & just paid £15 per head for food.

We stopped serving food in the bar at 2.30 to give the chefs time to prep for the wedding.

They went through at around 3.00 ish & I left Giles & Patrick on the bar. I was mainly responsible for booze and took red & white wine & OJ round, giving a bit of a hand with food (although with 3 waitresses & Agnes, I wasn't needed much.)

It was a bit cramped for pouring, but everyone co-operated & it was pretty easy. Took some ice water round – it got more popular as the room got hotter.

There was a table of 6 young girls who were very well behaved and fun. It was nice to have brief little chats with them through service. – "I put a whole scoop of ice cream on my spoon!"

During the service I followed Paul's advice & tried to keep close to 'top table' & the bride & groom. I had to step in when the waitresses started serving starters to another table first & made sure that offer they always served top table first.

I spoke to the groom before clearing mains & sorted out arrangements for speeches, toasts & cake cutting, & sorted out the staff, so we were all properly briefed.

When desserts were finished a lot of guests went to the bar for a wander &/or smoke/drink.

We cleared all the tables & I poured bubbly at the drink table. Then we got everyone back & I took glasses to top table & poured there first, then the waitresses took the rest around. & I took the cake to top table.

Then came my brief moment of glory when I called "Pray silence & be seated for the speeches & toast" – silly, but there was no 'best man' as such. Then all staff left the restaurant & went to the bar for a ciggie & drink.

After a few minutes I went to reception to be ready for the cake & when they finished I took it to the kitchen & cut it & the waitresses distributed it.

Most the party sloped of before coffee, but the girls took some out.

All the guests vacated the room soon after 5.00 & a lot of them went out to the car park tables, so the girls could relay the restaurant & I took over from Giles at the bar – Giles joined me at 6.00.

Pretty slow, but we had loads of glasses to clean & a few customers to serve so I helped the girls move the furniture around.

I suddenly felt knackered (anti-climax?) & hungry – really looking forward to some food.

The last hour went by pretty slowly (probably because I was tied & aching). I had 2 couples to check into the hotel – I like the pre-arrival computer entry.

Although I was knackered it was relatively easy to keep 'happy' with customers – probably because the reception had gone so well, & it was almost time to finish.

During the reception Giles had fun chucking out a customer – a guy who had been in since opening. I had served him a couple of beers earlier – a weird guy, who got a bit more obnoxious after a few. I'll find out the story tomorrow (no doubt) but I had passed through the bar to get another jug of water & heard him yelling at Giles "OK I'll leave, but you call the police!" Weird

Sarah arrived just before I finished, & Ben got back too, but disappeared soon.

Finally 7.00 – finished as Rodney, Patrick & Georgia started. Poured a blackcurrant & soda then called Terri. After tat I sat in the bar with my drink & a fag. The groom came through & bought me a drink – lovely!

After a chat with Sarah in reception (She can talk!) I cooked some dinner & had it in the peace of my room.

It felt very good to MC my first wedding (if an informal one) especially as everything went so well & everyone was obviously happy.

Sunday 1 August

Started at 10.00 & watered the plants before helping finish the bar with Patrick & Giles – vacuumed the carpet areas.

We had loads of staff again with lots of waitresses & Giles & Agnes.

Opened at 12.00 with a couple of locals. We had a few meals, but not as much as I expected. I think there were only two restaurant tables & a few in the bar. Very easy with so many waitresses, as they delivered all the food to the bar, although I had to remind them to ask if customers wanted sauces.

I made one mistake, ordering a stilton instead of brie ploughman's, but the customer & kitchen were fine & replaced it in seconds. Later on the kitchen made a little mistake too, but no repercussions. The important thing is to sort out any minor problem ASAP to stop it getting bigger.

Although it was quiet we managed to keep occupied until 2.00 – I try to check on dinners when I have a minute & clear tables often (we didn't have many people outside, but there were a few).

After 2.00 it died very quickly & got a bit boring with so many staff & no-one seemed to feel like doing more than surface cleaning - wiping tables & bar. When 3.00 came round we were all anxious to leave Giles & Agnes to it & get some lunch (& watch the Charity Shield.)

Of all the bar staff I'd say Patrick is the most natural – he's got a very wide range of conversation (we were talking about music earlier on, & towards the end he was chatting with a couple of locals about the 'awful' state of history education in HE).

Back on to the bar at six. Giles was on (started at 5.00) & Patrick & Georgia joined us, with Jason, Jonathon & Giles in the kitchen.

We had a booking for 4 in the restaurant, so I volunteered to 'float' as Georgia isn't too confident in the restaurant.

It was pretty quiet, but we had a few tables (mostly outside). I served on the bar a while & sorted out some food orders – everything went smoothly.

The 4 cover eventually came & I served drinks & took their order (they waited outside). It was quite nice to work the restaurant for a change – I had more freedom to float, and served more food to the bar than usual as I was near the kitchen.

One 4 outside (back) complained about the broccoli but nothing was done (I wasn't there at the time). Patrick told me that Jason just said "It's fucking OK." & the others didn't know what to do. I heard about it from the customers when Patrick asked me to take their dessert order. I apologised & tired to smooth things over – they seemed pleasant enough towards me, but were obviously pissed off.

Everyone else seemed happy enough & I felt OK, although it had been quiet.

The new couple had arrived & came down too the kitchen to get some dinner. They seem OK & start tomorrow.

The bar thinned out quite quickly & we cleared up (I sorted out the restaurant & sent Giles to off early as he's doing breakfast. Between us we set the table (only 3).

We had one resident & a couple of locals in quite late. Patrick sat with them chatting for a bit, & Jason showed me some of the end of week procedures. He was a bit stressed as the computer screwed up completely. His system for working at GP & closing stock seems a bit dodgy & it is certainly VERY complex, so I showed him how to do it in seconds & said I'd show him how to do it on a spread sheet (he'll forget otherwise).

Reflections (Week 2)

After one and a half weeks I feel a part of the team. My time at the Royal Oak seems useful as there is a nice mix of old and new staff, and full time (live in) and part timers.

I haven't seen very much of Ben except for that one long after hours session on the first day. He sees the job as very much a money making venture, and doesn't seem too 'dedicated' to the pub, so much as a career which takes in a lot of moves, and not staying anywhere for too long – this could well be influenced by working for a chain, with little commitment to a single pub, as would have been the case more with a long tenancy or actually owning a free-house. It should be interesting to see how and if this influences his attitude towards the customers. He told us about some of his other places, most of which seem less 'pubby' (he managed a big restaurant which had a very different clientele).

When I spoke to Sarah she seemed to be a bit fed up.with moving to different outlets and building up grotty, mismanaged places. I think she'd like to settle down to an easier job (maybe staying at the Royal Oak now that they've already sorted it out quite well.

The new assistant managers also come from interesting backgrounds.

Giles has worked in pubs for years, part time and full time, and came to Coaching Inn after being messed about by his last employers and being seriously glassed by a customer.

Patrick has worked in pubs (running a bikers pub for a while) but Georgia doesn't seem very experienced in the business.

Giles and Agnes had their interview for a Coaching Inn pub of their own on Tuesday, and I haven't heard how it went yet.

Jason is also waiting for the chance of a pub of his own, but realises it might take a while as he's not very old. He told me that he's had lots of experience in catering too over the years.

I haven't really had the chance to talk to the other couple yet.

So far I've had no major problems with customers; although I can get a bit pissed off with residents who don't go to bed until very late (I generally manage to swallow any such irritation).

I believe I've made quite a good start to this session of fieldwork, although I haven't been able to get down to much focused observation as I've been predominantly concerned with finding my feet in a new job, but I've had the advantage of working for the company before, so I feel confident that I can really get down to it next week.

The training did not seem particularly effective, with lots of new people starting on the same day. Ben was off so it was down to Jason to show us the ropes, but he was in the kitchen all day on Monday and Tuesday.

Appendix 3. Pilot Study Interview Guide

It should be stressed that this guide was intended as a guide rather than rigid script. This follows the ethnographic ideal of focusing, as far as possible, on what the informant perceives as important and relevant. However, it was recognised that wholly unstructured interviews could meander well away from the core topic being investigated. The interview guide that evolved was intended as a tool to highlight certain relevant topics and possible probing techniques that could be used during interviews. Thus, although the interviews may:

> appear to be without structure, but nevertheless the researcher has to establish a framework within which the interview can be conducted: the unstructured interview is flexible, but it is also controlled (Burgess 1982:108).

An interview guide is outlined below with explanatory italicised notes.

- *The early stages of the interview were intended to break the ice with each interviewee. Although a level of rapport was expected between fieldworker and interviewee as a result of working together for more than four weeks, it was recognised that the unfamiliar situation and relationship of interviewer and interviewee may be eased by the respondent talking about him/herself. This also provided contextual data about prior experience.*

Tell me about your background in the industry?
Why did you choose hospitality?
How do pubs compare to other types of outlets as workplaces?
What are the most important personal attributes for pub workers?
What do you see as your personal strengths related to pub work?

- *The next part of the interview was designed to move the focus towards emotional experiences in the workplace, especially relating to customers, although the influence of colleagues was also discussed to examine any aspects of support in at work. The rationale for the questions is given more fully in the sub-section discussing Critical Incident Technique.*

Tell me about a time you felt a strong positive emotion in an encounter with customers

Tell me about a time you felt a strong negative emotion in an encounter with customers

Tell me about a time you felt a strong positive emotion in an encounter with a colleague

Tell me about a time you felt a strong positive emotion in an encounter with a colleague

- *The descriptive nature of the critical incident questions was expected to provide the opportunity to probe responses more fully, hence the addition of the following possible questions. This begins to address the objective relating to the emotional impacts of working with emotion rules.*

How did it make you feel?

Would you do differently today, in retrospect?

- *After the learning of emotional skills at work was raised during the fieldwork issues relating to formal training were also included to address that study objective*

Have you ever been trained in customer interaction?

Please describe it.

Was it worthwhile/useful? Recommendations...

Do you think you should have been?

Have you ever trained staff in customer interaction? How?

- *The following section was developed to address the study objectives relating to the setting of emotion rules and coping with any effects of emotional labour*

How important are feeling and control of feelings in pubs/hospitality?

Is it difficult to leave personal problems/feelings at home?

How do you get in the mood for service?

How do you control emotions at work?

Do you ever have to act to hide your feelings at work?

Do you enjoy acting?

How does it make you feel?

Do you ever feel false or phoney?

Have you ever been told to use a script at work - verbal or behavioural?

Do you ever use a personal script when dealing with customers? When?

- *Some additional probing questions were included to revisit the subject of impacts on the interviewer, relating to ideas from the literature such as the private/public divide.*

Does work influence your personal life much?

Does it impinge on personal relationships outside of work?

Does it cause problems in your personal life?

- *The following also considers the nature of emotion and associated behavioural rules in the workplace. The possible relevance of gender highlighted in much of the literature is also introduced.*

Do customers seem to expect particular types of acting/ behaviour from you at work?

Do bosses seem to expect particular types of acting/ behaviour from you at work?

Do colleagues seem to expect particular types of acting/ behaviour from you at work?

How do they act if your behaviour is different to what they expect? Examples.

Are there any differences in expectations here?

How do you deal with differences (if any) between these three types of expectations?

Do people (customers, colleagues, bosses) expect or require different things from different genders?

How important are sex differences in pubs?

Is sexism a problem in the pubs that you've worked at?

To women: How do think the customers see you when you are working on the bar?

Do customers treat you differently to a male/female member of bar staff?

- *The next questions return to issues relating to acting as an emotional tool, introducing the issue of stress as identified in the literature as a potential impact of emotional labour.*

How do you hide stress from customers or colleagues or employees?
How do you deal with stress at work?
Do you think managers/supervisors should hide stress/anger from staff? Why and how?

- *The remaining questions were largely inspired by fieldwork data, where the relationships involving staff and customers appeared of particular importance when coping with emotional situations in the public houses studied. Humour as a coping mechanism also seemed important from observing situations and it was considered important to find the workers' views on these matters.*

What sort of relationships do you have with colleagues?
Do you see colleagues as friends?
What sort of relationships do you have with customers?
Do you see customers as friends?

How important is a sense of humour in pub work? Why?

- *In conclusion, the interview guide outlined here may seem rather a lengthy and even prescriptive document. However, it was used flexibly. Interviewees were not asked every question, and the topic order was rarely kept to. The intention was to provide the fieldworker with a guide to cover key topics and some possible questions to aid the probing flow of each interview. Thus the guide served as a reminder to keep more or less to the issues and research objectives being investigated while maintaining a relaxed and informant led conversation as much as possible.*

Appendix 4 Detail From One of the Domains

This appendix outlines some of the entries to the domain of 'emotion' as analysed from the field diary and interviews (hence the cross-reference in the column to the right of the table). Direct quotations are taken from these sources in order to analyse key concepts and themes, while the cross-reference facilitates quick referral to original documentation in order to revisit the context of each quotation.

Qualifier	**Relationship**	***Sub-category of Domain***	**Ref**
You have to appear interested sometimes. Even if you're not. Even if you don't care if they've won or lost. Um, you have to.	is an expected	emotion / behaviour	int. 3, p. 14
I have played the game with the customers and get involved.			int. 3, p. 14
I met **** - the local vicar next door. I've met the local headmistress, I've been down there and had a chat to her, you know? And stuff like that - you have to. You have to let them know who you are and that you're here for them.			int. 3, p. 14
Be happy and jolly.			int. 3, p. 18
You should be there asking the customer 'Oh, what's the matter to day? How come you're not having a few pints?' 'Oh, where's the wife?' or 'where's your kid?' or whatever. And, um, that's how it is in hospitality or the hotels.			int. 1, p. 9
When you are busy – as compassionate as I was – you still have a job to do. And it needs to be clear that you are understanding in the way that 'Well, go home then and deal with it, because you're no use to anybody here.' Or 'Shut up and get on with it.'			int. 2, p.15
There is the [management] expectation that you are going to be behind the bar with a grin or smile permanently painted across your face, regardless of your own feelings, and also to a certain extent, regardless of the way that the customer's treating you.			int. 4, p. 8
Management will sometimes expect you to react with a certain manner to a customer, even if you actually personally know that customer doesn't A) expect it or even particularly, possibly, want it.			int. 4, p. 8
There were staff coming in who – for whatever reason, especially on some of the royal ones – were so excited they were going to be in the presence of royalty, they weren't concentrating on the work.	is a type of	inappropriate emotion	int. 4, p. 15
If you've been in a busy operation, and you've got someone who's just leaping and bounding with happiness, and the customers are sitting there, and they are not getting the service that they want, they are frustrated. They've got a feeling of 'Why is this person happy? Why are we sitting here waiting for something and this person's bounding about like everything's OK, when it's not because we are waiting?' Sometimes that works against you rather than in your favour.			int. 6, p. 12
Then you go away and think 'Ah, I shouldn't be like that. It's not the professional thing to do.'	is self analysis	of behaviour/ emotion	int. 1, p. 4
More angry with myself that I lowered myself to his [customer's] level, and then more happy with myself on him leaving and me			int. 1, p. 14

saying what I did.			
Things don't get to me any more. I think having **** [baby] put a lot of things into perspective. Things aren't as important as they used to be. It's very interesting, actually, just what I'd just let go these days.			int. 2, p. 18
Afterwards [I felt] a certain amount of relief that it was over, but still an amount of anger that, um, that he was not willing to accept that what I said within that particular environment			int. 4, p. 3
But myself, personally, I would like to think (and I would have like to have thought on that particular evening as well) that I wouldn't have had to have get maybe as aggressive as I did have.			int. 4, p. 3
I think possibly subconsciously I would have ways of controlling it, because it's incredibly rare that I have let personal feelings, emotion – especially those which are non-work orientated – go through onto work basis.			int. 4, p. 9
I think when I've gone in I've been over bubbly – which I probably have been on certain occasions – I think I've either come back down to earth just naturally as soon as the first customer walks through the door and maybe been a little bit more jovial than that customer may have expected, but not enough to make it look stupid, or I've been so hyper-active I've actually slipped up on something and it's probably made me think, and I've calmed down that way			int. 4, p. 15
You try to hide the fact that you do have favourites, it doesn't always work, but you work on a basis of - we here work on a basis of everyone's on first name terms,			int. 4, p. 20
I felt in a very good mood and very comfortable with the bar and customers – possibly because of a good lie-in and enough customers not to be too bored (and not so many as to make it crazy).			fn, p. 13
I found myself apologising a bit for silly mistakes (or often nothing) felt comfortable most of the time, but was a bit flustered when I found that we'd run out of rolled cutlery.			fn, p. 14
One of them, a loud American, pissed me off a bit taking the piss out of ****'s accent (behind his back) – perhaps I felt defensive towards the boss, or just liked **** (or maybe disliked his apparent arrogance).			fn, p. 15
It was frustrating to be messing with food orders at the bar, with so many others waiting to be served – and the till takes a while to get used to.			fn, p. 16
I was pretty pissed off - as much with my mess-up on the till as with them, **** and ****, for leaving the bar unattended.			fn, p. 17
It [being cut out of a bar conversation by customers] was not so much uncomfortable as a little frustrating as I couldn't relax very much and didn't feel involved			fn, p. 17
Was given my first bit of hassle by the kitchen. I fumed but let it ride, although I had a moan with ****.			fn, p. 33
Quite difficult to keep a smile on my face [at breakfast] but think I managed OK. Tired and a bit frustrated, but made a bit of chit-chat with them.			fn, p. 35
They left a tip, paying by credit card and asking me to add 10% - felt a bit embarrassed as I don't like being 'actively' involved in tips, so I asked them to fill it in on the receipt.			fn, p. 51

I was fuming. **** and **** tried to break it up. I went out to the restaurant to clear mains, calmed down visibly and inwardly at once, and was all smiles for customers who were having a bread roll fight, so I had something to laugh about. All very funny after I'd calmed down – very proud I'd managed so quickly, and was all smiles and reasonableness with them. I felt VERY good to have finally had a go back, and amused by their shocked, surprised and defensive response.			fn, p. 54-55
We had a few bar lunches, but it could hardly be called busy. I couldn't get the same enthusiasm up as I felt yesterday – less adrenaline when it's not busy I suppose.			fn, p. 68
I really didn't feel in the mood to serve, at first, and told ****. Felt a nit negative, even muttering under my breath a couple of times - quite unnecessarily. As soon as I caught myself doing it felt bad and guilty and forced a smile on my face.			fn, p. 69
**** was in the hall and I moaned about moaning chefs, then immediately felt bad – I'm moaning myself.			fn, p. 70
I must admit, I felt more worried about everyone's reaction [to ****'s situation] – was I handling it well enough? I felt bloody good to be reassured that **** didn't feel I'd fucked up (same with **** and ****).			fn, p. 76
I feel especially glad and flattered that they {**** & ****} trusted me so much, so soon – that surely motivates staff.			fn, p. 87
One of the couples [locals] wandered in - I did not want to serve. Anyway, almost despite myself I started to cheer up immediately, and by the time their daughter joined them I felt pretty good again.			fn, p. 98
I carried on in the bar - buzzing along and feeling lots better that earlier as it was *busy* for a change.			fn, p. 99
After only 1 month I do feel 'part of the community' – feels good, almost sorry to be going on Monday			fn, p. 101
It pissed me off that they [residents] came in so late, just before closing. Later on I made a joke about it to ****, but did feel a bit guilty as they had been very pleasant telling me about their day.			fn, p. 102
The locals started drifting out - most saying goodbye to me. Feel a bit sad knowing I probably won't see many (any) of them again. *It is* possible to feel accepted in such a short time.			fn, p. 104
Strange mixture of emotions – the usual weird 'anger' or irritation when the guy messed me about (but not much) mainly the boredom syndrome on my part – having to keep in the mood all the time rather than staying on a busy high.			fn, p. 104
It wasn't too hard to push myself into 'happiness' as most of the people around wanted a good time – it seems easier to laugh inwardly at/with people making a fool of themselves than despise them.			fn, p. 108
I feel the less enthusiasm I have and apathy sets in. I'm more likely to start major cleaning if there are a few customers in or a colleague on the bar with me, than being totally alone on the bar			fn, p. 109

I think I'll miss some of the staff and customers who welcomed me so well, and almost feel a bit guilty leaving **** to his old hours with few chances for an early night or 2 days off together.			fn, p. 110
I feel I'd like to go back and visit [the ****] but somehow doubt I'll ever get round to it, but would like to keep in touch with **** and ****			fn, p. 110
Oh, I was getting angry. I could feel it rising in me, and then like I said I walked away, and just thought "Right, I can't do anything for him anymore because it doesn't matter, he won't listen."			int. 5, p. 3
And then I was like shaking, whenever I have a confrontation like that. Just shaking, [laughs]. The same with ****in the bar the other night. It's a big fuffle.			int. 5, p. 3
But after that I'm just [confrontation with obnoxious customer], like, seriously shaking. No, I don't like confrontations at all. Raised voices.			int. 5, p. 3
I felt upset that they caused a fuss, you know, it's just the physical thing, it's just like this shaking and this feeling inside, like, you know "Don't speak to me like that." and "All I'm trying to do is pour your drinks for you and be nice to you."			int. 5, p. 3
I think it's [I] just [felt] upset that someone has raised their voice and called you all those stupid things when you know you're not stupid.			int. 5, p. 3
I don't – certainly – get on high feelings, because I expect customers to go out and enjoy themselves and I don't expect one incident to be above the others.			int. 6, p. 3
Certainly with me it's more frustrating when something goes wrong, rather than stress.			int. 6, p. 17
When I get frustrated I get angry very quickly with that particular situation, and I expect it to be resolved in two or three minutes. I don't want it to linger on "Lets get it done, get it out of the way." And if that means hurting some other people's feelings to get them to wake up "Wake up to what's happening around you. I don't want this to carry on." That's probably my biggest one.			int. 6, p. 20
For some reason I was on a real high all evening - something I hadn't experienced here yet (although I'm usually happy enough) perhaps because I got a real buzz from being busily active. It was quite demanding to keep up at times.			fns, p. 26
[I was] Absolutely boiling, you know, because I wasn't mentally geared up for the situation. When I've worked in places that were hard, heavy places, you know, you were constantly geared up for that, so it wasn't a problem.			int. 7, p. 6
My problems I deal with in my own little closet, and they stay in the closet, and that door you, Nobody has access to that door, you know.			int. 7, p. 8
If I explode at somebody it's not because, "Oh, he's going through problems. He's got some hidden thing" it's not. It's because, "You're fucking bugging me mate, here and now." not to do with anything that's going on in my head.			int. 7, p. 8
And I can be 16 people, and nobody knows fucking half of those people. You see what you see. You can leave it at home – of course you can. And if you can't leave it at home, well, you're an arse-hole and you don't belong in the trade.			int. 7, p. 8
To be honest, I don't actually feel much behind that bar. I tend to blank everything. I stand there and have a laugh and a joke, but if someone annoys me, then I – if they start getting too bad – then I just turn round and walk away, I don't serve them. I turn round and leave the bar. Leave them to it. And then they won't get served,			int. 8, p. 4

and that's not my problem. They shouldn't be so blatantly rude and obnoxious. But, [I feel] angry more than anything. [And] Upset at the fact that they won't treat you the way you expect to be treated yourself.			
But the negative experiences, what are they? They are usually when we're under pressure, we're extremely busy and, you know, you have to deal with things on the spot, in that sort of environment. But that's what happens, you know.			int. 9, p. 10
I wouldn't say automatic, because that sounds like you're switching off from everything - your emotions, your, you know, yourself, just focusing on pulling pints. I wouldn't do that. Um, I think it's more, it's a deliberate act of curbing certain things,			int. 9, p. 14
You are being detached from, "Oh I felt good. Got one up on that old git." No. It's more that you've resolved a situation for the environment that you're in, you know, you've resolved a situation, um, and hopefully the come-back won't be where you get a complaint letter, or just problems after that. You want to nip it in the bud.			int. 9, p. 17
And he started abusing **** and that got my back up, it really did. It really made me angry. And, um, just for the fact that he was abusing her, she's a great person, you know. She, she didn't do anything to warrant it, but that really did get my back up, I had to walk away and go in the kitchen			int. 10, p. 5
Personally I just felt like giving him the nine yards, but I had to really reign in, you know. I had to really control it. I felt really, really angry with him. And then it, er, I just felt really protective of ****.			int. 10, p. 6
Sharing it [with colleagues] – those angry feelings, it sort of exorcised them.			int. 10, p. 6
You forget your problems, your personal problems. While you're in the pub – behind the bar – you just sort of forget about everything else, and you're concentrating on doing the job, and making sure the customers are happy. I suppose in some ways it's escapism from everything else that's going on in your life. You get to the bar and you know you've got to concentrate and you've got to provide a good service. So in that way you can escape to the bar. Forget your problems.			int. 11, p. 2
Well my wife once said – one of the nicest things she said about me was – that I was a cold hearted, unemotional bastard. Because she could never tell whether I was happy, sad. I had the same expression on my face whether I was happy, sad, pissed off, and she could never work me out.			int. 11, p. 9
In some ways I am very much a Jekyll and Hyde. I've got my personal – the way I am in my private life, and you know, the guy you see out in the bar or the kitchen is totally different from my private life.			int. 11, p. 9

The trouble is, when I appear to look serious, people think there's, it has been said to me, because they always see – it was said at the hotel – because they always saw me happy, laughing, joking, smiling, when I walked into work and I was serious, because I was thinking about something, they thought I was miserable, you know, because they: One, they couldn't take me seriously because they always [normally] saw me [looking cheerful]. But if I walked into work, straight face and "Hi ****" and, "Oh what the fuck's wrong with ****?" "You know, he's pissed off." I'm not pissed off, it's just, you know, there is a conflict. It does interfere sometimes, but then that's you know, as far as I'm concerned people like accept me as I am.			int. 11, p. 9
Go home, get changed, have a shower, sit and watch TV, read... read a book usually, and just wind down.			int. 11, p. 12
I sometimes use – this may sound silly – but as a form of relaxation I do self hypnosis.			int. 11, p. 12
You're playing with people's personalities all the time, and people (especially staff) govern your mood all the time. I find that my personal life is very much affected by staff problems, and the long nights looking after residents get a bit wearisome.			int. 12, p. 2
I ignore it [abuse from customers]. It goes in one ear and out the other. I really just don't, I think it makes it easier if you just smile sweetly and then go into another room, and then call them everything under the sun, where they can't hear – or nobody can hear.			int. 15, p. 3
I think, the feelings of managers over-rules – what's the word? – just sets the scene for the whole feeling of the pub, and how you feel. And it they're really stressed out or, you know, really angry – whatever it is – then the whole feeling filters down to everybody. So, I think it's very important for the managers, especially, to appear that everything's OK unless there is a major problem, and then you have to know about it, but yes, it's very important that there's a good feeling, then you feel better, then you work better.	is a reason for managers to	hide or control emotion	int. 5, p. 17
I was embarrassed and bashful about the mystery guest's *compliments. I don't* take compliments very easily. I didn't know where to put myself *and I think I blushed, but it made me* feel good.			int. 13, p. 1
I need to get through Christmas, so I have to hide my emotions [to avoid confrontation with some staff]	is a reason for	hiding or controlling emotion	int. 3, p. 4
Maybe something's happening in your personal life, and it's chewing you up, but you can't let that show. You can't. Otherwise you'll lose it. You're going to make your manager very annoyed. I hate people who bring their personal problems to work.			int. 3, p.11
We're a service industry, and we have to [put on a happy face], it's part of our job. That's why we come here.			int. 3, p.11
This is my first pub. In a place like this, um, you can show a little bit of your emotions, but I wouldn't like to show too many because the customer always picks up on it.			int. 1, p. 9

If you show that you're down or you're upset a customer picks up on it, and sometimes if you're upset you don't give them the service. You'll either chuck a plate. Or, well, you don't chuck it, but you don't place it as you would do.			int. 1, p. 9
Just before I came down here – well just before **** left the ****'s (hotel) – my grandma had just died, so I was really feeling low as low. But I didn't want to let the rest of the team down by not turning in.			int. 1, p. 9
So, we were always told, even though they don't mind say a death or something, of you being down, but you feel something in yourself – like you say – that you've got to put on a front to the customers.			int. 1, p. 10
You have to look upon it "They are the customer; they are, really, paying your wage." Because if they didn't come in you wouldn't be busy, and you probably wouldn't have a job.			int. 1, p. 12
Whatever is going on at home – whether your cat's been run over, you've had a row with your boyfriend – you have to come in and smile. And I think that is a big skill, because a lot of people are... take their problems to work and don't switch off.			int. 2, p. 4
Well you shouldn't go in and take it out on the customers. You should learn to deal with it or not come in.			int. 2, p. 15
I think they're [feelings and emotions] vital to the overall running and the profitability of any form of licensed, food, hospitality business.			int. 4, p. 7
If you have no control over – be it good or bad – feelings, in many respects it can lead you into bad feeling A) with staff, but more importantly with paying customers.			int. 4, p. 7
If you happen to show more emotion, good emotion and good feeling, to a particular member of, or members of staff, above others, then those members of staff you're not showing that feeling to are not going to work to their optimum.			int. 4, p. 7
Even if you do actually have that feeling, you've got to subdue it. And also the same with customers.			int. 4, p. 7
If you're over preferential to certain customers – yes, they may be very good customers – but new customers to the establishment, that particular evening are going to feel left out and not become return customers.			int. 4, p. 7
The masking emotion side, especially if it's your first contact with that customer for the evening, regardless of your actual own *temperament at that* particular time, you have to do your best to make them feel welcome and at *ease*			int. 4, p. 10
You go into work and you are supposed to be the life and *soul of* the party, especially within the pub environment, and nine times out of ten I would say that I manage to succeed in that, whatever else has happened preceding me entering the workplace.			int. 4, *p. 14*
But in a larger operation you can't get away with it [managers losing emotional self-control], because one slip and you've lost your authority.			int. 4, p. 20
I would say, definitely, for large scale operations, you've got to hide any negative emotions from your staff, and if you don't you're going to lose team morale			int. 4, p. 20
[The] waitresses (who seemed to get quite stressed – twice I was interrupted with an "I need a 'whatever' Now!" while in the middle of a round, but I tried to keep my cool as they're both young and inexperienced.			fn, p. 16-17
I mean it's obvious, if you're not happy in your environment then that would come out, not only to the customers, but to the way you			int. 5, p. 6

work as well.			
If you're not happy, you don't like it, whatever, there's something wrong, then you don't try your hardest, and then you come across, also, to the customers as not being so happy perhaps. So, yes, it's important to feel good about what you're doing.			int. 5, p. 6
I just think that it's really important that you keep your feelings under control for customer service. I've always been. You're always told that the customer is always right. Right, I don't either agree or disagree with that then. Most of the time they're not right, but, if you're not right within yourself, you can't admit that they're right every time, you know? If it's a really extreme case and they've blatantly made a mistake, then yes, you've got to say "I'm sorry," I mean, it's being honest, always being honest. It's honesty as well. You can fawn on them, or whatever it is, but when it comes down to yourself and feeling, you know, if you're right then you are right. It doesn't matter how you, you can be very nice about it, you can deal with it in every sort of nice way, but when you know you're right, you've got to say that you're right.			int. 5, p. 17-18
And that's due to the frustration of whatever they're [colleagues] trying to do not happening, and they're trying to pinpoint, you know, why is it not happening. Because they probably believe that they're doing their bit, but somebody else is letting the side down.			int. 6, p. 6
I mean, it's just not on; you don't bring your problems to the customer. They're not here to listen to your problems, or get the back-lash if you're feeling up or down. If you're up, great, but certainly not if you're down.			int. 6, p. 7
Especially if the customers have seen you in a good experience, say like they came in for dinner last week, and we weren't too busy, so you had lots of time to spend more time with him than normal. Then the next time you're a little bit busier, but you need to keep that appearance up for them because that's what they're expecting, that's why they've come back, so that they've already had that experience with you, and you need to acknowledge them the next time they come in. Even as much as "Hello, how's you all doing. We're really busy tonight, can't spend much time with you." everything's to do with giving the customer information so they can evaluate, look round, see you're very busy, they'll understand why you've not spent time with them, rather than just say "Oh, **** has left us alone tonight, wonder what's up with ****?"			int. 6, p. 11
I never felt angry where [a customer is difficult], oh, I mean we do when we have customers complaining or giving a member of staff a hard time. Um, and you have to mask that, you have to veil it, you have to be sincere and smiling and sort of, you know, whatever. You mask it because you are effectively, um, in a position – and you looked upon in a position – you don't want people to go away with a negative attitude about this business, because it's detrimental to us.			int. 9, p. 8
The only time I find it difficult [to keep happy] is when I'm tired, I only feel, not so much grumpy, I just feel quiet when I'm tired. But it depends on how busy it is here. If it's really busy then that doesn't last long, because you can't afford to be grumpy and quiet.	is a barrier to showing	appropriate emotions	int. 2, p. 5
I don't think you should [need to] control [emotions] them because you have to be yourself in that kind of environment. You can't be something you're not because it would soon get picked up on, and			int. 2, p. 15

you'd just fall apart.			
Depending on the severity of it, obviously if someone's died, then obviously I would say "Go home." Because they're not going to concentrate, they're going to make mistakes, they're not going to be happy, they're not going to make customers happy,			int. 2, p. 15
If you've got a small, close knit staff, then however hard [to hide stress] the manager tries, they're not going to be able to hide it. And, but in larger operations it's essential.			int. 4, p. 20
The boredom made it more difficult to be hospitable, but I tried and got quite a few drinks bought for me			fn, p. 81
I feel that it is more difficult to cheerfully serve customers on a quiet night (except 'friend' regulars) as you need to get in the mood each time someone comes in or needs serving.			fn, p. 109
Anticipation of a rush [especially during functions] can be dodgy if you psych yourself up too soon, as you need to maintain it or 'recycle' the mood.			fn, p. 109
Yes I probably will go and have a little drink with them [cricket club] and see, ask how they did. Appear interested. Because they're customers.	is a way of	showing appropriate emotions	int. 3, p. 14
I'd probably end up watching a game one day in the summer, in the late afternoon. I might be able to watch them, you know, just, just to say "Hello, how do." Just to take an interest, so they know "Hey! **** has come down to watch."			int. 3, p. 14
Try to keep occupied – cleaning etc. "If it is a quiet place e you'll always need to psyche yourself up."			int. 3, p. 26
I'm that kind of person anyway.			int. 1, p. 9
Geeing yourself up.			int. 1, p. 10
Trying to speak more to your colleagues and have a laugh just before, say, you're opening at eleven, you start at ten to set up.			int. 1, p. 10
You're really feeling tired, you think you've got to make an effort, so you blare the music out and have a little jig as you're setting up, and get involved with, the next person who is working, have a laugh, and, like, just take the Mickey out of them and they take the Mickey out of you, and then think "Yea, yea, yea.." And it gees you up for when the first customer comes in. So, you're lively, and you're not like "Phew! I'm just on my tenth day straight. I've done a hundred and eighty hours." So you're not moaning to them [guests], you moan to a colleague of yours and they'll say "Ah, come on. Blah, blah, blah." And they'll probably just be refreshed, then they gee you up and they think "Yes, come on then. Let's have it today."			int. 1, p. 10
You've got to talk a lot more to your colleagues and let them gee you up as well as you geeing yourself up before you go into working with your customers.			int. 1, p. 10
I think it just happens [I feel cheerful] automatically when I come [to work]			int. 2, p. 5
And I can't say that I've actually got an answer to actually solve that situation [being too excited] other than try and let the people run around for a little while and burn themselves out.			int. 4, p. 15

Well, you just do. It's your job. You come to work to do your job, and whatever's happened in your private life it's got to stay there.			int. 6, p. 7
I just take a big breath and go out again. It's like if **** was to say something in the kitchen, and really sort of winds you up, before you go out and face the customers take a deep breath, put a smile on and out you go, and just forget about it. You know "**** is never wrong, well, fuck it." And as soon as the food's gone out you go onto the next thing. So it's over – finished with. I can't stand people who carry something on.			int. 11, p. 11
I think you've just basically got to smile, and make your eyes smile as well, and just really, um, it sounds really two faced. But yes, I think you can. *Interviewer: You said make your eyes smile too* Just, not just this sort of pathetic little smirk, because that doesn't work. Just to actually put a bit of feeling into it and think 'Well, you know,' just don't think about it really. Maybe I'm good at that. Maybe I've just learnt to be good at that.			int. 15, p. 5-6
Um, I don't think it's a matter of getting into the mood as such, I think it's something, that, with practice and experience	is a way to	get in the mood for service	int. 4, p. 7
If you happen to have a uniform of some description, you put your uniform on, and once that uniform is on, that is, you're in work mode. To a certain extent, the idea of auto-pilot can kick in			int. 4, p. 7
I think it [psyching yourself up] is just something you psychologically say to yourself. It's just a matter of going, it's a matter of building yourself up with the usual pleasantries and, and the English obsession with the weather and, once you've done a couple of sentences of that, then I tend to snap back into it.			int. 4, p. 24
It is usually easier to get cheerful when I feel pissed off or angry about something than when bored.			fn, p. 109
I don't know how I can do it, it's just, I think "Well, I don't want to be miserable, I don't want to be in a bad mood, so, while I'm here doing what I'm doing now, if I'm in a bad mood it's going to make it even worse." So I guess you just think "Well, I've got to do it." and then it'll only be better if I feel better or try and be better. You've just got to do it			int. 5, p. 6
I don't know. I do it quite easily. Putting yourself in another frame of mind, I guess. Just think work and doing what you're supposed to be doing, and that gets your mind off your problems basically			int. 5, p. 7
I don't do it consciously. Obviously I've been doing it a long time, so I know as soon as you come in front, or in contact with a customer, it's them you're thinking about, not you. So it's just automatic. Yes.			int. 6, p. 7
It's just there all the time. If anything it's more noticeable when you've not had many customers, and then you get some, "Oh, I've got something to do now." Rather than "Oh no, here they come."			int. 6, p. 20
I like to either just dive into it, get up and shave and shower and get to the news, like listen to the news, at least then you've got something to whinge about, you know, with the customers. Just dive in and see what happens.			int. 7, p. 8
sometimes you get up and you don't want to go to work, but as soon as – I know we don't actually wear a uniform – but as soon as the shirt and tie go on, you walk out of your own environment, everything else you leave behind until you can sit down later, because this is not my sort of usual attire. I'm T-shirt, track-suit bottoms and trainers, so when I put this on, I'm there to do a job as professionally as you can, so you must obviously leave all your			int. 10, p. 4

personal stuff behind			
It's like when I get changed, I'm putting on this, I'm putting on a uniform type thing, and you're, it's like even in the bar you've got the trousers, shirt and tie. And you, it's like the uniform changes your personality sort of thing. It's like if you're a doctor or policeman or fireman, whatever. Yes, I know it sounds silly, you put on, it's like when I used to work, I even used to feel different when I used to work in an office. You put on a suit, and you go to work and you'll be all serious and everything, you get home, take off the suit, put on a pair of jeans, messing around laughing with the kids and stuff.			int. 11, p. 9
My first response would be to say that I would stop and have a drink on my way into work – which I know is not the done thing. I've stopped off – quiet pint, bit of reflection, um, half an hour to myself, maybe do a crossword, and then into work, change into uniform, and it has been known that I'm a changed person to what I was an hour to two hours beforehand. As far as actually putting thought into changing my mood to go into work, um, I can't consciously say that I've ever done that as such. It's, it's been, to a certain extent I suppose it is what's expected.			int. 4, p. 13
I could be very angry, but if a customer walked in I'd stop. I'd say "Hi, how are you doing?" Smiling face. Because that's what I do. Because I've been in the industry so long I just do it. I just change like that.	is a way of	changing to appropriate emotions	int. 3, p. 7
I don't really have a problem with turning [bad emotion to good for guest], you know?			int. 3, p. 7
I couldn't go back and bollock that person after I'd talked to a customer [reignite the anger].			int. 3, p. 7
My mood has changed. I might think about it an hour latter and get pissed off again, and get all moody again – but that's different.			int. 3, p. 7
That's what a briefing is for, to try and motivate people to do a job. To think "Oh yes, lets do it." it's easier to motivate 50 staff than 3.			int. 3, p. 7
I think you need to be able to switch off to be able to be nice to people all day long.			int. 2, p. 4
I think even sometimes initially you put on an interest, because, say like tonight when it's really dead, you talk to people because there's absolutely nothing else to do.			int. 2, p. 5
People the other side of the bar, they just, they bring it out of me. It depends who you've got in though.			int. 2, p. 5
After a bit of forcing myself I soon cheered up a lot, and before I knew it I was in full swing, as happy as can be.			fn, p. 69-70
Putting it to one side. Um, you've just got to think work and get it out of your mind, or try and be really busy, so that you don't think about whatever else is going on. Just throwing yourself right into it. I had a lot of problems outside of work, but when I get to work it's just shut that down completely, or, it's always there, but if you can appear really happy or throw yourself into your work, then it's sort of in the background.			int. 5, p. 7

I guess, if you're in your work personality (if you're wearing a uniform or whatever, your work clothes) then you're more serious, and more orientated to work, than if you came in in your old jeans and whatever, your T-shirt, then you're just more relaxed, not quite into work mode. Yes, that's, I kind of like to wear different clothes from work, than outside of work, because it separates it a bit, and then you do get, not that you necessarily need to wear a uniform.			int. 5, p. 7
How I control those [angry] emotions is try as quickly as possible to get onto the next customer. And maybe a minute or two with that next customer, who's not aware of some other incident will tell me a funny little story, or say something nice, or be polite, or buy you a drink or whatever. That'll just lift you right out of it. You'll still be looking at that other customer, but it'll have been tempered, and just to keep out there working. If you do have a bad enough problem, you walk. Just walk. Calm down, get a drink, walk. And if you have to walk for the night, fair enough. If you have a big enough problem it's best to walk permanently. And that can be, that can happen, especially in so-called 'community pubs'.			int. 7, p. 9
You've got to be able to switch off. You've got to be able to become a, really a, different person when you walk into work. I mean, I'm a different person when I walk into work, in a way, because I'm a lot more lively, bubbly. You just come in, and you just switch off. You switch on to the other person who does the work, works very hard, rushes round, does all this, does this. But, at the end of the night you can sit down, relax and say "Oh god! What a bad night."			int. 8, p. 9
Well, what I tend to do, is I have a laugh with the customer. And if I'm, if it's a really busy day, I'll stand there and I'll just look at him "Oh god, I'm so stressed out." and they'll laugh about it, and if they're laughing about it, that will automatically, it calms you down.			int. 8, p. 11
When I come out front, and it actually gees my up when I'm away from whatever the problem is and in a different environment, where I'm able to chat with people, surrounded by people, it makes me sort of rely on, concentrate on the job, as opposed to whatever the problem is at the time.			int. 9, p. 14
You just go and do something else for quarter of an hour until it's [the unwanted emotion] gone.			int. 10, p. 5
Sharing it [with colleagues] – those angry feelings – it sort of exorcised them.			int. 10, p. 6

Um, personally speaking it's anger. But then, as I've already said, I can be quite fiery anyway. For myself, I would definitely say anger – be it anger to myself because I've made a mistake, to another member of staff because they've made a mistake, to be it over something another customer has said	is a difficult	emotion to hide	int. 4, p. 13
A lot [of people] that I know of – be it to the customers, or be it to other members of staff – find some form of sadness, be it loss or be it upset over financial or home, seems to be one that staff that I've had involvement with before find most difficult hiding.			int. 4, p. 13
But like I say, it depends on the, on the level of that particular emotion at that time.			int. 4, p. 13
And, to bring people down to earth, um, is probably much more difficult than bringing them up, if they're low, realistically speaking, if they don't burn themselves out then they're probably detrimental to the session of service.			int. 4, p. 15
Sadness I think [is difficult to hide]. I mean, I can get angry quickly, but then it's gone, you know. But if something is really, really sad, then that might be a hard thing... you know if something tragic has happened, or whatever, then it's a little bit harder to get over			int. 5, p. 7
If, for any particular reason, I was about to start work and I had a thoroughly miserable day for whatever reason. I was feeling, not angry as such, not even particularly upset, but just things had not gone my way and I was at a particular low feeling things weren't going my way, I would, I have had distinct trouble in trying to turn that round into a smile for the customers. Very much so.			
I can hardly think of an instance where I showed [negative emotions to customers] except here, to ****. That was last weekend. That was different.	is a way of	hiding emotions	int. 3, p. 8
He was getting to me, he was getting to me. But I held it in, I held it in.			int. 3, p. 9
Sometimes you do put on an act for the customers, and you're feeling really pissed off, but you can't say that to the customer, so you have to put that to the back of your mind and be happy and jolly.			int. 3, p. 18
You might feel really fucked off, "I don't want to be here." but, you have to be, because it's your career or whatever.			int. 3, p. 19
And at the end of the day, if you're not, if you act out the way you're feeling, you won't have any customers.			int. 3, p. 19
There're various things that get to you during the day, whether it be staff, suppliers, whether it be a customer, your partner or whatever. Those things do get to you. You've had a bad phone call, but you can't show it at the front, you can't do it.			int. 3, p. 19
I made myself feel better by thinking of them as 'cooks' not 'chefs' as they panic when it gets even a tiny bit busy. I'm glad and proud that I didn't blow my top.			int. 3, p. 33
If I am angry or I do feel a negative emotion, then I'll put a lid on it because you can't show it out front.			int. 10, p. 5
I tend to feel very on a high, should I say, after we've had a very busy evening and it goes very, very well, and I feel very, very good, um, very confident about my staff, about the building and everything.	is a type of	positive emotional experience	int. 3, p. 4

Getting a letter through a few days after [serving someone]. I love it. That was really good. I serve the customers, you know, I like somebody to go our, a customer to leave the building and say "Lovely" and actually mean it.			int. 3, p. 10
So I was behind the bar having a laugh and joke, doing the games, "Oh, you've won there." That kind of thing, and you felt like you were really important, and like you was actually doing something to make the guest feel important and enjoy themselves.			int. 1, p. 6
When they came at the end of the night and said "Thank you. You've made the night really special." That is something that, until like people experience, they'll only just nod their head. But it really makes you feel good in yourself.			int. 1, p. 6
Everyone came in, and we had a laugh and it went fine, and I just felt like the staff was helping me. So after that we all sat down in the King Charles lounge and I told the night porter to just get sandwiches, chips, whatever the staff want just to nibble on, and I said "Right I'll get you all a few drinks each." And we all sat down and had a laugh.			int. 1, p. 7
The response back from all four of those guests at the end of the night, just gave me an overall buzz to the rest of the evening, and it was, made me feel that I was doing something worthwhile.			int. 4, p. 2
probably when you've got someone you know – especially the locals – or a good customer,			int. 5, p. 2
That is a really nice thing, when the customers come back, or they recognise you, or you've given them a good time. That was a good feeling last night, even though I was on the other side of the bar			int. 5, p. 3
I've had some great kicks over the years from customers. I've had a great kick dealing with oldies, getting a bit of conversation out of them, getting – we'll say – let in on little secrets and little parts of their lives that they want to share with you.			int. 7, p. 5
Sometimes you can get a kick out of, you know, somebody sitting at the bar who looks like a bloody suicidal – and as it turns out, they often are – and you give them a little bit of advice – worldly advice maybe – that they take in the right spirit.			int. 7, p. 5
People often come into a bar, used to come into a bar for a conversation, often to unburden their sorrows. These days they can't. You know, often people have nowhere to go anywhere. The pub used to be a good counselling service. The old landlord and the good barman used to be a good counsellor, you know, before there were doctors and, you know, who specialise in these things. Before there were social services, people went in and unloaded their problems on somebody.			int. 7, p. 5
When they thank you for having a lovely time, they had a meal and enjoyed your time here. That gives you a sense of well-being really. Just to know that they can come in, relax, have a good time, and there're no problems.			int. 8, p. 2
I know that a lot of the customers comment on the work that I do, but it's better coming from the people who employ you – it makes you feel wanted more than anything.			int. 8, p. 2
You always get people who will stand there and talk to you. They'll speak to you about their problems. But then again, that makes you feel good because it's good to know that they can talk to you.			int. 8, p. 18
When say a family unit come in to eat, I feel it's my job to make them feel comfortable and happy with the service that they get. If I can do that then it makes me feel good and positive about doing the job.			int. 10, p. 2

In November we had a mystery guest. After his stay he said – I'd dealt with him a lot – it was amazing that I got him for everything during his stay, even taking his telephone booking. At check out he said "I've got a surprise for you - everything has been wonderful. One thing – what happens when you're not here?" I felt I was the only one holding the place together.			int. 13, p. 1
I take great pleasure passing compliments to the chef. They don't get told much positive stuff. Chefs are very emotional people - it would be interesting for you to study chefs. They're artistic; therefore they can be very temperamental and passionate.			int. 13, p. 1
It was a really good feeling to think "Someone's come out and had a really nice meal, and enjoyed themselves, and I've done it." basically. And nobody else can take the credit for it.			int. 15, p. 2
I think the best bit is – especially in a pub like this – where the locals come in and they haven't seen you for months and suddenly you're like flavour of the month again. 'Where have you been? It's nice to see you.' sort of thing. That feeling of appreciation, I think is probably the best bit.			int. 15, p. 2
So, ****brought the accountant out and said "Could you just cover ****?" Took me into his office and said "What's the matter?" So, I could like tell him what's the matter,	is an example of	emotional support at work	int. 1, p. 9
I can open up to him and just tell him how I feel. If I wanted to cry I could have cried or whatever, and then I feel like I've spoken to someone about it, got it off my chest, but I've kept it away from the customers.			int. 1, p. 9
And then I come down feeling like "Yes, someone does care." And then that just gets you through the rest of the day. You could come down the same day, the next day, it'd be the same.			int. 1, p. 10
And, lets say **** was down "Go and have a cigarette, go and bawl your eyes out or whatever. I'll just cover you."			int. 1, p. 10
But, you know that when you're in a busy environment and everyone gets on with everyone and no back-stabbing – because there wasn't much of that at our hotel – and it's like, OK, yes, they're there for you.			int. 1, p. 10
And when you get given that time away by your colleagues, then that also makes you feel good. And things like that really.			int. 1, p. 10
If I, er, see someone coming in – like **** – she's just had a row with her mum. You just say "Oh, lets just take five minutes, sit down talk about it," and say "Oh, Well." And then just talk her through her problems or something.			int. 1, p. 10
You don't probably know what they're going through, but, like I said before you – like ****did to me – you feel that someone cares, then you gee them up, then you have a laugh.			int. 1, p. 10-11
They say "Oh, come and have a drink" or something, or "I'll make you a cup of tea," or something like that, and then you get them and you give them a little nudge and give them, you know, a little bit of a laugh, or tell a joke or something.			int. 1, p. 11
Or say, like, [describe] your experience and how you handled it, and then like gee them up that way.			int. 1, p. 11
I was quite apprehensive [of the job] at first. If you guys hadn't been here I don't think I would have wanted to stick around. And, er, it's because, over the last – I've only been here for four weeks – but over that last four weeks I feel like I've developed some quite good potential friends.			int. 10, p. 9

Appendix 5 Domain Analysis

The following outlines the content of the key Domains identified during the study.

Domain	*Semantic Relationship*	*Sub-category of Domain*
Guests		
	is a type of	customer
	is a type of	customer behaviour
	is behaviour expected of	customers
	is behaviour exhibited by	drunk customers
	is a perception of	customer-staff interaction
	is a negative attribute of a	customer
	is a reason for	not annoying customers
	is a way of dealing with	bad customers
	is a reason for	barring customers
	is an inappropriate way of dealing with	customers
	is a feeling towards	drunk customers
	is a way of dealing with	drunks
	is a type of	customer attitude
	is a way of getting rid of	customers
	is a way of assessing	customers
	is a requirement of	customers
	is a requirement of	pub customers
	is a requirement of	regular pub customers
	is a reaction to	customers' situations & demands
	is a service provided	to customers
	is a relationship with	customers
	is indicative of the relationship between	staff and customers
	is a reaction to	complaints
	is an example of	customer feedback
	shows the importance of	customers
	is a problem with close relationships with	customers
Staff		
	is a type of	staff member
	is not a type of	staff member
	is a type of	personal attribute
	is an important	personal attribute of staff
	is an unacceptable	personal attribute/ behaviour
	is a type of	staff behaviour
	is a management expectation of	staff personality/ behaviour
	relates to	staff expectations of colleague's behaviour
	is a reaction to	a colleagues behaviour
	is a gripe against	management
	is an attitude towards	young managers
	is a feeling about	staff socialising
	is an important	personal attribute
	is an attribute of	recruitment interviews
	is a type of	selection criteria for staff

	is a reason to support	staff members
	is a way of supporting	staff about customers
	is an example of	poor service
	is an activity of	staff
	is a type of	coping mechanism for dealing with work problems
	is a type of	coping mechanism for dealing with staff problems
	is a reaction to	staff situations
	is a relationship between	work colleagues
	is an influence on	working with friends/partners
	is a way of coping with	boredom
	is the role of	service personnel generally
	is the role of	the landlord/manager
	is the role of	barstaff
	is customer perception of	the role of barmaids
	is customer perception of	the role of barmen
	is a way of dealing with	emotional staff
	is a source of	inter-departmental conflict
	is an attribute of	staff briefings
Emotions		
	is a type of	emotion
	is an expected	emotion / behaviour
	is a way of dealing with	stress
	is a way of helping colleagues cope with	stress
	is a type of	inappropriate emotion
	is a customer perception of	the role of a barmaid
	is a customer perception of	the role of a barman
	is a perception	of staff
	is self analysis	of behaviour/ emotion
	is a reason for managers to	hide or control emotion
	is a reason for	hiding or controlling emotion
	is a barrier to showing	appropriate emotions
	is a way of	showing appropriate emotions
	is a way to	get in the mood for service
	is a way of	changing to appropriate emotions
	is a difficult	emotion to hide
	is a difficult	emotion to change
	is a way of	hiding emotions
	is a type of	positive emotional experience
	is an emotional phenomenon	in pubs
	is a type of	impact of work on personal life
	is a feeling about	bad customer behaviour
	is a feeling about	bad staff behaviour
	is a type of	negative emotional experience
	is an important feeling for	customers
	is an example of	emotional support at work
	is the value of	a sense of humour
	is an attitude to	humour

	is a type of	emotional skill
	is a way of judging	customer feelings/ requirements
	is a reason for not hiding	emotion from staff
Acting		
	is a company approach to	acting
	is an example of	acting
	is an approach to	scripts
	is how to plan a	script
	is a problem with	scripts & acting
	is a reason for	acting
	is a staff feeling towards	acting
	is an advantage or	acting
Situations		
	is a reaction to	work situations
	is an important	out of work relationship
	is a perceived	emotion gender difference
	is a reaction to	gender differences
	is a personal reaction	to research
	is a perception of	sarcasm
Catering		
	is a reason	for working in catering
	is a reason for staying in	catering
	is a feeling about	who employs staff (chain or manager)
	is a reason for	high staff turnover in bars/ catering
	is a reason for working in	pubs/bars
	is a good part of	the job
	is a reason for	part time work in catering
	is a bad part of	the job
	is a reaction to	alcohol
	is a perception of	catering
	is a type of	pub
	is a comparison between	pubs and hotels/other catering establishments/areas
	is a type of	work philosophy
	is a difficulty with	outlet standardisation
	is a reason of preferring	smaller operations
	is an analysis of	the pub trade
Live-In		
	is a result of	Living-in in pubs
	is a result of	Living-in generally
	is a coping mechanism for	Live-in staff
Training and		

Development		
	answer to the question	have you ever received formal training in customer interaction
	is what staff get from	training
	is an approach to	training
	is a way to	train staff
	are areas requiring	training
	is a need for	training
	is a reason for	centralised training
	is an example of poor	corporate communication
	is a reason for	lack of training
	is a problem with	customer care training
	is an example of	college training in customer interaction
	is a way of learning	customer service
	is a problem for management with	training

Appendix 6 Summary of Pubs Investigated

	The Bell	The Ship	The Royal Oak	The Cricketers	The Chequers
Position	Small Village	Small village	Small town	Large village	Small village
Proximity	Close to university city	Close to large market town	Close to an international airport	Close to historic city	Close to 2 large towns
Facilities	12 bedrooms, bar, restaurant, garden	14 bedrooms, 2 small bars, restaurant	21 bedrooms, large bar, restaurant, 2 meeting rooms	11 bedrooms, bar, 2 restaurants,	18 bedrooms, bar, restaurant, 2 meeting rooms, 2 function rooms, garden
Restaurant style	Freshly cooked pub food	Freshly cooked fine dining	Sous-vide set menu	Freshly cooked fine dining	Freshly cooked using centrally planned standard recipes
Management Team[21]	One male manager, assistant manager couple	One male manager, one male assistant manager	Management couple, 6 assistant managers (2 couples)	Management couple	Management couple
Management Background	Barman	GM & food service, hotels	Male - GM & chef, restaurants. Female - customer services	Owner managers, restaurant (male - chef, female - food service, front office	Female - GM hotels, male - chef, hotels.
Full time live in staff[1]	As above	As above and one temporary overseas general assistant	As above and one male kitchen porter	As above	As above and 7 temporary overseas general assistants, 4 female, 3 male
Full time live out staff		2 male chefs	1 male chef	2 male chefs, 1 male bar manager, 1 female bar staff	One male chef, one female bar staff
Part time staff	1 male bar staff, 3 female waiting staff, two female kitchen porters	One female kitchen porter, one female bar staff, 4 female waiting staff	2 male and 1 female bar staff, two female waiting staff	2 female general assistants, 4 female waiting staff	3 male bar staff
Fieldworker's position	general assistant	general assistant	trainee assistant manager	assistant manager	assistant/deputy manager

[21] Does not include fieldworker.

Appendix 7 Some Personal Accounts of an Abusive Customer

Mary's story (taken from an interview):

Mary: Harry just went off his head, and then he was really, really rude to me, said "None of these men here understand you, and you're away with the clouds and the birds or whatever." and just being really insulting. It was worse than that, and then I just said "Look, I don't understand what you're going on about, but you've paid now. Finish. OK?" But after that I'm just, like, seriously shaking. No, I don't like confrontations at all. Raised voices. That was all right - it worked out all right in the end.

Interviewer: So, how would you say that you actually felt; you said you felt angry, was there anything else?

Mary: Mmm, no, just upset, upset – that they caused a fuss, you know, it's just the physical thing, it's just like this shaking and this feeling inside, like, you know "Don't speak to me like that." and "All I'm trying to do is pour your drinks for you and be nice to you and help you out." And then it's too, men can be like that. I think it's just upset that someone has raised their voice and called you all those stupid things when you know you're not stupid.

Interviewer: And how did you go about dealing with the situation with the customer and then with the way that you feel?

Mary: Um, how I dealt with it? I just said "Look, let's finish. I don't want to talk to you about it any more. You've paid your drinks, OK, enough." And then I didn't want to serve him for that night. Yes. I didn't want to serve him anymore. But he was very drunk as well, I mean, yes, basically, at the bar I wouldn't want to serve someone who was like that, and then hopefully they get the idea that they can't talk to you like that. But just walk away, just calm down, go and have a cigarette or whatever. Yes.

Interviewer: OK, then. Someone's made you feel angry. You've dealt with that situation. But then perhaps you've still got the feeling of anger. How would you deal with that feeling before going to serve the next person?

Mary: Oh, yes. I'm OK with that. Only one person has made me angry, so it's just, I'm only feeling angry, whatever, with that person, whatever, or mad. So, go on to the next person. The only thing is "Do you want something to drink?" [Laughs]. But to anyone else it's OK. Maybe take a couple of minutes out, have a cigarette, but go back and then it's fine. Think then being extra nice to people helps bring me back, keep going or whatever. You know, just try and bring yourself back into a mood, and that's fine, I don't have a problem.

John's account

John: And he started abusing Mary and that got my back up, it really did. It really made me angry. And, um, just for the fact that he was abusing her, she's a great person, you know. She, she didn't do anything to warrant it, he was just picking on her because she was a female behind the bar. If I'd have been there it would probably have been different – I was there, but if I'd just been by myself it would probably have been a different story all together. But that really did get my back up, I had to walk away and go in the kitchen.

Interviewer: It's interesting that you said that, because when you were talking about the case where you were being abused, you said you just sort of turned off and... but if it's someone else – is it more difficult if it's someone else? I know that you and Mary are sort of partners...

John: I was being sort of protective of her you see.

Interviewer: So that makes it more difficult to cope with?

John: Yes. Someone abusing her, you know, it, it wasn't right.

Interviewer: So what sort of feelings did that give you?

John: Ah, god. Um, well personally I just felt like giving him the nine yards, but I had to really reign in, you know. I had to really control it. I felt really, really angry with him. And then it, er, I just felt really protective of Mary. Well, afterwards when I'd gone to the kitchen for quite a while afterwards I was quite upset about it, you know.

Field notes (written that night, although the fieldworker was not present at the incident).

I was working setting up the restaurant for the morning (all the diners were long gone) when John stormed in with a face like thunder. He was fuming because Harry had been giving Mary some real abuse. I couldn't get much sense from him but he said he almost hit him and had to just get away for a minute.

After trying to calm him a bit I went through to the bar. Harry was still in. I told Mary to take a break, but she wouldn't – but she was shaking with Anger. Eventually we got her into the empty restaurant and John took over on the bar. As soon as she sat down she burst into floods of tears – I've never seen her this upset. I still can't make much sense over exactly what Harry did, but knowing her it must have been something big.

As I'm writing this I can't help wondering about the situation – although I can understand John's reaction it does seem interesting that he was the one who had to get away from the bar first while Mary stayed on the bar (granted at the opposite end to Harry, but still she was his target)

From the next day...

Harry [the abusive customer] came in again & still seems to be freezing me out – he really has been behaving strangely since he came back – especially giving Mary that abuse yesterday.

Appendix 8 An Example of an Interview Transcript

Interviewee: Ellie;

Venue: Cricketers Lounge

Date ****

Interviewer's questions have been italicised

Could we start off perhaps with your background in the industry?

Yep. I got a job in a restaurant washing up when I was 14, and did that for a couple of years, and then I was a waitress, and I worked there for five years - it was a holiday job. And I actually worked alongside a lady, she had been on a TV series, and she taught me everything I know, really. And then I moved to Oxford when I went to Uni, I worked in a little restaurant there for about 18 months. I used to run the shifts - I knew everything I had to know about the day to day running of the place. Then I left, and went to Café Rouge, but I didn't stay there very long – it was the last 6 weeks of my degree, and by the time it got to the end then I left – but I was just a waitress there anyway. Then I came home. I worked at the Bell one summer, I was in charge of the restaurant, um, just to help over the summer, and I worked at the mill in Rode. And again I was just waitress, then I went onto the bar, and then they used me to do everything. And then I moved here, and I do everything here – bar, waitressing, the only thing I haven't done is cook, and that's one thing I'm not going to, but that's basically it.

How long have you actually been here?

That is an, I've left three times – it's an on-off, off-on thing. I've worked here full time for three months when I first graduated, then I got another job, something completely different, and I thought "Right I'm getting out of this place. I hate the unsociable hours. I need a life – a social life." And then I thought "well actually I could do with the money." So I decided to come back and do two hours a week on the bar. And I did that until I left in May and I went to Austria for a couple of months, and then I came back, I basically came to Janine and worked here. I was determined I wasn't going to do a summer job here, because it just takes up all of my life and I wanted to get some sort of other work during the day, just work a few nights – be sociable – behind the bar, no stress, ready to go back to Uni this year. And I've come back again, now, Christmas holidays, to actually earn some more cash, [laughs].

Is that the only reason you choose hospitality?

Um, no. I mean, I like, I like doing things, I like the bar work. It's sociable, and I don't mind doing it, I don't like doing it part time – it drives me crazy doing it full time. People don't look on you as being, I don't know, there's always, people – especially in here – people think that you haven't got a brain. But a couple of nights a week, fine, because I don't have to take any notice of what people say, and just get on with it. I get on well with the staff. I know what I'm doing here, that's the thing. I

know what I'm doing – there's no, there's none of this stressful "Oh God. What do I do?" panic, panic, panic. And things that I do outside of this are stressful enough – I don't really want stress here. That's one of the reasons I do it. But I certainly don't do it for the money, [laughs]. That's for sure.

You've done a lot of restaurant work before. How do you think working on the bar of a pub-inn compares with other jobs you've done?

Um, it's a lot more informal. A hell of a lot more informal. You can actually, I mean here is actually different to the Mill or the Bell - they were really local pubs whereas this is a hotel, so still here you've got people coming in for food, um, so you've always got to keep that front up. And some people will have a laugh with you, and you can adapt to that, but other people do want to be quite stand-offish. Whereas in a bar you can be yourself, have a joke, have a laugh. Waitressing, I think waitressing is a lot more, you've got to be a lot more polite. People don't want to get involved in a conversation with you, they want to get on with their food, they don't talk to you much. It's quite - 'Gosh!' if they do have a conversation with you. I just prefer the social side [of bars].

What would you say are the most important attributes of a bar worker?

I think it's [to be able to] smile, and just somebody that can get on with people - a people person. I mean, sometimes, I mean, you know, sometimes they've like that, sometimes they're rude. But you just think 'I've had this one customer,' last week, and you just think 'Yes right.' but, get on with it. There's no point being confrontational, that's the thing, you've just got to go past and not worry about it. And that's what I've learnt, I think. I think when I first started doing anything to do with public relations, I took things far too much to heart - you know, people shout at you, get really, you think 'Oh god, it's my fault. I'm terrible.' now I just think 'Right. I've heard it all before mate, [laughs]'

Do you think that working with customers in bars has changed you?

Yes. A hell of a lot more confident. But then I don't think it's just doing this job, I think other things that I've done - you, me and everything else, has brought me out to that sort of person, and now I'm more capable of doing it. I don't think I could have done it five years ago, I just wasn't the sort of person - I would have been far too sheepish. Definitely.

Next I'd like to move onto your own feelings about situations. Could you tell me about a time when you felt a very strong positive emotion when you were dealing with customers?

Um, I think when I was working at Michelle's in Oxford I was, when I was in charge, I don't know, it was a really good feeling to think "Someone's come out and had a really nice meal, and enjoyed themselves, and I've done it." Basically. And nobody else can take the credit for it. There's no one specific time, and also when I do leave and I come back, and I think the best bit is - especially in a pub like this, where the locals come in and they haven't seen you for months and suddenly you're like flavour of the month again. "Where have you been? It's nice to see you." sort of thing. That

feeling of appreciation, I think is probably the best bit.

On the other side of the coin, can you tell me about a time when you felt a particularly strong negative emotion?

Um, yes, not really here, I don't think, particularly. Not so much now - when it was run by the previous managers we had a lot of business people in, from local companies. And they're rude - they were down right rude. I used to get really fed up with them. Especially, they used to have quite a few function nights where it would all be really good fun apparently, fun nights for everyone involved, you know, and you'd be involved in it too. And it was, yes like hell. Businessmen that think they are one above you, sort of thing, or a few above you, and they just talk to you as if you have not got a brain cell, and I just hate that.

How does that make you feel?

Angry, because I know I have. It always makes me want to prove to them that I have. There was one actually, a managing director of a company in Frome, and he used to come in three times a week - it seemed like every night I worked. And he'd come in, in this really, it was almost like a half-fossil, no expression on his face, nothing, it was as though he was talking to somebody that he shouldn't talk to really. I mean you shouldn't talk to anybody like that. There was one night when there were a couple of German clients with him, and they were staying here and they arrived far before him, and I went in to take their drinks order, and I'd already talked to them, and obviously, having a German degree I was chatting to them in German. And, um, and then the boss came in, and he was his normal self, and I started speaking to the guys in German - which I had done previously - and he was gob-smacked, absolutely gob-smacked. I was actually able to do something apart from pull a pint, and it was great. And I was cross with him for thinking, I mean, I used to get *mad* with him, but it was nice to get my own back.

You say you got your own back, have there been times when you sort of react to this?

No. Um, not for ages. When I worked at the bell, one night I do remember there, there was a group of women that came in, and I was the only one in the bar that was any sort of managerial thing at all, I was taking all the responsibility. And I knew they'd be trouble right from the beginning. They moaned because their table wasn't ready dead on the dot of half past of eight, or something ridiculous - and it was a Friday or Saturday night - and they moaned that their meals were five minutes late, and they moaned about this, and they moaned about that. When they had the bill, they obviously moaned about that. It was absolutely disgusting that I charged them for absolutely everything. And blah, blah, blah! And I said 'I have no authority to give you whatever.' and gave them cups of coffees on the house or something, you know, little things that wouldn't go astray, wouldn't go amiss at all. And they got really funny with me. They started shouting at me. And I actually reacted to that, [laughs]. I said 'I would really appreciate it if you keep this to yourselves, if you keep this quiet, because other people are trying to enjoy a meal.' because they were being embarrassing - I was going rosy cheeked thinking 'Will you shut up?' and, um, and in the end they turned it round on me. They got very stroppy and started asking other tables '[shrilly] Are we interrupting your meal?' and they got crossed with me then

for involving them, in this dispute, and I was thinking 'I'm way out of my depth.' and I was, oh, in the end the actual manager came back and just threw them out, because I had just lost it by then. I ended up in tears. So that's, but I don't react and scream and shout back, I just take it too personally. And that's what I did, and I thought, afterwards it was just 'don't worry about the customers that won't come back again.' but we don't want that sort of people here.

How do you actually do that, because you said that you had sort of changed over the period that you've been working?

Yes.

How do you control that now? That feeling?

Um, I don't know. I ignore it. It goes in one ear and out the other. I really just don't, I think it makes it easier if you just smile sweetly and then go into another room, and then call them everything under the sun, where they can't hear - or nobody can hear - and then get on with it really. And I, you've got to, at the moment I'm having to do that every day when I'm teaching, so, I mean I'd like to call kids a lot of things, but I can't, so it's the same sort of thing. You just treat them as if they are kids.

Has it helped you in your teaching?

Yes. Oh definitely, yes. Because I can control my mouth. A lot of people would fly off the handle and tell them exactly what they think.

Um, so you've indicated that controlling your feelings is important in this business?

Yes.

Moving on, do you think that you're good at sensing what other people are feeling - perhaps customers or colleagues?

Um, yes, I do actually. Colleagues maybe not quite as much because at the end of the day I just sort of get on with everything. I mean, to a certain extent I ignore any mood swings that are flying around, I just completely ignore it and just leave them to it - just try not to get in the way, especially when chefs are involved. Um, customer wise I think so. You can tell if a customer's either happy or, with everything that's going on or quite - not cross, but unhappy with the situation. And also I think I can tell quite well if someone wants to be, you've got to really, I think you've got to really know, when you serve a table you don't know them from Adam. They could be anyone, and you've got to be able to sort of read their minds, who they are and what they want from you. Whether they just want a waitress to give them a drink and be done with it or whether they do want to chat and show an interest in who is serving their food, and I think I'm quite good like that.

What sort of signs do you look for?

I think, food wise, how they, if you give them things, whether they make little jokey comments or just, how friendly they are. Their whole attitude. I mean, some people,

when you put things on the table and they don't even show that you're there, they ignore you completely, you're just there. And, but other people really will just either ask you a question or make some sort of a little comment that you can make a little comment back. Equally, you know, as friendly really. The bar - you'll find that people that want to chat will sit at the bar, whereas people that don't want to chat will go and sit at a table.

A couple of people I've spoken to say they can tell what a customer's going to be like, even if they haven't met him before.

Really?

Do you ever find that?

Yes, um, sometimes. I mean, I find that elderly people are, I don't know, sometimes a little bit friendlier. People that, to be honest you can tell by how people dress, to a certain extent. Um, and it's quite obvious as soon as they walk in the door if they have, if it's a young couple all done up to the nines, then you think 'Right, you don't want to know.' but sort of a middle aged couple that are in for something to eat, they are quite, you think 'Oh yes,' you can maybe have some sort of conversation with them. They're normally the most approachable people. I think, to a certain extent you can tell, but I don't think you should judge a book by its cover really, because some people do look as if they could be quite stand-offish and they actually turn out to be really nice people and very friendly. So, I don't know.

Do you ever consciously look for body language?

Um, yes, but I can't think what it is. I can't put my finger on what it would be. Yes, I mean, I'm sure you can – I'm sure of it, but I really would not be able to tell you what I would look for. I actually, Eye contact more than anything else. If it's a little fleeting eye, that you know, that I'm telling you something 'Drinks' sort of thing, and that's it, you think 'Oh right!' I think eye contact is the one indicator.

That's interesting. I heard a couple of waitresses earlier saying that sometimes to avoid dealing with a customer, someone being obnoxious or whatever - that to avoid eye contact, just put the plate down and run without looking at them.

Yes.

Do you ever find that happening?

Occasionally. If somebody hasn't, if you know somebody's a bit unhappy with something and you think "They're going to say something any minute." And you really don't want to be the person that they say it to, yes, [laughs], definitely. Just sort of, you know, pop it down – especially if you give them the bill – I think it's the worst time, to be honest. If you know that they haven't had a particularly nice meal you don't go up to them and say "Has everything been OK with your meal?" because you know you're in the firing line. So, um, yes. Eye contact, probably with that eye contact wouldn't be particularly, I probably wouldn't particularly look somebody right in the eye and say "Well, there we go. There's your bill." [Laughs], "for a meal

that you've hated." yes I think that's probably true.

Um, moving on from other people's feelings to your own, do you think it's easy to show different emotions to the ones that you're actually feeling?

Yes.

Do you think you can do that convincingly?

Yes I do. I think you've just basically got to smile, and make your eyes smile as well, and just really, um, it sounds really two faced. But yes, I think you can.

You said make your eyes smile too.

Just, just, not just this sort of pathetic little smirk, because that doesn't work. Just to actually put a bit of feeling into it and think – well, you know, just don't think about it really. Maybe I'm good at that. Maybe I've just learnt to be good at that.

You don't think about the situation, you just,

Yes, exactly. Yes. I think so. If you brood on something then you can't, you can't do it. But then you've got to just think of everything as it comes, sort of thing. Not to dwell on things.

If you're perhaps working with someone else on the bar, waitressing or whatever, and, do you ever, would you ever pick up being falsely polite or falsely happy?

Um, yes, if I see them five minutes beforehand in a completely different state, then yes, definitely. [Laughs].

How do you feel about that? Maybe someone's had a row with the chefs or serving someone,

And then goes back out.

How does that make you feel to see someone else doing that?

I admire them in a way for doing it. Because, I mean, you have to do it all the time – especially in this sort of trade. You have to. You can't go; you can't have a row with the chefs and then go, grumpy old, you know, whatever, to a customer because you know, they'd be unhappy as well. What's the point? Really. I don't think it's a bad thing. I certainly don't feel "Oh, you're being so false."

So, if you see it in colleagues, do you think colleagues perhaps see it in you?

Possibly.

How does that make you feel? The idea that you – OK, you perhaps looking at a customer,

Um, it really doesn't bother me – especially if you've got the support of other colleagues, which I find, the majority of time, I have here, especially. That if I'm cross with a chef, then the majority of times, 9 out of 10 times, I'm backed up by, you know, Janine or Damien. I have had one run in - not with these chefs but the chef who was here before – he was F-ing and blinding and basically was, the situation was blown out of all proportion, and I got really cross with him. And I told him how cross I was as well. And I was completely fired up, but because I was there, Damien backed me up 100%, I didn't think anything of it, but I could go back out smile for the customers, but Janine and Damien knew exactly how I felt, but fine, it didn't bother me at all. So I don't really think about it to be honest.

That's interesting because it raises two ideas that I was hoping to ask you about as well. Um, the idea that, OK, you perhaps, acting – showing a different emotion to a customer, how you feel, and you have to switch it off. Would you ever try to formally show an emotion - perhaps smiling, whatever, but you're trying at another level to let that customer know that they're being unreasonable and that you're in the right or whatever.

Yes.

So you're trying to make them realise that you're being false?

Yes. Um, I think, yes, you can overdo it to the extent where you, the thing is just don't lose your cool. If you lose your cool, you've lost it completely and they've won. But if you can keep your cool, but you can almost make it known that you *are* right, that you know everything, I mean, I haven't got so much experience of it here, as I had when I was working in customer services, um on the telephone. Because you know everything, you have the power at the end of the day. You're the one who controls, I mean, yes, our customer, the customer's always right – rubbish. If, you know what I mean, at the end of the day, you are the one that, behind the scenes, you know what's going on. You're the one serving their food, so – they know that, I think, really. I mean, they are the ones paying, admittedly, and if they are totally unhappy they can create havoc, but, you know, but I think, I don't know, it depends how strong a person you are I think really.

You said 'Over do it' how do you mean 'overdo it'?

Yes. By being, because obviously they are completely wound up, normally. If they are unhappy about something a lot of the customers will fly off the handle. But by keeping your cool and just by being so sweet and nice, [laughs], they know that it's not real. They know that you can't really be that placid, but because you're being sweet and nice they can't put anything on you at all. You know, they can't say "She was rude, she was anything else." I mean, you've been perfectly polite, just to the point really.

How does that leave you feeling then?

Um, I don't know. Good, I suppose, that they haven't got the upper hand. I don't let customers have the upper hand any more.

So it's a matter of controlling the customers?

Yes. Yes. Yes – I think so. Definitely.

Um, you mentioned support from colleagues. What exactly did you mean by that?

Yes, well in the case of the chefs it was a wrong check or something. It was a mistake that I'd made, but I admitted that I'd made it, and everyone makes mistakes, and I wasn't reprimanded in any way from the managers, they, you know, said "It's a mistake, never mind, everybody makes them." and then they actually went in and had a word with the chef. So it was that sort of back-up really. The back up from the managers so that anything that does go wrong or anything that does happen, they are behind you. They'll support you in that. Rather than, and in a way – another sort of support – from other colleagues, particularly from, you know, other waitresses or whatever – who you're working with – is them actually working together as a team really, and not, not thinking one's above the other, just working as a team, getting on with it, which I think I can do quite well with the majority of people here. So that sort of thing really.

What sort of relationship do you think that you have with your colleagues here?

Good, most of them.

How would you describe it?

Um, friendly. Just on a friendship – admittedly, a couple of them, I mean, I've known the majority of them, well, some of my colleagues here, one's my cousin, so obviously I'm quite close to her, one I've known since I was about three, so obviously I'm quite close to her too, another one I'm very good friends with her mum, so I know her, I know them outside of work, that's the thing. And everybody else I just consider to be a friend really. Just to be able to have a chat with them about other things, other than work all the time. I think in that respect.

Do you actually socialise with colleagues outside of work hours – dealing with things other than work?

Yes, I do, because you learn a lot about them, and you see them as different people, and then it's almost like, when you do work together, it's almost like helping friends rather than "Well, she's getting paid the same as me to get on with this and do this and do that." You actually appreciate what they're doing through who they are really.

Um, what about customers. How do you see your relationship with different customers?

Um, well, bar-wise a lot of them are locals, and the locals I've known for a couple of years – some of them I've known for even more, being a local girl. So I can be very informal – I'm just myself, completely myself. Have a laugh, joke – no airs and graces. Um, and I like that. But with other people – regulars that come in who I don't know particularly well, but you can still have a chat, you know, polite conversation, just to show that you're interested really. Um, and then, the people that you don't

know, that you haven't seen before in your life, [laughs], just friendly. Just be welcoming really.

Do you think you've actually developed friendships with customers - you've known quite a few before hand, but people you didn't know before?

Yes. Yes. People, locals, regulars that come in – particularly drinkers, more so than eaters really. Drinkers that maybe come in on their own, and they will come in, and they will have a chat with you. If you see them regularly enough, they do become your friends. And I mean I've done, I've been out socially with people that have been in that respect.

Um, do you find it easy or difficult to leave personal problems behind when you come to work?

Um, if it's, I mean, I have actually – when I've been doing all these waitressing things, I've been through quite stressful times – stressful but not unhappy times. Mostly either college related, actually most of it is college related, and I do have difficulty sometimes thinking "Oh, I really don't want to be here, I want to be somewhere else." And almost like holding a grudge for the fact that I'm here. I know I'm rotaed on and I've said that I'll work and everything else, but I've *got* to work when I know I should be at home doing college work. That gets me cross, and then I do bring college work and other things here. Family wise no – I mean, not that I really had any big, big problems. Last year I did, but I managed to carry it on quite well. My brother was very ill – he had meningitis – and he was in hospital, and I carried on working, did my job, did my 2 nights a week still, visit him in hospital and then come to work. That was hard. But because, but, I did bring it to work because I was on the bar, and because they were local people, I'd bring it up in conversation, and it was almost better because it was something that I could talk about, so in that respect it was bringing it to work, but it was helping at the same time. But other problems.

It was helping you personally?

Yes. Yes.

To deal with the situation?

Yes. Especially because at home, at the time, it was dreadful, it was a nightmare. So it was nice to be able to have the support of people. But I certainly wouldn't go up to a customer in a restaurant and start blabbering away how all my, how my personal life was terrible, and that I had this problem and that problem and another problem, [laughs]. No I think I'd keep that to myself.

I sometimes find that if you have to be cheerful, a customer asks you "How are you doing?" it's, usually expected that you're going to say something positive, unless it's a regular who you're having a laugh with and have a moan about the weather or politics.

Yes.

Can it also help you find something positive in your life.

Yes, true. I tend to actually forget, when you get on with a job you tend to forget what is going on outside.

I mean, that's obviously after you've been here for a while – How do you get yourself into the mood for service, when you don't really feel like working?

Well, you come in and you think "Oh god, another five hours to go." that sort of feeling. Um, I think you just have to – I'm always all right once I get here, once I get to work. Leaving the house is the hell bit. "Oh I don't want to do this." and you just do, and then once I'm here I just get on with it completely, and don't really think about it then until it gets to about 10 o'clock, thinking 'Well, I've been here long enough now, I want to go home.'

Is it like the journey into work?

It's like 2 minutes, so it's not long enough to even think about it, I just listen to one song on the radio in my car, and that's as far as it goes. So no, I think it's just, I just get on with it. Last year when I was doing two jobs, I was doing this and I was doing a full time job, and I'd get home at quarter to six in the evening, and I'd be back here at half six. So I'd get home, I didn't even have enough time to think about it, so I'd get in, eat tea, get changed and leave. But when I worked maybe a Saturday night and I had maybe all day to think "Oh, I've got to go to work. I've got to go to work." so I think if you carry on and don't even think about it, it's fine.

Is there any, do you ever feel you've got a work self and an out-of-work self?

Um, not here. But that's probably because I've been here so long, and know everyone so well. Definitely, if I hadn't been in somewhere, if I had just started a job, definitely. I come across quite, when I don't know what I'm doing, I come across being very shy, then I come out of my shell. So, yes, but not once I'm settled. Then my personality runs pretty constant.

Would you ever consider yourself to be acting at work – you say your personality is pretty much the same, but do situations occur when you feel you are acting?

Oh yes. Yes. But then my whole life seems to be a matter of acting – not social, not personal life, but the working life. I mean, again, I said about teaching, but it's the same thing. It's acting, completely. And I'm getting good at it, [laughs]. Yes, you have to, but I think you can act using your personality, you don't have to act a different person particularly, you just act a different role really.

How would you describe your role here?

Um, well.

For the customers, perhaps for management and the staff, is it different?

Um, I don't think that it is particularly. I hope that I was approachable and cheerful. I wouldn't like anybody to think that I was miserable to one and then nice to others. God, if I was going to be miserable, I'd rather be miserable to everyone consistently, [laughs]. Um, I don't know. Yes, just, I would hope that my role would be just somebody that gets on with it really, gets on with everything.

How do you feel about acting, this sort of acting?

I don't mind it. I think that's probably why I'm in, all the work I've done so far has always been people related. Always been dealing with either customers, children, some form of other person. I would get bored stupid if I was just talking to myself and dealing with a computer all day.

Do you ever actually feel false, phoney?

Um, no, I don't know. I know that sometimes it's not really me. If you asked – if somebody asked me to do something here and, if somebody spoke to my parents – to somebody who knew me outside of work, and compared me here and home, I think there would be a few differences that come out, definitely, between customers and my colleagues, and my parents and my family. But, [laughs], I think that's probably normal in any sort of role where you are dealing with people.

So you don't feel particularly negative about it?

No. I don't ever think – especially here – I never thing "God, I hate this job." I hate the hours – I really hate the hours in catering, I think it's terrible, but I don't hate the work.

In the places you worked before here, were you ever given a script to use – not necessarily a spoken script, but behaviours, that sort of thing?

Um, in – oh gosh – everywhere has different ways, and there are certain things – yes, definitely – but I haven't been told "You've got to do this, you've got to do that." particularly. I've copied other people, I've adapted the way that I do things from watching others and through working at places like Michelle's and places which were full of completely well off, respected people, you do bring certain things in, certain things like, um, when they come in – the way you talk to them, the way you seat them, the way you pour wine, I think is the one way, the way you serve drinks – that's the big difference, that I've tried to do that in places that you just can't. I mean, a couple of pubs that I've worked in it's just not feasible, they are pubs that serve food, but you can not do it – they just look at you strangely as though you're being completely over the top. Um, but I just picked things up along the way really.

So you think now that you've developed your own sort of scripting system, things that,

Yes. Completely. I think I will see it more from when I'm a customer in somewhere. That's when I compare myself to other people. But I know for a fact that if somebody walks in, I've got a set thing that I say to somebody if they want a drink, or, you know, "Would you like to come in," definitely "would you like to come through to your table?" All this set stuff that, I mean, and some of it doesn't roll of the tongue.

It's things that are said. And I mean, the one thing that I think that, is the fact that I am not trained in this field at all. I have got no educational training in this – you know, I've never been to college. My sister's a chef and she's done hospitality, so she's had it professionally taught to her. I never have. I've picked it up, and I'm not going to stay in the trade for the rest of my life, I'm going to be a school-teacher. So, um, I know I've got set things, but I haven't just picked up, I say things here that I've picked up also from working in customer service departments – especially answering telephones and things. I mean, I, it comes out and I think "Oh god! I really shouldn't be saying that." because it sounds so false, but, but from different areas.

You say that you feel that you shouldn't be saying that sometimes, why do you,

This customer service jargon – "Bear with me just a second" – I mean that's just so, you ring people up on the phone and you think "Please don't say that to me." It sounds so annoying. But again that's something that wasn't taught to my, but I picked up, and I brought it, I mean, I say it at home, and my parents laugh, you know. You've got people on the phone that want to speak to somebody in my family, and I say "Bear with me a second," rather than "hold on" [Laughs].

How do you go about hiding stress – you said earlier that at times you've been quite stressful in your personal life, or in your work – how do you go about hiding that stress from customers?

Um, no. I don't know actually. I get stressed quite easily, with, especially in service. I mean, I can be under control, I can be completely in control of the situation, but quite stressed at the same time. If it's busy and somebody, I think the one, you've got to be able to do it to a certain extent. The worst thing is, I think, when it's a busy night or something, and you're completely stressed, and you've got, you've got so much to do in a small amount of time, and you get to customers that take about five minutes to tell you what they want for their first course, and you think "Oh for gods sake, hurry up." But you can't tell them that – you have to be able to be controlled, and again, I think it's just, take a deep breath, [laughs], really, to be honest. Yes.

Um, do you feel – OK, working specifically in a bar environment, bar meals, behind a bar – that you are treated any differently by customers because of your gender?

Um, I don't know. You see, this it the thing, I mean, here, um, it went through a phase of there was just nobody male at all. There was the manager, but everybody else was female, everybody - young female, sort of early twenties, my age, sort of thing. And, um, I didn't really notice much about it to be honest. I mean, you get the older – I don't think it's a case of gender, I think it's more to do with age. Um, I've never noticed particularly that because I'm a girl anyone talks to me any differently, as though I was somebody male behind the bar. But I think that people do speak to me an awful lot more differently than they do to Paul, because he's so much older than me – well, not *so* much older, but you know what I mean, it's a different generation.

So that's specifically here, what about elsewhere? Would you agree with the idea that the old gender stereotypes of bar maid and bar man still exist in this country generally?

Um, oh gosh, I don't know. I go in enough bars and enough other places to know really, but I've just never thought about it. To a certain extent I suppose, but I don't like the stereotypical barmaid and bar man.

If you personally were asked to, OK, I said 'barmaid' to you, what would that make you think? What sort of picture would that conjure up?

An Angie Watts from Eastenders. Sort of, er, somebody that was, I don't know. Not a particularly nice thought, actually. I mean, I know I'm a barmaid, but I don't, because I don't do it as a full-time job, and I don't intend to ever do it as a full-time job, I see myself as doing it as a means to an end – to earn money. And although I enjoy the social bit, I don't care what people think of me. When I go into a pub, if they're young I think the same thing, I think they're probably doing it for the money, and they're doing it because they like to be sociable. If they are older, I think "Hmm, maybe they can't get any other sort of job." And that's really bad, actually. It's an awful way to think of it, but I think it's true.

You said about believing perhaps that the person is doing it for the money, I've come across this a few times and it's quite interesting because.

[end of tape]

And there was just one final question. Do you think there is a pub sense of humour?

Um, yes, there's always a, don't know that I like it particularly. You always get the same sort of atmosphere in a bar, I think, to be honest. I think there are 2 different sort of pub humour, there's a bar, sort of a drinking place where it is just drink – a pub, where you get drunks, and I don't like that atmosphere at all. Then there's the place – more like here – where there is, you know, it's a nice atmosphere. It's a friendly atmosphere. Nobody, I mean, you get the occasional people that come in looking all grumpy and think everything's, you know, that their life's so bad, that it probably couldn't get any worse, and everything else. But the majority of people that come in to have a drink are actually quite friendly. They're just nice people really. Friendly. Um, those are the two.

Do you think laughing at situations helps the staff?

Yes. Yes, definitely, just laughing things off.

How would you describe your own personal sense of humour?

Um, sarcastic, but then you can't be too sarcastic. People take offence at sarcasm. Um, just cheerful really. I do sometimes find myself laughing at things I don't really find funny, [laughs]. I think "Oh god, Ellie what are you doing?" but it's easier to do that than to start, you know, start a scene. [Laughs]. So take the easy option out.

Right I think that's about it. Thanks very much.

No problem.

Appendix 9 Publications Derived From this Research

In line with Oxford Brookes' requirements this appendix lists the publications already completed and derived from this research project. The papers are listed below, and abstracts have been included on subsequent pages.

Refereed Journal Article

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D. (2002) 'Emotional Labour in Public Houses: Reflections on a Pilot Study.' the Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research, Vol. 26, No. 1, 54-70.

Conference Papers

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D. (1999) 'Emotional Labour in Public Houses' Paper presented at CHME Hospitality Research Conference, 7-9 April 1999, University of Surrey.

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D (2000) 'The Early Stages of Data Analysis' Proceedings of the Ninth Annual CHME Hospitality Research Group Conference, 2000, 26-27 April, University of Huddersfield, 33-41.

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D (2000) 'Designing a methodology for researching emotional Labour in English Public Houses,' Paper presented at the EGOS Colloquium, 2-4 July, Helsinki.

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D. (2000) 'Learning Emotion Rules in English Public Houses: Socialization and Training,' Paper presented at the Second Conference on Emotions and Organizational Life, Ryerson Polytechnic University, Toronto, August 10-11,

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D. (2002) 'Emotional Labour in Public Houses: Reflections on a Pilot Study.' *the Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 54-70.

Abstract

Researchers suggest that emotional labor (managing emotions for financial reward) has a number of consequences for service staff. The project reported here investigates this idea in the public house sector of the UK hospitality industry using ethnographic research methods. This paper reflects on a pilot study conducted to test the project's methodology. Piloting the methodology was found to be particularly useful in establishing a structure and time-scale for the main study to follow, as well as establishing the appropriateness of data collection and analytical techniques, such as participant observation, in-depth interviews and critical incident technique. A brief overview of some of the pilot study's findings is also included.

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D. (1999) 'Emotional Labour in Public Houses' Paper presented at *the CHME Hospitality Research Conference*, 7-9 April 1999, University of Surrey.

Abstract

This paper refers to the early stages of a project that aims to examine the nature of emotional labour involved in service interaction in public houses. Emotional labour is seen as the management or display of appropriate emotions while working, requiring 'one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' (Hochschild 1983:109) and refraining from reacting to abusive behaviour.

The objectives of the investigation are; to examine the nature of emotional labour in service interaction in United Kingdom public houses; to identify any impacts of emotional labour among employees; to discover and evaluate coping strategies utilised by service staff engaged in the performance of emotional labour; and to recommend measures that could be adopted by organisations and individuals to improve the performance of emotional labour to the benefit of employers, employees and customers.

The idea that there is an 'emotional' aspect to work seems to have gained academic credence in recent years. Hochschild (1983) originally introduced the concept of emotional labour in her study of flight attendants and bill collectors. Since then various researchers have subsequently expanded the topic to various different types of workers including teachers (Blackmore 1996), nurses (James 1992; O'Brien 1994), lawyers (Pierce 1996), police (Stenross & Kleinman 1989) and caterers (Leidner 1993; Phornprapha & Guerrier 1997).

Various possible negative impacts of emotional labour on staff have been suggested including job stress (Adelmann 1995), employee burnout (Ledgerwood et al. 1997), emotional exhaustion (Wharton 1993), and feeling 'phony' (Hochschild 1983) when portraying false emotion to customers. It should be pointed out, however, that positive effects of emotional labour have also been suggested with staff often enduring some less pleasant aspects of service work for 'the chance to interact with other people' (Riley et al. 1998) and gaining satisfaction from such work.

Weatherley and Tanisk (1993) examined various methods used by customer-contact workers to deal with role stress that seem relevant to emotional labour. A selection of these include actual avoidance of contact, reacting to and/or education the client, engaging customers (asking for help) in the service provision to distract them from making demands, mindlessness or relying on scripts and pre-programmed behaviour for fulfilling a role, and over-acting, ascribing their actions to a role rather than themselves as individuals.

There appears to have been relatively little recent academic research conducted in the public house sector in recent years. This seems to be of some concern given the considerable size of this part of the hospitality industry – apart from their role in alcohol consumption, it has also been suggested that pubs represent the third most popular type of eating out establishment in the UK (Mintel 1991).

The public house environment seems likely to require a considerable amount of emotional labour when dealing with customers, due to the importance of alcohol consumption that takes place, and is likely to lead to some level of 'disinhibition' (Smith 1985a:32) of customers' behaviour, which could cause problems for staff. The presence and relatively easy access to alcohol could also result in staff developing drinking problems which may affect their work performance generally and emotionally. Pub landlords (either employed managers, tenants or freeholders) seem especially susceptible to the demands of emotional labour as, it can be argued that 'the publicans' sociability and relational network is focused around the 'regulars' who form the dominant group of users (Smith 1985a), suggesting that the publican's social life is dominated by work contacts, especially for individuals living on the premises. This was particularly well demonstrated by Smith (1985b:295) when describing the publican of a 'rough working-class pub' who '*was behind the* bar less often than in front of it' with his regular customers. Relatively little seems to have been *written about* non-licensee service employees in pubs, with the publican being given most attention, although *such*

individuals are in the front-line of the service encounter, and as such are likely to be able to offer valuable insights into emotional labour.

There are two main areas in which this study could contribute to management. If emotional labour does present difficulties for staff and can result in employee stress, burnout and or dissatisfaction it would seem beneficial for employers to address the problem, so improving performance and reducing staff turnover. Conversely, if certain forms of emotional labour can lead to greater employee satisfaction this could help management develop human resource strategies to take advantage of any such positive attributes of emotional labour, to the same end. Emotional commoditisation also seems to present an opportunity for service organisations, to differentiate and add value to their product. Therefore a better understanding of human emotion and emotional labour could offer management the opportunity to improve staff and customer satisfaction.

It is proposed to conduct a small number of case studies of a selection of public houses, preferable owned and operated by a single chain. It seems that a single case study may produce distorted results, as each pub is likely to have unique characteristics, while a detailed study of a large number of outlets is impractical given time and resource limitations. It is suggested that three or four pubs could be investigated, allowing the researcher sufficient time to develop a reasonable familiarity with each, and generate sufficient and trustworthy data.

Participant observation will be conducted by working as a front-line bar person in each of the sampled pubs. Although this requires the co-operation of a chain of public houses, major problems of access are not anticipated given the demand for experienced bar staff. The participant observation will not be exclusively conducted in the work setting, as the social activities of staff are likely to provide a more holistic representation of the emotional demands and effects of pub work.

Given the large number of pubs in the United Kingdom, it seems necessary to develop some guidelines to facilitate the selection of outlets for study. Consideration should be given to the size of pubs studied, as, given the project's objectives, it would be inappropriate to spend a long period of observation in a pub operated solely by a management couple with no or very few customer service staff. Giving an arbitrary minimum number of service staff at this stage also seems premature, as this may present the researcher with too rigid a programme. As a result, it seems best to suggest that pubs to be studies should have a sufficient number of service staff, both full and part-time, to enable the researcher to address the research questions effectively.

A pilot study of a single public house was carried out in December 1998 to test the data collection and analysis techniques in the field. This will enable the researcher to better prepare for the main fieldwork and help identify relevant themes to be examined in more detail during the later stages of the project. The pilot study's initial findings will be reported during the presentation.

Key words: Emotional Labour, Public Houses, Service Interaction, Participant Observation

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D (2000) 'The Early Stages of Qualitative Data Analysis' Proceedings of *the Ninth Annual CHME Hospitality Research Group Conference, 2000*, 26-27 April, University of Huddersfield, 33-41.

Abstract

This paper focuses on the analysis carried out during and immediately following fieldwork in qualitative research. It hopes to stimulate consideration of a relatively neglected area of methodological concern and discussion of other hospitality researchers' experiences.

Data analysis often seems to be seen as a discrete stage within the conduct of a research project whereby collected data is processed and made sense of with tried-and-tested formulae. However, it often seems difficult, if not impossible to clearly differentiate between analysis and other stages of research, such as planning and data collection, whether dealing with quantitative or qualitative methodologies. For example, Hammersley & Atkinson (1995:205) suggested that ethnographers begin analysis before even starting fieldwork, in the 'formulation and clarification of research problems' and this seems to apply even more to quantitative research as well, given the need for advance planning and pre-coding in most such work.

Quantitative analysis of collected data may use statistical tools with numeric data, while qualitative and case-study researchers have a number of analytical techniques available to them, although 'unlike statistical analysis, there are few fixed formulas or cookbook recipes to guide the novice' (Yin 1989:105). Perhaps as a result of this, researchers describing qualitative projects often seem to ignore or oversimplify analytical techniques utilised. For example Masberg and Silverman (1996:21) described the phenomenological analysis as requiring a researcher to 'read and reread [interview transcripts] until a set of comprehensive categories and themes emerged from each question.'

In an ongoing research project examining emotional labour in a chain of English public houses, the authors are currently engaged in the analysis of ethnographic data generated by participant observation and in-depth interviews. They are following the general procedure suggested by Spradley (1980), developing respectively cultural domains, taxonomies, and themes. However there were a number of other levels of interpretation necessary to collect and prepare the data for these more formal stages of analysis.

One of the benefits of an ethnographic approach, with its relatively long and intensive periods of participant observation, is the gradual accumulation of data with a step-by-step increase in focus based on a number of observations-as-participant and interviews, rather than the single snap-shot provided by a survey or experiment. This process is very much influenced by researcher enculturation and reflexivity (requiring analytical interpretation), and informant explanations in both formal and informal semi-structured interviews.

In this research project the field-worker found limited opportunity for deep daily reflection given the demands of the work in the public houses studied (one of the researchers was employed as a full time member of staff in the outlets investigated).

As a result the daily field-diary focused on relatively simple descriptions of situations experienced and observed. However, at least once a week, during days off, a few hours were put aside for re-reading diary entries and reflection on them in some detail. Considerable reflection was also carried out at the end of each period of field-work, using the diary and interview transcripts as key sources. This reflection enabled the researchers to re-visit the data and analyse their implications at a relatively informal level, while they were fresh in the field-worker's mind, considering the feelings and sub-cultural 'facts' recorded.

Researchers have to be sensitive to the society or culture being investigated. When interviewing informants they need to probe beyond simple interview responses that often appear to display mythological assumptions. One objective of an interviewer seems to be to encourage respondents to think about and describe situations that would normally be dealt with on automatic pilot, as 'expert' members of that culture. This calls for a certain instantaneous analysis of data as it is generated during an interview, enabling deeper probing of respondents. At another level, ideas raised during participant observation and interviews need to be examined in later observations and interviews, thus analysis can not be postponed until all the data has been collected. Analysis is not, therefore, a straightforward desk job that can be conducted after field-work is complete.

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D (2000) 'Designing a methodology for researching emotional Labour in English Public Houses,' Paper presented at *the EGOS Colloquium*, 2-4 July, Helsinki.

Abstract

This paper discusses the methodological approach taken for investigating the nature of emotional labour in United Kingdom public houses. The study of emotions presents a number of challenges. Although there is evidence that emotions and some elements of their expression are innate, particular cultures do apparently encourage differing display rules (Ekman 1998; Kemper 1981). It is not possible to observe a person's 'inner experience' (Hopfl & Linstead 1993:80) thus researchers and interviewees must rely on the physical display or expression of emotion and verbal explanation. The validity of relevant, reported data is not beyond question, whether gathered through structured questionnaires or in-depth interviews. Respondents may not always be honest and are often likely to have difficulty identifying and verbally elucidating tacit cultural knowledge. Another area of concern with the study of emotions relates to their apparently communicative nature. For example, Darwin (1998:14) suggested that the nature of emotion renders 'close [or objective] observation' difficult, implying that emotional responses to emotions communicated by others can interfere with such study. These issues have been tackled in a variety of ways by researchers using methodologies involving various techniques such as semi-structured interviews (e.g. Hochschild 1983; Wharton 1996), questionnaire surveys (e.g. Adelmann 1995; Wharton 1993), participant observation (Pierce 1996) and photography/videotaping (e.g. Ekman 1998). The public house study takes an ethnographic approach, employing participant observation in a number of individual public houses. The approach is based on the idea that, by striving to find the locals' point of view (Narayan 1993) the field-worker will be suitably equipped to understand why individuals within a social group do what they do, and not simply recount observed phenomena. This is particularly important in this sort of study which is concerned with *both* external (display rules) and internal (actual feelings and emotional impacts) phenomena. *Other data* collection techniques were also employed to provide support and triangulation for the observa*tion including* in-depth interviews with service staff and a variation of the critical incident technique (*Flanagan 1954)* helping relate the interviews to the interviewees' personal experiences and provide a focus to the interviews.

Sandiford, P. J. & Seymour, D. (2000) 'Learning Emotion Rules in English Public Houses: Socialization and Training,' Paper presented at *the Second Conference on Emotions and Organizational Life*, Ryerson Polytechnic University, Toronto, August 10-11,

Abstract

This paper reports some of the early findings of an ongoing research project investigating how emotional labour is learned by service staff in English public houses. We conducted an ethnographic study of a single chain of public houses. The company operates a relatively low level of branding resulting in a considerable variety of different types of units and clienteles. Rules for performing emotional labour are passed on to employees through a variety of different means, including formal training and socialization, both in and out of the workplace. Likewise, a wide range of individuals appear to take part in such learning, ranging from colleagues, management and customers. The pub chain offers little formal training in customer care, and has not developed explicit rules for emotion management and display. In the paper we discuss how new staff are socialized into the organisation, focusing on how implicit emotion rules are communicated by the various actors and how emotion rules are regulated within the pubs studied. The importance of informal social control mechanisms is highlighted, showing how social acceptance and support among colleagues are particularly strong methods of socialization.

KEY WORDS: Public Houses, Emotional Socialization.