



UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

THE PERFORMANCE OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT

IN THE THAI SPA INDUSTRY

BY

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ABSTRACT

The key aim of this thesis was to explore the range of emotions in the spa industry in Thailand and how emotions impact spa employees and customer service. This was achieved by identifying how emotions were performed and managed during service encounters within the spa industry. The thesis confirmed that the performance of emotion management influenced customer service delivery. To help understanding this, the thesis developed a conceptual framework based on three theoretical perspectives: Goffman's theoretical concept, Hochschild's acting strategy, and Bolton's four typology of workplace emotion. Each perspective focused on different viewpoints which provided a more comprehensive and holistic view of emotion management.

This research followed an interpretivist perspective to study the performance of emotion management and customer service delivery. The researcher adopted a phenomenological research strategy to understand in-depth information on emotion management. The main empirical element of the research was in-depth interviews with 48 spa employees in Chiang Mai province, Thailand. Interviews were undertaken with multiple key informants with various job roles: managers, receptionists, and therapists. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the interview data. Empirical findings indicated that emotional expressions from the spa employees influenced customer service behaviour. The spa employees performed 'pecuniary' emotion management category the most, followed by 'prescriptive' category, 'presentational' category and 'philanthropic' category. The characteristics of the spa industry in performing 'pecuniary' emotion management is 'monetary servitude', in performing 'prescriptive' emotion management is 'showing a therapeutic professional face', in 'presentational' emotion management is 'Thai social reality', and in 'philanthropic' emotion management is 'emotion as a gift'.

DISSEMINATION

The preliminary research results of this thesis were presented at the following conferences:

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Emotional labour: the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value (Hochschild, 1983).

Emotion work: the effort people use to control their feelings and/or display the visible expression of emotion to family and friends in private life (Hochschild, 1983).

Self-regulatory process: the process that individuals know which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions (Gross, 1998).

Acting strategy: the regulation of emotional displays through surface acting or deep acting. ***Surface acting*** is to modify the outward displays that are congruent with display rules whereas '***deep acting***' is an attempt to modify internal feelings to be congruent with display rules (Hochschild, 1983).

Genuine acting or naturally felt emotions: the emotions that people spontaneously and personally experience and express (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993).

Alienation or estrangement: the management of emotion according to social feeling rules where there is the discrepancy between emotional appearance and genuinely felt emotion (Lopez, 2006). Workers' emotions belong more to the organization and less to the self (Hochschild, 1983).

Exhaustion: a difference between emotions and individual displays because it is suitable and emotions that are genuinely felt but would be unacceptable to display (Mann, 1999).

Feeling rules: the rules that show the way individuals ought to feel in different contexts based on expectations for their role. These rules are embedded in private life (at home) and in public life (at work) (Hochschild, 1983).

Display rules: the organizational norms and expectations on how employees should behave in job-related contexts (Ekman, 1973).

Frontstage is where interactions or the service employees' (actors) actual performance takes place and is visible. ***Backstage*** is away from the customers' gaze or the space where workers

can think, express their emotions freely, and prepare to interact with customers (Goffman, 1959)

***Certified spa*¹**: spa that registered with the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) and has undertaken the regulation and enforcement of industry standards via legislation.

***Day spa*²**: a spa that provides professional treatments and spa services to clients on a daily-basis.

***Hotel/Resort spa*²**: located in and owned by a hotel or resort to provide professional and convenient treatment services to its customers.

***Health/Wellness/Destination spa*²**: the spa services, educational programming, and exclusive cuisine provided with a package of hotel or resort accommodation aiming to enhance health and lifestyles of clients.

¹ <http://www.thaitherapist.com/index.php?lay=show&ac=article&Id=200065>

² http://www.thaiwaysmagazine.com/health/thai_spa_types.html

CHAPTER 1 : BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last 20 years, companies and researchers have started to really pay attention to emotion (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Now it is common knowledge that ‘organizations have feelings’ (Albrow, 1997). Love, hatred and strong feelings exist in organizations (Fineman, 1993) in addition to the ‘commercialization of feeling’ (Hochschild, 1983). Organizations want to connect with feelings and thoughts (Warhurst and Thompson, 1998), and some researchers even include the human spirit (Willmott, 1993) because workers emotions and emotion management are closely related to the organization’s ability to make a profit by competing in the market (Bolton, 2003). Hochschild created the term ‘emotional labour’ in 1983 and made it popular. Emotional labour describes the labour done by customer service workers that is physical or mental. Since then, researchers have found that emotional labour is closely related to the facial expressions and gestures people use to express emotion, such as smiling, making eye contact and showing true care for what a customer needs.

Customer service workers use their bodies to do many tasks (e.g. standing at a counter for a long time), at the same time that they use their intellect to do other tasks like noticing what a customer wants and making sure they meet customer service requirements. In the service industry, emotional labour can be friendly chitchat, saying hello to customers wherever they are, and expressing interest in customers (Chu and Murrmann, 2006). This emotional labour is done while doing physical and mental labour. Emotional labour includes expressing compassion for customers and is believed to be a very important factor in a customer’s evaluation of a company’s quality of service (Chu and Murrmann, 2006).

Hochschild's term 'emotional labour' (1983), indicates that workers work on their feelings because companies require that they act in particular ways that show their feelings, for example, smiling (Allen *et al.*, 2014). The notion of emotional labour was initially proposed by Hochschild in 1983, where she investigated the behaviour of flight attendants. As a point of this reference, emotional labour is a form of labour where employees manage their emotions and express organizationally desired emotions to achieve the required emotional displays of the organizations (Hochschild, 1983; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). Emotional labour that is required by one's job (Grandey *et al.*, 2013) is a major part of customer service jobs where a worker is the first person in a company a customer contacts (Gabriel *et al.*, 2015). Therefore, emotional labour is a basic component of customer service work, especially for service employees who have face-to-face interactions with customers (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002).

Johanson and Woods (2008) highlighted that even though it is important for providing service to customers, it is usually hard to manage emotional labourers because emotional labour involves customer service workers' emotions. In service work, workers perform emotional labour as they manage their emotions while they encounter frequently demanding and difficult customers. Even though the experiences may be awkward, the service providers are required and expected to be courteous to the customers (Kim, 2008). One of the reasons that emotional labour can be difficult to do is that workers frequently have to hide their true feelings when customers are difficult to deal with. The workers have to keep smiling even when customers express negative things to them (Chu and Murrmann, 2006). As a result, employees have the uneasy feeling of being unable to express their true feelings because of their job. If an employee does not show the feeling the company requires (emotional dissonance), it can lower the quality of customer service (Lashley, 1995). The company may have a negative image and reputation if its personnel behave inappropriately and express

negative emotions towards customers (Ashkanasy *et al.*, 2002). Therefore, a company should recognize the role of service employees, especially their management of emotions, in order to develop the brand and image of the company and deliver good quality service to customers.

Rathi (2014) revealed that the display of positive emotions and the genuineness or authenticity of the expressed emotions bring benefits for organizations and creates organizationally desired outcomes (Grandey, 2003; Hennig-Thirau *et al.*, 2006). However, in today's intense competitive environment, excellent customer service is becoming the central advantage for a company. Not only should the company emphasize the development of physical products, but also delivering good services. In the service industry, personnel are seen as critical to the success of the company. The success of a business includes various aspects, including management, strategy, environment, leadership, its people, and unity. Emotion is recognized as one of the key success factors in business and it plays a vital role in almost all work activities (Rathi, 2014).

1.2 EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE SPA INDUSTRY

The management of emotion also takes place within the spa context where employees are doing bodywork in a sensitive and high touch environment. Moreover, spa employees (managers, receptionists, therapists) have direct contact with customers, making them the organization's most important asset. Hence, managing emotions is vital in creating the overall quality of service. Nevertheless, the degree to which people are expected to disclose or hide their true emotions in a public place depends on the culture they live in. In Thailand, people are expected to hide their negative feelings with a display of appropriate positive feelings. Thai people have been culturally conditioned to display 'smiles' and people throughout the world recognize Thailand as '*The Land of Smiles*'. Visitors not only love the natural beauty of the mountainous scenery and the richness of Thailand's history, but they also love the

country's friendly people with smiling faces and fascinating culture. The evidence supporting the above explanation is from the research of Lotrakul (1999) on the emotional expression of Thais. Lotrakul revealed that Buddhist beliefs about Dharma strongly influenced the way Thai people express emotions. For instance, a monk preaches against anger, saying that those who are in an angry mood are those who lose everything. Therefore, improper or negative emotional expressions in public are recognized as unacceptable and improper in Thailand.

Managing emotion in the spa industry is very important because the services provided in a spa emphasize emotional relaxation. Therefore, expression through body language and facial expression is crucial to the service. The concept of emotional labour is to display positive emotions or behave sympathetically and suppress negative emotions in order to produce a desired outcome, such as customer satisfaction or customer loyalty. Positive emotional expressions promote various organizational processes, including skill building, creativity, and effective social relations (Lord *et al.*, 2002).

Although the concept of regulating one's own emotions (emotional labour) is not new, the study of it has been neglected in Thailand since limited research has been conducted in the Thai spa industry using the emotional labour concept. Through searching the databases of various universities in Thailand, there has been only one piece of research on emotions in Thailand named "*My emotions in new environment*" by Ms. Sophea Eat (2010) as fulfilment of Master of Fine Arts (Painting) of Chiang Mai University. It found that emotion has many forms such as interesting, missing, exciting, and loving. People learn and experience within the new thing and get through within the artwork creation. At the doctoral level, there have been two pieces of research on emotions: "*Effects of insight meditation on enhancing the emotional intelligence among Thai psychiatric nurses*" by Chantrarat Vongareesawat (2010) in the nursing field and "*Suicidal attempts in mood disorder patients: risk indicators,*

prediction, and reattempts” by Chidchanok Ruengorn (2012) in clinical epidemiology. However, the researcher found some wider research related to the Thai spa industry. Wetprasit’s (2006) doctoral dissertation discusses the impacts of work-related determinants on job satisfaction and retention intentions in the Thai spa industry. Kusol (2008) studied the business plan for entrepreneurship in the spa business. Khamanarong *et al.* (2009) studied entrepreneurial development in the health care industry and spa industry in the northeast of Thailand. Hirankitti *et al.* (2009) studied the marketing strategies of Thai spa operators in the Bangkok metropolitan area. Finally, Panadis and Phongvivat (2011) published a master’s degree dissertation on consumer attitudes toward spas in Thailand. Unfortunately, none of these studies were related to emotions and emotion management in non-Western contexts such as Thailand, and this is a lack of research on emotions in the Thai Spa industry (research gap).

This thesis aims to bridge this gap and contribute to the existing knowledge of emotion management in the organizational behaviour area by applying the workplace emotion concept (emotional labour) in the Thai context, a developing country. The idea of emotion management is significant, and service employees should know how to manage their emotions as part of their jobs to improve the quality of interactions between service providers and customers. Focusing on the experience and performance of the spa employees, the aim of this study seeks to understand and explain how emotion work in the spa industry may be managed and performed and how emotion management can influence customer service delivery. It is assumed that by understanding the performance of emotion management practices, it might be able to better understand the service outcomes such as quality of customer service.

1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The central aim of this research is to explore the range of emotions and how they impact customer service performance. The researcher examines how the management of emotion is actually achieved and managed (in different situations) through varied motivations (monetary, professional status, self-expression, gift giving, and societal norms). In addition, the research seeks to understand how spa employees comply with different sets of feeling rules (commercial, professional, organizational, and social) and how the performance of emotion management can enhance customer service delivery. The investigation draws on three different perspectives of the emotion management performance process, namely Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective, Hochschild's (1983) acting strategy, and Bolton's (2005) four typology of workplace emotion. Each perspective has its own way to see things differently; however, taken as a whole, a multi-perspective approach offers a more inclusive understanding of emotion management in the workplace.

The overall aim of this study is:

“to explore the range of emotions in the Thai spas and how they impact employees and customer service”

The overall contribution is to expand the existing knowledge on emotion management in Thailand. To meet this goal and close the identified gap in scholarship on emotion management in Thailand, the researcher set three objectives for the study. The objectives of this study are to:

1. understand the different types of emotion management in the Thai spa industry;
2. identify how emotion management is performed and managed within the Thai spa industry; and

3. explore how employees feel about, deal with, and experience their emotions within emotionally difficult situations

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Bolton (2001) noted that feelings are well known as being an important and positive part of work life. One of the most long-term and popular ideas about doing a job with a lot of emotional labour, like working in a spa, might be the idea of feelings at work (Bolton, 2001). This means that workers have to regulate/manage their emotions and express positive organizationally desired emotions to customers. Spa employees are required to manage their emotions when dealing with customers and others at work, similarly to other customer service workers who see customers for market-based companies. Even though there has been a lot of research on emotional labour that must be done by customer service workers, there have not been many studies about how customer service workers experience emotionally difficult service interactions (O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006).

This study explores emotional labour in the spa service industry and tries to add to the limited research about customer service interactions that contain a lot of emotions. Moreover, there is limited research studying the emotional labour concept within Southeast Asian countries, particularly Thailand. Filling the research gap in the literature and the results of this study could have a significant impact on the understanding of the importance of emotion management performed by spa employees. It is noted that the four types of workplace emotion (Bolton's typology) are performed and experienced differently in Thailand than in the West due to cultural differences and personal characteristics. Therefore, it is interesting and worth investigating the performance of emotion management in a developing country such as Thailand. This study aims to show how emotion in the spa service encounter is experienced and managed individually and (perhaps) collectively by spa service providers.

Understanding the concept of emotion management is important, because both theory and empirical evidence suggest that emotional labour is essential to the daily work experience of frontline service employees. Pugh (2001) noted that the expression of positive emotion from employees led to customers' positive evaluations after service transactions.

A research void in the emotional labour literature is the absence of research efforts focusing on the spa services industry in Thailand and the relationships between the multi-faceted approaches to emotion management. Therefore, it is possible to acknowledge the complexities of organizational life and the disagreements employees experience as an essential part of their everyday working lives. In effect, it clearly shows that employees constantly manipulate their mixed feelings in order to both enjoy and endure the demands of organizational life (Bolton, 2005). This research aims to bridge the gap by contributing to the investigation of emotional performance by a variety of target groups: spa managers, spa receptionists and spa therapists. The results of this research project help to reflect and advance the literature from prior research studies.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This chapter (Chapter 1) introduces the thesis, background and context of the study, and defines the issues under investigation. This section presents the structure for the remainder of this thesis, which comprises nine chapters (see Figure 1.1: Structure of the Thesis). Following from this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents the review of the literature and existing studies in emotional labour. The chapter provides an overview of emotional labour concepts focusing on a multi-perspective theory on emotion management, including stage performance (Goffman, 1959), service acting strategy in emotional labour process as created by Hochschild (1983), and the four typologies of workplace emotion devised by Bolton (2005). The end of the chapter proposes a conceptual framework for this study where the researcher

reviews and evaluates the possible antecedents of emotion management at individual and organizational levels. Customer service delivery is assumed to be the outcome of the emotion management performance.

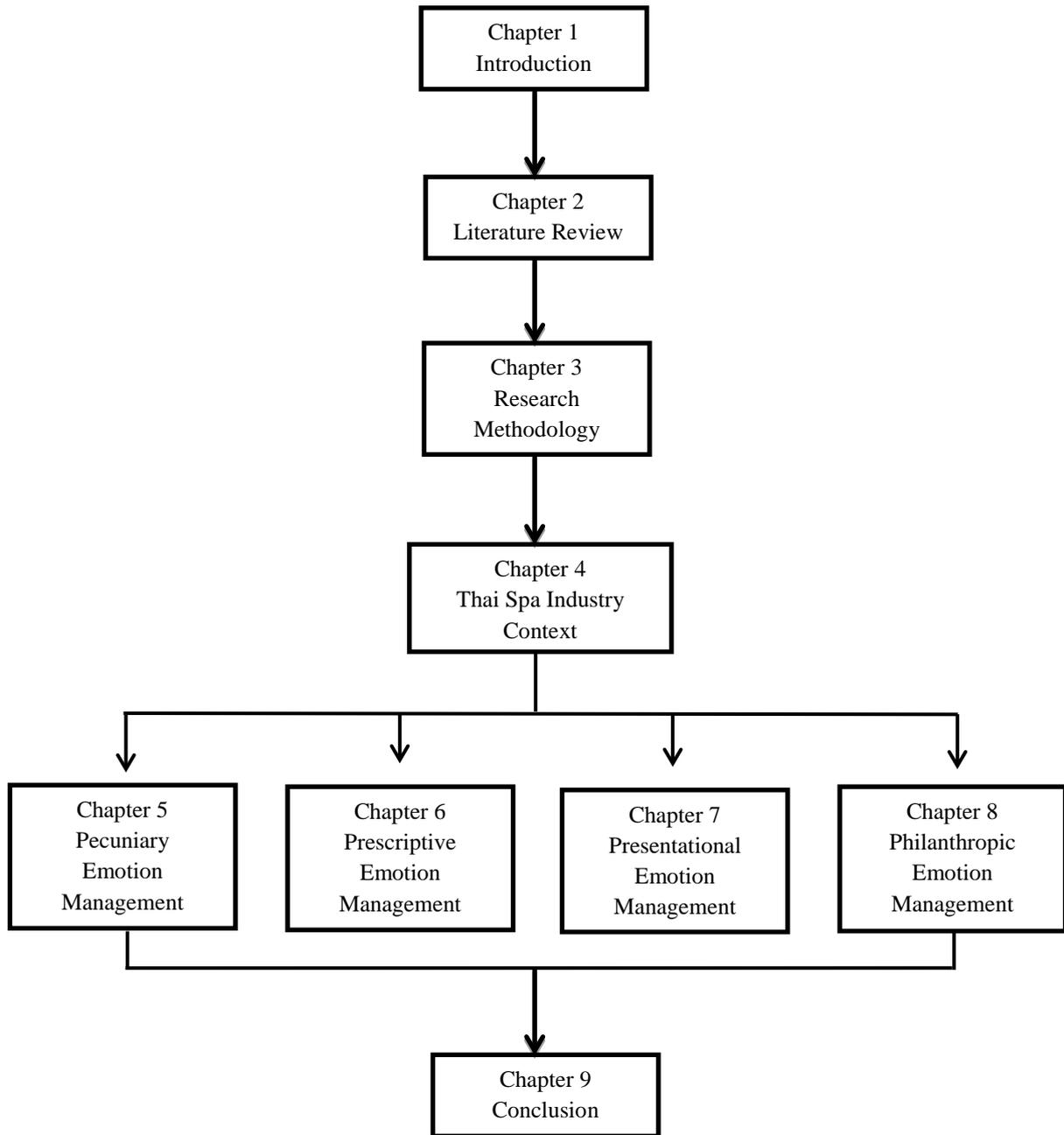
Chapter 3 explains the research methodology involved in this study. In particular, this chapter discusses two research paradigms: ontology and epistemology, as well as the justification for the selection of a constructivist paradigm based on the nature of the research question for this study. This study follows the subjectivist view (ontology) where the researcher seeks to understand and develop subjective meanings of individuals' experiences of emotion management performance. The epistemological assumption of this study is interpretivism where the researcher views subjective meanings/experiences and treats social reality as the product of the individual's mind. This chapter also discusses the qualitative research design, methods of data collection, and thematic analysis of interview data.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the Thai Spa Industry context and basic information about wages as of the Ministry of Labour. Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 present the qualitative research findings of this study in relation to Bolton's four typologies, starting from a discussion of 'pecuniary' emotion management (Chapter 5), 'prescriptive' emotion management (Chapter 6), 'presentational' emotion management (Chapter 7), and 'philanthropic' emotion management (Chapter 8). These four separate chapters are structured according to the motivation for the performance of emotion management, such as monetary, status, and social feeling rules. Individuals have different drives to perform various types of emotion, which makes them perform different types of emotion while interacting with customers. As a result, the performance of emotion management influences customer service delivery differently.

Chapter 9 concludes the overall study with the fulfilment of the research objectives presented in Chapter 1. This chapter draws a conclusion from the findings of the in-depth interviews

with 48 research respondents, highlights the contributions to academic theory, and gives implications for practice to the spa industry in Thailand. Finally, this chapter provides recommendations for future research.

Figure 1.1: Structure of the Thesis



CHAPTER 2 : A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is related to the introduction of the emotional labour concept (Hochschild, 1983). Relevant literature relating to emotional labour and customer service is critically reviewed in the services context, particularly the spa service industry. This chapter begins with service encounters (section 2.2). Section 2.3 presents Goffman's theoretical perspective in service contexts: dramaturgical stage performance (section 2.3.1) and multiple selves (section 2.3.2). Section 2.4 discusses the theoretical perspectives on emotional labour: Hochschild's the Managed Heart, Hochschild's study in brief (section 2.4.1), acting strategy (section 2.4.2), and empirical studies on Hochschild's emotional labour (section 2.4.3). Section 2.5 examines the criticisms of the originality of Hochschild's emotional labour. Section 2.6 provides an alternative theory of emotion management devised by Bolton (2005), which this study integrates into the concept of emotion management along with Hochschild's concepts of emotional labour strategies: surface acting and deep acting. Section 2.7 and 2.8 conclude by incorporating potential antecedents and outcomes of emotion management in a proposed visual model, which then forms the conceptual framework for the empirical study of this thesis.

2.2 SERVICE ENCOUNTERS

Modern service management research is increasingly focused on the role of emotions (particularly emotional labour) in service delivery performed by service employees (Groth *et al.*, 2009). Emotions are significant predictors of firm loyalty (Yu and Dean, 2001), customer satisfaction (Mano and Oliver, 1993), and behavioural intentions (Morris *et al.*, 2002). According to White (2010), previous scholars have examined emotions in relation to

customer satisfaction (Westbrook and Oliver, 1991), post-purchase processes (Dube and Menon, 2000), cognition in forming satisfaction judgments (Yu and Dean, 2001; Homburg *et al.*, 2006), the prediction of behavioural intentions (Morris *et al.*, 2002; Ladhari, 2009), and service quality (Chiu and Wu, 2002; Jiang and Wang, 2006).

Frontline employees are expected to display certain emotions during interactive service encounters with customers to comply with their job requirements and organizational expectations (Groth *et al.*, 2009). Accordingly, the concept of emotional labour, as the way a person controls their emotions, body language and facial expressions to meet the expectations of a company or other organization (Grandey, 2000), has attracted abundant attention in an effort to understand how service organizations can better deliver ‘service with a smile’ to their customers by managing their employees’ emotional displays (Grandey, 2008). This section focuses on how the management of emotion influences the performance of customer service.

2.2.1 Definition and Importance of Customer Service

“*Service is performance*” (Wilson *et al.*, 2008), “*customers are co-producers*” or customers work together with employees to produce a good customer service interaction (Kellogg *et al.*, 1997), and “*employees are the service*” (Wilson *et al.*, 2008) are all significant ways to define customer service. Customer service does not exist without employees. Good customer service workers will create good customer service. Service means the interaction between service providers and customers, and both individuals are important aspects of the service. They are at the heart of service encounters (Van Looy *et al.*, 2003). Service is characterized by a high degree of person-to-person interaction (Chandon *et al.*, 1997). It can be said that the significance of this phenomenon is the ‘moment of truth’. Then it began to be called the ‘service encounter’ (Solomon *et al.*, 1985). Shostack (1985) and Bitner (1990) defined a

service encounter as a period of time when a customer is interacting with a service worker. This encompasses all aspects of the service setting with which the customer may interact, including personnel, physical facilities, and other visible elements. Within the service encounter, there are three major players: (1) the company who sets the rules and practices, (2) the service provider or employees who enact the rules of the company, and (3) the customer who seeks to satisfy his/her wants and needs. Therefore, service is emphasized as a human or interpersonal element in the service encounter.

The service encounter depends on the quality of employee-customer interactions (Solnet, 2006) through acting, speaking, and how service employees manage their feelings (Hur *et al.*, 2015). The performance of frontline service providers is important to customer evaluation of services (Hartline *et al.*, 2000). The quality of the service encounter is recognized as a crucial strategic competitive weapon for service organizations (e.g. Kelley, 1992; Mattila and Enz, 2002). In many cases, the service providers who are in contact with customers are the first and the only direct personal contact a customer has with a company (Solnet, 2006; Gabriel *et al.*, 2014). Accordingly, customers frequently base their impressions of the service organization on the service they receive from these employees (Hartline and Ferrel, 1996; Hartline *et al.*, 2000; Kandampully, 2002). As a result, the 'service provider performance' is what the customer service worker does and 'the service delivery skills and competencies' are the skills and abilities that he/she uses to do it (Price *et al.*, 1995b: 84). This confirms that the customer service worker is important in the service encounter. Solomon *et al.* (1985) noted that in service encounters, service providers and customers perform specific roles that are socially constructed and shaped by social expectations so as to achieve a satisfying relationship.

2.2.2 Role of Emotions in Service Encounters

This section reveals how and to what extent the service provider's emotions have been emphasized and studied in service encounters. Service providers perform certain roles that are socially constructed and shaped by social expectations. Tsai (2009) noted that the interaction between employees and customers influences the emotions being felt. This emotional impression decides whether a customer stays or leaves. In addition, Barlow and Maul (2000) said that a company attempts to provide colourful, positive, and memorable feelings to customers that are called 'emotional values of customer'. This can be reflected in how much the customer is worth to the company and how much the emotion from the company is worth to the customer.

Emotion work is skilled work and emotion workers have to develop a greater awareness of their social skills and how and when to use them (Bolton, 2005). Emotion work is a form of work which involves concurrent production and consumption. It is a component of quality service, and it is seen as a core competency providing competitive advantage to a company who uses it (Bolton, 2005). The company's management spends a lot of time and effort (via training) trying to guarantee that the moment of truth will always be positive for every customer. Although 'quality service' is frequently said to be a major economic advantage for a company, it is difficult to clearly define what 'quality service' is. People usually agree that quality service requires a lot of emotion work from service workers (Bolton, 2005).

Management increasingly focuses on the importance of behaviour between employees and customers. So, employees' emotional performance in front of people is controlled in order to express the desired atmosphere and increase the level of customer satisfaction (Tsai, 2009). In line with Jiang and Wang (2006), it is now commonly agreed that emotion is a significant aspect of consumption and influences quality assessment and satisfaction. Emotion may

provide a valuable understanding of the experiential aspects of consumption. In addition, consumption of emotion may serve as a major driving force for purchase.

Customer satisfaction incorporates an emotional element as a predictor of behavioural intention (Barsky and Nash, 2002). The growing body of literature notes that positive and negative emotions are related to the service encounter. Such emotions play a significant role in defining satisfaction (Martin *et al.*, 2008). Jiang and Wang (2006) highlighted that one way to ensure customer satisfaction is through managing and controlling proper emotions of service employees over the service process that produces the consumption experience.

Building on Goffman's work, Hochschild (1983: 218) emphasized how the organization controls service employees through the 'surveillance of feelings' (or monitoring and spying on the feelings expressed by employees and customers) in her theory of service employee's emotional labour. Emotional labour is the expression of desired emotions prescribed by an organization during interpersonal transactions (Morris and Feldman, 1997). Several studies examine the commercial use of feelings to achieve institutional goals (Tumbat, 2011). Emotions then cause actions, which can show emotion or help a person meet a goal or cope with a situation. For instance, flight attendants are required to smile (Hochschild, 1983), bill collectors use a grimace and the raised voice of command (Hochschild, 1983), foreign nannies are expected to show care (Hochschild, 2005), and detectives try to handle a criminal's emotions (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989). Regardless of the nature of the service job (which may be stressful, dangerous, or pleasurable), those who have face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact, aim to create an emotional state in another person (Hochschild, 1983). In addition, the service job allows the employer control over the emotional expressions required to perform emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983, Tumbat, 2011). These kinds of service providers need to show a specific emotion, imposed by an organization, when selling the

product or providing service (Tsai, 2009). Hence, different work roles require the expression of different emotions, and there are different requirements even when the employee is in the same position but confronted with different customers (Sutton and Rafaeli, 1989).

Price *et al.*, (1995: 83) suggested that service encounters vary depending on three basic dimensions of the moment of truth when the customer interacts with the service provider: (1) temporal duration; (2) emotional content, and (3) the spatial proximity of the service provider and customer. These dimensions shape the performance of the service provider and link amongst the provider's performance, emotional response, and satisfaction. Affective or emotional content, Price *et al.* (1995: 86) refer to as "*emotional arousal associated with the encounter*" and distinguish two service encounter contexts that seem to have high emotional content. Firstly, the customer is motivated by the anticipated functional benefits of service encounters, but emotional substance is a significant part of interaction and service satisfaction. Emotions may be part of the encounter because of 'psychological reactance' (e.g. bill collectors) or 'invasive procedures on the self' (e.g. plastic surgery, tattooing, hair styling) (p.86). The second type is where the customer is aroused by the emotional benefits provided by the service, including 'services valued for multi-sensory, emotive content or narrative and ritualistic meanings' (p.86) such as art lessons, multi-day water river rafting, health spas, funeral services, and adventure activities (Arnould and Price 1993). Based on this rationale a main contribution of this study is to show that understanding performances of emotion management of service providers in encounters provides useful analytical tools for successful service encounter management and enhance the performance of customer service.

The importance of emotions in services is acknowledged and emotional meaning should be addressed to define customer service performance. Several studies (Adelmann, 1989; Morris and Feldman, 1997) in the service context proved that emotion management directly

influences the performance of employees. The employees in the spa industry provide a high level of emotional service to customers and they have to engage in emotional labour during the service encounter. In other words, to perform emotional labour, they have to devote effort to manage and control their inner emotions during their interactions with customers (Tsai, 2009). Since the job characteristics of the spa industry comprise sensitivity and high-touch, how well the spa employees can manage their own emotions to create positive atmospheres becomes more and more important. This study aims to explore the range of emotions in the spa industry and how they impact employees and customer service performance. The following section will discuss how emotion management helps to enhance customer service performance.

2.2.3 Emotion Management and Customer Service

This section explores how emotion management impacts customer service delivery. Thompson *et al.* (2008) have shown that emotion workers have been required to be thinking about their social skills more and change and adapt how and when they use their social skills. These changes in an emotion worker's use of social skills are required by changes in work; such as increases in customer service work that require more conversations and interactions with customers. In addition, companies and people have started to think about a person who uses public/government and commercial goods and services as a 'customer who is always right' or a 'sovereign customer'.

Allen *et al.* (2010) state that service workers represent the organization and are the people in contact with customers. The expressed emotions from employees can leave a lasting impression upon customers, which in turn, affects customers' perceptions of service quality and attitudes about the encounter. To help understand how emotion management is done in customer service work, one needs to think about customer service workers, their employers,

and the customers (Bolton, 2005). Bolton (2005) argues that when looking at the relationship between management, customer, and customer service worker, it is clear that the customer is the most important person. Indeed, the basic idea of customer service gives us a picture of customer service workers who are agreeable to and follow instructions without question or complaint and who interact with customers who might be aggressive but still mostly follow the routine they have been given. The customers are talked about like “kings” and the customer service workers are like “automatons” (robots) that offer the customers care and attention without real human interaction (Ritzer, 2005).

According to Bolton (2005), emotion work occurs where the customer service worker is producing the work at the exact same time as the customer is using/consuming the work. Emotion work is also an important part of quality service and teamwork. Both quality service and teamwork are seen by companies as skills that they need to be good at because these skills will give companies a competitive advantage (the ability to attract more customers or charge higher prices). Consumer capitalism requires people employed by companies to make value for the people who own the companies by producing value using their creative abilities (Bolton, 2005). This makes emotion work hard, difficult, and burdensome labour that requires the workers to use skill and careful control with their emotions, feelings, and the way they present themselves (Bolton, 2005). So even though emotion work is so important to quality service and teamwork that companies want and need to succeed, skilled emotion work is not really respected, recognized as important, or well-paid (Bolton, 2005).

Bolton (2005) also noted that these paradoxes (contradictory situations) developed because companies ignore the fact that emotion work is part of, and a reflection of, society and social norms. Companies in the modern economy think skills that are formally recognized by a university degree, or years of experience are more valuable. So companies and managers do not think of emotion in the workplace as something that they have to worry about, since they

assume it will be taken care of naturally. These beliefs and attitudes lead to many other beliefs and ideas that do not match reality. Companies try really hard to hire people with a good attitude (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002). Companies search for people with personalities or individual traits, like being friendly or being able to get along with many types of people. But eventually, when the companies follow the idea that ‘the customer is always right’; the companies will try to dictate and control the process of emotional work. Managers will try different things to control emotion workers, like performance targets, spying on the employees, and requiring the employees to follow scripts. The managers are trying to put limits on the natural personalities and individual traits of the customer service employees and shape their employees’ emotion work so that it is routine and predictable. Management does not want to be surprised.

Even though companies want employees to appear sincere and natural when they interact with customers, the companies still make it impossible for the social process to be truly natural by trying to control what their employees do. This is because companies still encourage customer service interactions to be very fast with scripted or routine niceness which makes sincere customer service less likely (Goffman, 1967). In other words, the commercial feeling rules enforced by a company can actually harm the quality of service the company is able to provide. Consumer capitalism is especially vulnerable to this harm because the way companies use the creative skills of the workers makes it difficult to maintain a sense of self as someone with value outside of how much money they can make. The companies try to strictly control the interaction between the customer and the worker because the companies need to make a profit. But the control breaks the normal social interaction that helps both customers and employees maintain face and works like a cushion to protect people from mental injuries caused by inequality (Bolton, 2005).

Nonetheless, Bolton (2005) said, companies only give the right to act naturally to employees who already have a good attitude that the companies like. In this way, the companies are sure that the employees will act sincerely to make an emotional atmosphere that will produce good customer service for the companies. Thus, this is not really the freedom to act naturally. Instead it requires the employees to control themselves and manage their emotions to please the company. If the employees act in any way the company does not like, the company will blame the customer service worker for having a bad personality. Very few people are aware of the way social interaction really happens, which is not surprising because most people think emotion work is simple and the emotional life of a company can only be expressed in one way. Because of this ignorance about emotion work, companies do not really trust that workers can manage their emotions without management control. Companies ignore the fact that a customer service interaction is a social interaction and will reflect social norms. So companies break the customer service interaction with ‘pecuniary’ and ‘prescriptive’ emotion management rules (see detail in section 2.6). When companies require that customer service workers speak and act in a certain way with customers, neither the customers nor the workers will be able to act naturally during the customer service interaction. This is because unlike normal social interactions, like a conversation that has a natural flow, the customer service interaction is made up by managers and performed by employees who are not acting like real humans. Consequently, it is not surprising that customer service interactions in modern capitalism have been called a type of abuse of both the customer service worker and the customer (Hoplf, 2002).

Even though the management control of employees’ emotions cause bad results for employee health, such as no freedom to act naturally; commercial, organizational, and professional feeling rules (‘pecuniary’ and ‘prescriptive’ emotion management) help the employees follow routine niceness and ensure they have desired performances. It is assumed that employees

give good service to customers because they believe and agree with the idea of capitalism (employees' emotions and behaviours are controlled by the management) (Bolton, 2005). This also means that the employees agree that 'the customer is always right' (Bolton, 2005).

2.3 GOFFMAN'S THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this thesis, the researcher draws upon Erving Goffman's role-playing work and applies it to the service encounter with a view of the service provider as an actor playing a role. This concept is of interest because the expression of the individual appears to involve 'verbal symbols' that convey the information and 'action' that treats as symptomatic of the actor (Goffman, 1959: 14). This section provides Goffman's perspective on identity in understanding human interaction in the social context, especially dramaturgical stage performance and multiple selves.

2.3.1 Dramaturgical Perception

Erving Goffman (1959) introduced the concept of identity construction in studying human interaction through the use of metaphors borrowed from drama, and called it 'dramaturgy'. Goffman (1959: 240) employed a 'dramaturgical approach' in his study seeing himself as presenting as an actor in the social context. Interaction is seen as a 'performance' that is shaped by environment and audience, aiming to provide others with the 'impression' that are the desired goals of the actor. Goffman's (1959) seminal work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, analyzed social interactions and how persons present a desired image by employing the theatre metaphor to explain the contrasting frontstage and backstage behaviours.

Identity refers to 'ego' or 'self' (Strauss, 1959: 11). An individual's identity, in dramaturgical theory, is constantly changing and remade when the individual interacts with others. This is

the way people live their lives, like an actor performing on a stage, where people have to manage verbal (words) and nonverbal (expressions and gestures) communication to give a particular impression to others. This is the performance Goffman called 'the presentation of self,' which refers to the effort people use to create impressions in the minds of others. Solomon *et al.* (1985) mentioned that customers and service providers play an important role in achieving a satisfying relationship in service encounters. Goffman's approach is based on the symbolic interactionist perspective (Goffman, 1959, 1961, 1967, 1969) which analyses two performances: frontstage and backstage or 'region behaviour'. Frontstage is where interactions or the service employees' (actors) actual performance takes place and is visible. In frontstage, an actor is aware of being watched by an audience and will perform to an audience by observing certain rules and social standards. If an actor fails to do so, it means losing face and failing to show the image/persona they wish to create. Backstage is away from customers' gaze or the space where workers can think, express their emotions freely, and prepare to interact with customers (Tumbat, 2011). This means backstage can be the kitchen where the service providers do not interact with, and are separate and hidden from customers (Tumbat, 2008). The performance of an actor in frontstage is different from that in a private, backstage environment, where there is no performance.

Goffman (1959: 109) defined 'region' or 'region behaviour' as "*any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception*". A certain performance in front region refers to "*the place where the performance is given...the performance in a front region (manner of politeness) may be seen as an effort to give the appearance (decorum) that his activity in the region maintains and embodies certain standards (politeness and decorum)*" (Goffman, 1959: 110). This decorous behaviour is performed to show respect for the region and setting one finds oneself in, which is motivated by a desire to impress the audience favourably (Goffman, 1959).

Goffman's theatre metaphor refers to the image or impression management that occurs everyday at an individual level in interpersonal communications (Zavattaro, 2013). Organizations such as spas also desire to create the right images to gain competitive advantage and attract more customers. Goffman's theoretical understanding is used in the current research to view the way spa employees manage their faces and emotions in the frontstage during customer service interactions and the way backstage is used where there is no performance. Moreover, Goffman's (1959) framework is selected to demonstrate how the spa employees socially construct their 'self' in a reflective and co-creative process that depends on their own management and the way others understand and interpret their conveyed image (Zavattaro, 2013). This means that Goffman's idea illustrates how the spa employees present themselves and manage the organizationally desired emotions using the theatre metaphor.

Goffman's (1990) concept provides an understanding of the way the spa employees act and experience everyday life (or social life) in particular situations (Vosu, 2010). His drama-analogy stems from the dramaturgical perspectives of performances or theatrical performances. This means that the 'self' is presented in face-to-face interactions of everyday life or daily communications that are 'social performances' (Vosu, 2010: 140). Goffman's idea is a perspective or a view of social life that helps to understand the social behaviour of the spa employees. Within service management, Goffman's original dramaturgical perspective (1959) has been used to show how actors (employees), customers (audience), scripted dialogues, and work setting (stage) might be managed to enhance the interpersonal components of the service experience (Harris *et al.*, 2003; Grove *et al.*, 2004; Stuart and Tax, 2004; Williams and Anderson, 2005). This research, then, focuses on a theatrical perspective as central to an understanding of emotional drivers behind the performance of the spa employees.

The notion of dramaturgy represents the symbolic interactions in everyday life. Goffman adopted this term from the theatre, imagining that we are the directors observing what is happening in the theatre of everyday life. He termed this process ‘dramaturgical analysis’ and referred to it as the study of social interactions according to theatrical performance. The dramaturgical analogy of social action as ‘performance’ (Goffman, 1959) refers to the way actors manage themselves in social encounters to ensure that these performances are effective.

Goffman (1990) also considered the ‘mask’ (Strauss, 1959) a means of lying to people when we see them because a person can change the way they act without showing other people that they are not acting sincerely. When using a mask, a person can express some parts of her identity when interacting with someone else while hiding other parts of her identity. She is not really changing her identity when she uses a mask like this. Instead, the mask and the parts of herself that she is hiding are all different parts of herself. For Strauss (1990: 11):

“Everyone presents himself to the others and to himself, and sees himself in the mirrors of their judgments. The masks he then and thereafter presents to the world and its citizens are fashioned upon his anticipation of their judgments. The others present themselves too; they wear their own brands of mask and they get appraised in turn.”

Goffman (1959) said that people frequently attempt to control their outward appearance in order to abide by the rules dictating how they ought to appear to others. The use of Goffman’s analysis of social interaction to understand workplace emotion is helpful. It is assumed that people consciously manage their emotions to make them follow the feeling rules that apply to the current circumstances and the culture and society in which they live (Bolton, 2001). Hochschild (1983) used a dramaturgical perspective where ‘feeling rules’ identified desirable and undesirable emotional expression. These feeling rules are seen as comparable to a ‘script’. In the literature, emotional self-regulation to reflect the proper

emotional situation is known as 'emotion work' (Hochschild, 1979, 1983) or 'face work' (Goffman, 1967). For Goffman, "*actors are dynamic, knowledgeable agents who fully participate in the creation of various emotion management performances*" (Bolton, 2001: 87). To this, people who perform emotional labour are not victims and know what they are doing when they do emotion work. Therefore, 'going public with emotion' is the presentation of 'face' where actors monitor their own conduct and the conduct of others to ensure the predictability of social life. This is one way to save the actor's own face or another person's face (Bolton, 2001).

2.3.2 Multiple Selves

The concept of dramaturgy in daily life motivates us to pay attention to and interpret the social interactions that Goffman describes using the metaphor of 'performances'. Goffman believes that there are performances in everyday normal life. Goffman's performances are social interactions in which people have the goal of influencing the other people they are interacting with. "*[P]erformance may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants*" (Goffman 1990: 26). When Goffman talks about the dramaturgy of social performances, he is talking about even the most boring, normal interactions where people need to communicate, as long as they are trying to influence each other in the way that they communicate and express themselves.

Goffman's metaphor of dramaturgy is made up of many smaller metaphors, including the metaphor of an actor's character and role. Goffman is a major theorist addressing the idea of identity as performance. Goffman treats identity as a role, lines in a play, or stage directions for behaviour to show to other people. So he reasons that everyone should help each other to show their own identity with their words and actions in the drama of life so that we can

maintain face. In different situations, a person may use different words or present a different identity. As a result, each person may have more than one identity or self.

In Goffman's important book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), he asserts that people act in the best way they can when they are in front of other people. This way of showing the identity we think other people will like the best can be called a front or a mask, because it is what other people see instead of our true selves. Other people encourage and help us act in more positive ways, according to the masks we use. Everyone has a duty to help each other maintain our masks, or to use Goffman's metaphor, we are all actors on a stage. One logical conclusion of Goffman's theory of masks is that there must be something behind the masks. Whatever is not presented on the frontstage of life must be backstage or not presented to others. This metaphor especially makes sense in the service industry, such as a restaurant. The frontstage, where a waiter must wear a mask, is the places and times where the waiter can be observed by customers or the public. But the kitchen or staff area where the waiter cannot be seen by the public is the backstage. The waiter may act differently in these different areas of the restaurant. In the area where the public can see the waiter, the waiter will present a frontstage performance and act like a waiter. But in the backstage area, the waiter might not act politely, for example he/she may swear, use impolite or informal language, another language or dialect, or even fart or pick their nose. Each situation people find themselves in has different requirements for how we should act. This means people's role, lines, and stage directions will be different in different situations. Thus, we act differently and present ourselves differently when we are backstage instead of frontstage, once again showing that each person has multiple identities.

The idea of multiple selves is important to understand. It is difficult for people's minds to manage many different masks while still remembering their true self. In cases where people

have many different identities and different roles, it can be difficult for them to change from presenting one identity to people in one context and a different identity to people in a different context. It is amazing to realize that people can switch between many different identities without making mistakes and presenting the wrong face to the wrong audience. With a lot of effort people can even maintain their confidence in their true self. Applying this into the spa industry, spa employees may present a mask or front to customers, that is different from their true self. In some cases, spa employees might even present different masks to different customers. That is why the theory of dramaturgical performance is so interesting. According to this theory, who is the audience when you are by yourself? If you are looking in the mirror, can you be your own audience? Are you only your true self when you are alone? What is your true identity when you are with others? The identity we present at work may be different from the one we present to our friends, which may be different from the one we present to our best friend. Again, our role will be different with our lover than it is with our family. A person has to manage their identity in all of these different relationships and situations. Another question is whether the identity we are trying to present is interpreted by the other person in the way that we intend it to be. There may be situations where our identity is not clear, such as if we have to present different masks to different people at almost the same time. In addition, the performance we intend to give may not be the performance we actually act out.

2.4 HOCHSCHILD'S THE MANAGED HEART

Since the seminal book *'The Managed Heart'* (Hochschild, 1983) was published, discussion of emotional labour has grown rapidly in the literature on organizational emotion. The concept of emotional labour is a conceptual tool to analyse employees' emotion work (Steinberg and Figart, 1999). Hochschild's (1983) major work on emotional labour in

organizations is where the term 'emotional labour' originated. This section presents the detailed concept of emotional labour in preparation for further developing and extending the arguments around the topic. According to Hochschild (1979, 1983), emotion within organizations is all 'emotional labour'. She provided insight into air stewards' ability to present a socially desirable performance. Her greatest contribution was her emphasis on how the management of emotion is hard work, and how workers can become alienated because of emotional labour.

The classic concept of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) is the process in which service workers align their emotional displays with managerially enforced 'organizational feeling rules' (Lopez, 2010). Hochschild (1983) offers perceptive commentary on the air hostess' capability of working on emotion in order to produce a desired performance. *The Managed Heart* continues to be quoted far and wide in the literature as researchers proceed to refine the empirical understanding of emotional labour and its importance for workers (Lopez, 2010). Hochschild (1983) was intrigued by the work of Charles Wright Mills (the American sociologist) who noted that when workers sell personality through the process of service delivery, they can become estranged from their own feeling of self. However, Hochschild thought that something was missing from Mills' work. The missing element was the element of active emotional labour involved in the service encounter, where service workers manage their emotions according to social feeling rules during service exchanges with customers.

Hochschild's conceptualization lies on the distinction between 'emotional labour' and 'emotion work' (Brook, 2009b). In our daily lives, there are various situations where we have to suppress our feelings and display a socially accepted emotion that is seen as more appropriate. For instance, service workers show cheerfulness to customers while hiding anger when meeting demanding customers. Hochschild (1990: 118) referred to this as 'emotion

work' where one regulates emotions in accordance with social norms. In the work context, where job roles (organizational or occupational norms) require workers to display certain emotions and suppress others, they do emotional labour for a wage. Hochschild (1983: 7) defined 'emotional labour' as "*the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value*". In other words, the work that workers do when they manage their emotions to control their body language and facial expressions and sell these visible expressions of emotion in the workplace for wages that they can then use to buy other things in the marketplace.

Emotional labour is the management of feeling by service workers to create a desirable image to the public (Hochschild, 1983). It is the effort workers must make in order to bring their feelings and/or visible emotional expressions to match organizational or managerial requirements (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labour is a form of social engineering where organizations prescribe feeling rules, thus, feelings belong to organizations rather than to individuals (Lopez, 2006). In this explanation, service workers are estranged from their own feelings and their own labour. This estrangement can be seen in the form of surface acting (where workers feel that their emotional displays are faked, insincere, and unsatisfying) or deep acting (where workers experience their emotional labour as satisfying or rewarding) (Gabriel *et al.*, 2014). Gross (1998) called this a self-regulatory process or the process that individuals know which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions. Emotion regulation strategies aim to bring perceptions of emotional displays to be consistent with display rules. Acting strategies are often recognized as emotion regulation strategies that are performed in response to display rules (Hochschild, 1983).

Emotion work, by contrast, is the effort people use to control their feelings and/or display the visible expression of emotion to family and friends in private life (Hochschild, 1983). In other words, emotion work is described as the act of attempting to change or modify an emotion or feeling so that it is suitable for any given situation. It is the experience of realizing that one's own emotions should follow social norms. Thus, social guidelines are used in order to guide the expected emotion. A set of culturally shared, albeit usually latent, rules (Hochschild, 1983) helps to fit emotions and situations together. For instance, people feel sad at a funeral but happy at a wedding. The use of the term 'work' to describe the management of emotion emphasizes that it is something we have to do with our feelings. The production of appropriate emotions requires effort as shown in the statements 'I tried not to laugh', or 'I forced myself not to cry' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003: 292). 'Work' differs from the concept of monitoring or suppressing emotion: 'Emotion work' has a broad definition as the act of evoking or shaping or suppressing feelings in oneself (Hochschild, 1979). In private life, we try to induce or suppress the feelings of love, envy, and anger through deep acting or emotion work, just as we manage outer expressions of feeling through surface acting (Hochschild, 2012).

In the public sphere of emotional labour, customer service workers' feelings are sold as service because they have been changed from private emotions into a package of emotions that customers can buy as a part of a marketable social interaction (Brook, 2009b). This process influences the alienation of frontline workers. They might withdraw their feelings, moods, and displays since they come to "*belong more to the organization and less to the self*" (Hochschild, 1983: 198). According to Brook (2009b: 533), the reasons why employees feel a loss of ownership and control are: 1) an unequal relationship between the customer and the worker so the worker feels formally subordinate to customers' wishes, and 2) codified feeling rules which ensure delivery of the required service quality. Codified rules determine

the form, content and appropriateness of workers' emotional displays to customers, and in this way alienates them from the design and control of the emotional labour process. Hence, it can be said that workers, under the influence of these two factors not only estrange themselves from their emotional product, but also the process of its production.

Emotional labour is part of everyday social exchange where the rules exist to ensure social stability and the well-being of those who are involved. Nevertheless, performing emotional labour is not always a smooth transaction. A gesture may be unintentional yet may be interpreted as ignorance, dislike, or disregard for the situational rules. Cultural gestures may be interpreted differently in other cultures (Gabriel *et al.*, 2013). People may work harder than usual at managing emotions if they are concerned for the recipients of the emotional labour or think the situation is special. Hochschild (1979) suggested that this depends on the actors' perspective on the situation or their interpretation of the rules. Some expressions of emotional labour may seem more generous than others:

“Any gesture – a cool greeting, an appreciative laugh, the apology for an outburst – is measured against a prior sense of what is reasonably owed another, given the sort of bond involved. Against this background measure, some gestures will seem more than ample, others less.” (Hochschild, 1979: 568)

The above quote means that when anybody interacts with somebody else, her action will be compared to the idea of how she should act toward the other person based on their relationship. No matter whether she is saying “Hi”, laughing or apologizing, there will be an idea of what is expected. When we compare what she actually does with what is expected, some actions will seem especially generous while other actions will seem like less than they should have been.

The acceptance of the view that within the social framework actors can do varying degrees of emotional labour, that there is choice in what, when, how much and to whom they give, allows the introduction of the concept of ‘gift exchange’ (Hochschild, 1983:76). As social

beings, emotional labour is a way of showing respect, a personal gift given freely, sometimes unconsciously, without monetary cost (Hochschild, 1983). When discussing the idea of personal management of emotion as a 'gift', Hochschild (1983) argued that it may be detrimental to employees when deep gestures of exchange enter the market sector and are bought and sold as an aspect of labour. This means in the same way that people can share the gift of emotion work in their private lives; they can also trade emotional labour in the marketplace. The feeling of being commoditized occurs when the organization controls employees' emotions. Commoditization may lead to alienation and exhaustion if the repeated emotional displays overload employees (Zapf, 2002).

2.4.1 Hochschild's Study in Brief

Hochschild (1983) was inspired by Erving Goffman's (1959) research. The emotional management perspective of Hochschild (1983) is based on the service providers' 'acting'. Hochschild borrowed Goffman's (1990) dramaturgical perspective by applying emotional labour to a service-acting paradigm. Service is compared to a 'performance' where the service provider (employee) is an 'actor', the customer is the 'audience', and the work setting is the 'stage' provided to employees to perform their jobs (Chu *et al.*, 2012). Based on her interest Goffman's ideas, Hochschild (1983) developed the notion of emotional labour in her book where she reported qualitative research on air hostesses and debt collectors. She attempted to explore what emotion is, what emotional labour is, what people do when managing emotions, and what costs and benefits the management of emotion brings, both in private life and at work. Her empirical study of flight attendants highlighted the ways in which actors' emotion management skills have become marketable and how emotion management is being increasingly appropriated by organizations in a 'service producing society': 'commercial love' is now becoming an essential part of many routine face-to-face

service jobs (Hochschild, 1983: 10). As such, emotional labour means the employees put on a 'mask' of emotions to display to their customers according to the organizational expectations for their job roles (Gabriel *et al.*, 2014; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983).

The organizationally expected emotions are called feeling rules or display rules. Hochschild (1979, 1983) coined the term 'feeling rule' and defined it as rules that show the way individuals ought to feel in different contexts based on expectations for their role. Feeling rules are embedded in an individual's private life (roles at home) and in public life (roles at work) (Hochschild, 1983). On the other hand, a 'display rule' is the organizational norms and expectations on how employees should behave in job-related contexts (Ekman, 1973; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989). For instance, spa employees are expected to show friendliness to customers regardless of what their true feelings are at that time. In organizational settings, display rules may be implicitly, informally, or explicitly stated in training, company manuals, or company statements (Hochschild, 1983). This is because emotional labour is involved in the following types of job activities: (1) to produce emotional expression in others, (2) to control emotional activity within oneself, and (3) to interact with the customer (Hochschild, 1983).

Among the contemporary literature contributing to an understanding of emotion in organizations is Hochschild's (1979, 1983) work regarding "*The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*". She demonstrated that emotional and bodily displays work together in order to create a desired impression on customers (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009). Hochschild (1983: 147) noted that the 'emotional labour' necessitated in jobs had three distinct characteristics and these characteristics of emotional labour describe how and why the emotional labour is done:

“First, they require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public. Second, they require the worker to produce an emotional state (gratitude or fear) in another person (customers). Third, they allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees.”

This implies that emotional labour requires that a worker be able to see or talk to members of the public. It also requires that the worker makes the member of the public feel particular emotions, such as gratefulness or calm. Finally, emotional labour allows the organization to control how workers express their emotions by using training and supervision.

Moreover, Hochschild introduced a fourth criterion which needs to be fulfilled before the term emotional labour can be applied: the creation of a profitable product with the use of emotional labour as a major factor in its production. Using airline cabin crew as an example we see how they induce or suppress feelings so that their expressions match the airline’s advertised image, thus giving the company a competitive edge and selling to customers on the strength of the quality of service delivered by the stewardess. It could be said that the profitable product manufactured by the airline stewardess is passenger contentment, repeat purchases and/or positive word-of-mouth advertising. Hochschild summarized the emotional labour airline cabin crew are expected to perform as suppressing feelings of anger and being open and friendly. Her study showed that the work of the cabin crew can be described by physical aspects of their work (limited working space in airplanes), sensorimotor demands (serving drinks without spilling them), cognitive demands (responding quickly in emergency situations and knowing evacuation procedures), and emotional requirements dealing with anxious passengers. Emotions were a significant part of their jobs (Zapf, 2002). Moreover, airline stewardesses are expected to perform not just physically, but emotionally:

“The company lays claim not simply to her physical motions – how she handles food trays – but to her emotional actions and the way they show in the ease of a smile...For the flight attendant, the smiles are a part of her work, a part that requires her to co-ordinate self and feeling so that work seems to be effortless. To show that enjoyment takes effort is to do the job poorly. Similarly, part of the job is to disguise fatigue and irritation, for otherwise the labour would show in an unseemly way and the product – passenger contentment – would be damaged.” (Hochschild, 1983:7-8)

The above quote shows that the company asserts that it has the right to control both the flight attendant’s physical activity (e.g. moving food trays) and her emotional activity (e.g. presenting an easy smile). Smiling is a part of the flight attendant’s work. Smiling requires that she manage herself and her emotions so that she does not appear to be working. She would not be doing her job well if she showed that smiling was work. In addition, her job includes hiding any expression that would show that she is tired or irritated, which would ruin her work. Otherwise, passengers would not be satisfied, and satisfaction is what the company is selling.

As mentioned above that the characteristics describe how and why emotional labour is done. For instance, number two (emotional labour requires the worker to produce an emotional state in another person) could help the spa work in different situations and number four (the creation of a profitable product) could help the spa employees understand how what they do is valuable to the employers. In general, the four characteristics seem to be more useful to help managers improve their feeling rules or researchers improve their theories. Spa owners also benefit from the satisfied customers who may spread positive word of mouth referrals and are more likely to return to the business. Hochschild (1983) noted that employers or business owners desire to have a high degree control over their employees’ emotion management activities. One way of doing this is by using display rules indicating the accepted emotional expressions and behaviours in front of customers.

2.4.2 Acting Strategy

Emotional labour is the regulation of emotional expressions and feelings as part of the paid work role (Hochschild, 1983). The way that service employees know how to experience their emotions properly is defined by the feeling rules of the organization. These feeling rules are usually dictated through formal and informal practices by the organization culture. When the naturally felt emotions cannot be expressed, surface or deep acting strategy is required in the workplace. For Hochschild (1983), we all do acting, generally in two ways: surface acting and deep acting. '*Surface acting*' is to modify the outward displays that are congruent with display rules whereas '*deep acting*' is an attempt to modify internal feelings to be congruent with display rules. Through surface acting, we offer cynical performance that results in ultimate alienation from one's true self and through deep acting we put in effort to conjure up sincere performance, resulting in altering one's self (Hochschild, 1983). This means that we change the outward appearance through our body language in the form of surface acting and the performer works to modify the actual feeling in the form of deep acting.

Hochschild (1983) argued that the actor's body evokes passion in the audience, but the actor is only *acting* as if she has that emotion. Through surface acting, the actor displays outward gestures and in deep acting, the actor tries to feel (even if she fails) to have the actual emotion. Diefendorff *et al.* (2011) noted that deep acting is an attempt to show one's felt emotion in accordance with display rules. The instances of deep acting are an experience of deep emotion such as in 'I tried hard not to feel disappointed' or 'I forced myself to have a good time'.

Diefendorff *et al.* (2005) claimed that a lot of researchers (i.e. Brotheridge and Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003) have focused mainly on surface and deep acting while giving little attention to the expression of naturally felt emotions. For Diefendorff *et al.* (2005), concentrating on

the surface and deep acting strategies overlooks the *naturally felt emotions* that employees can spontaneously experience and display as appropriate emotions. Genuine acting or naturally felt emotions refers to the emotions that people spontaneously and personally experience and express (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). In genuine acting, felt emotions are matched with expressed emotions (Chu *et al.*, 2012). Furthermore, people who display genuinely felt emotions are likely to appear sincere which creates quality to customer service (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). However, the expression of genuinely felt emotions still require individuals to put in effort in order to ensure that their display of felt emotions match with the organization's expectations (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). The following section contains a review of the literature on the application of Hochschild's work that reveals how emotions have been studied, particularly in service encounters.

2.4.3 Empirical Studies on Hochschild's Emotional Labour

The concept of emotional labour has been applied to a wide variety of workplace contexts where there is a dyadic interaction or interaction between two persons (Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007). From the time when Hochschild (1983) studied emotional labour, extensive work has been done by researchers in the investigation of emotional labour carried out by workers in different service jobs (Chan, 2011). Table 2.1 shows the application of Hochschild's work in the different contexts.

Table 2.1: Application of Hochschild's Work

Contexts	References
Airline industry	Hochschild (1983); Taylor and Tyler (2000); Williams (2003); Chang and Chiu (2009)
Hospitals	Brotheridge and Grandey (2002); Bolton (2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005); Leggat and Dwyer (2005); McCreight (2005); Mikolajczak <i>et al.</i> (2007); Lewis (2008); Austin <i>et al.</i> (2008); Yang and Chang (2008); Pisaniello <i>et al.</i> (2012)
Hotels	Glomb and Tews (2004); Chu and Murrmann (2006); Kim (2008); Davidson <i>et al.</i> (2010)
Healthcare	Glomb and Tews (2004); Difendorff <i>et al.</i> (2005); Dyer <i>et al.</i> (2008)
Restaurants	Leidner (1999); Seymour (2000); Rose (2001); Brotheridge and Grandey (2002); Grandey <i>et al.</i> (2005)
Amusement Parks	Rafaeli and Sutton (1987); Van Maanen and Kunda (1989)
Call Centres	Holman and Totterdell (2002); Zapf <i>et al.</i> (2003); Korczynski (2003); Taylor and Bain (2005); Rupp & Spencer (2006); Jack <i>et al.</i> (2006); Goldberg <i>et al.</i> (2007); Koskina and Keithley (2010)
Services: Small Business Service Work Sexualized Work Beauty Salon Therapeutic Massage Newspaper	Mirchandani (2003); Nixon (2009) Warhurst and Nickson (2009) Sharma and Black (2001); Oerton (2004); Toerien and Kitinger (2007) Chan (2011) O'Donohoe and Turley (2006, 2007)
Tourism Industry	Sohn and Lee (2012); Guerrier and Adib (2003)
Spa Business	Little (2013); Chan (2011)

Source: compiled by Author

The current review of literature on emotional labour in the spa industry found that only two studies have been conducted; on a Chinese spa (Chan, 2011) and British spas (Little, 2013). Chan (2011) performed an ethnographic study focusing on the identities and roles performed by masseuses in a Shenzhen spa. In particular, Chan addressed questions such as how do masseuses distinguish and maintain their identities as professionally trained masseuses and how do masseuses engage in emotional labour during the service encounter. Findings indicated that providing a massage involves physical labour, a social encounter, and emotional labour (Chan, 2011). The masseuses in the Shenzhen spa did not show any negative outcomes, such as burnout or mental fatigue, from performing emotional labour. Moreover, they were not pressured or forced by the spa management to display particular identities or emotions. This is because the management could not observe their performance during the privacy of the service encounter between the masseuse and customer. Hence, the decisions of the masseuses about what emotions they want to express and the roles they play are changeable and depend on the context of the service encounter. This means that the masseuses express different emotions at different times. Moreover, masseuses seek ways to perform emotional labour so as to accumulate value for themselves. For instance, they have to provide a good massage as well as suitable diagnoses, recommendations, and prescriptions for the customers' pains so that customers return and they receive a good tip. The reasons they perform emotional labour and provide a good massage show that the masseuses have strong identities as professional masseuses since they can show professional knowledge and service performance to customers. They are proud of their recognition and status, and they feel a sense of belonging to the group of professional masseuses.

Drawing on feminist research on health, gender identity, and the body, Little (2013) interviewed employees at two spas in the South West of England. The research showed that a spa visit is seen as an important part of women's health and body maintenance, allowing

them to have a space for relaxation and withdraw from both household tasks and the workplace. The pampering treatments help women to create a sense of luxury and an emphasis on the self. Women are increasingly concerned about ‘the care of the self’ and ‘disciplining the body’ by maintaining their figure or good body size and shape. The relationship between health, location and one’s concept of one’s self is complicated. Hence, Little (2013) studied different types of therapy and ideas about exercising and taking care of our body. It is important to understand wellness as well as the relationship between physical, emotional and mental health and ideas about the healthy and the beautiful body when studying places that provide therapy. However, Little’s work emphasized more from a customer perspective.

In particular, Little studied modern spas on the way that spa therapies and pampering are important to women’s health and wellness habits, concentrating on the customer rather than employee. Women’s use of pampering to reduce stress is a good way to think about how the relationship between how women’s bodies are controlled and taken care of. The modern ideas of being a woman and being healthy are focused on the idea that a woman’s body is a project that the woman must keep healthy and in good physical, mental and emotional condition. So a woman has a moral duty to take care of her body, because her body is not separate from her identity. Each woman is responsible for her own body and making it match society’s ideas about a healthy or good body. A spa is an area that is especially for pampering, where activities help women (and men) relax, feel special or ‘hi-so’ (high society), and experience luxury (Little, 2013). Even though there are two studies conducted in the spa industry (one in the UK and the other in China), there is still a lack of research in non-Western context such as Thai spa context. Hence, this research aims to fill this gap by studying the management of emotion in Thailand to understand the characteristic of different types of emotion management in the Thai spa industry.

After reviewing the literature on the presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) and emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), it is found that both concepts are of importance to people's everyday life in creating impression and displaying positive images to the public. These two perspectives offer a more rounded understanding of the emotion management process in Thai spa industry. However, there are some criticisms on Hochschild's emotional labour which will be presented in the following section. To overcome the use of Hochschild's theory, this thesis adopts an alternative approach of emotion management in the workplace (Bolton's 2005) and combines three perspectives together and calls it a 'multi-perspective approach' throughout the thesis.

2.5 CRITICISMS OF HOCHSCHILD'S EMOTIONAL LABOUR

Over the past two decades, employees have engaged with hearts and minds (Warhurst and Thompson, 1998) and souls (Willmott, 1993) to manage and manipulate their feelings. Emotional labour is securely tied to an organization's competitive advantage (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Hochschild connected the concepts of feelings and labour and showed that people do work with their feelings that are an important part of the work required in a market economy (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). Hochschild's theory is still accepted and well known. In the last 20 years, almost everything that has been written about feelings in companies has mentioned '*The Managed Heart*'. Many new articles use Hochschild's term 'emotional labour' to emphasize the study of feelings in companies (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 1993, 2000) or to highlight companies' strategies to control how workers manage their emotions during work (Smith, 1992; Sturdy, 1998; Taylor, 1998). However, Bolton and Boyd (2003) challenged the key views of Hochschild's and developed an analysis of emotional labour and alternative conceptualizations of workplace emotion. Therefore, this section presents contemporary debates on Hochschild's emotional labour and the moves to an

alternative typology of emotion management in the workplace, proposed by Bolton (2005) in section 2.6.1: Four Typology of Emotion Management, p.58).

As seen in the discussion in section 2.4, the terms ‘emotional labour’ and ‘emotion work’ have become quite popular for such a complicated phenomenon as organizational emotionality. Bolton (2005) has pursued moving the debate beyond Hochschild (1983) by contradicting its explanatory value and presenting an alternative typology of workplace emotions. Bolton and Boyd (2003) argued that their conceptual means offered an understanding of the way emotion in organizations is governed and controlled by both employees and management in a number of different ways. Moreover, emotion within organizations cannot be viewed as a single dimension (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Employees bring their skills into an organization and they are able to draw on different sets of feeling rules and express a wide range of emotions according to their own motivations and contexts. Hence, an organization is not always the only one who defines the emotional agenda.

Korczynski (2003) argued that service workers who perform emotional labour are the best part of the service interaction. Hochschild’s (1983) framework ignores that customers are also a key source of meaning and pleasure in service jobs because her focus was mainly on the harm of emotional labour to employees. Hence, she fails to identify that customers can be our friends; instead she identifies them as the enemy (hereafter, their alienation) as in the full phrase “*our competitors are our friends, and our customers are our enemies*” (Connor, 2001: 5). This means that people who work in other businesses that do the same thing (e.g. other spa workers) are our friends, but we do not like the people we have to serve as customers.

Bolton (2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2003; Bolton and Boyd, 2003) argued that Hochschild’s emotional labour will be successful within organizations when employees’ emotions are controlled and eventually ‘transmuted’. To do this, employees’ emotions are changed from

private property to organizational property. However, the management of emotions in organizations can be achieved by employees (Bolton, 2005). Brook (2009b) mentioned that Bolton was one of a few arguing the neglected concept of emotional labour. For Bolton and Boyd (2003), there are two major weaknesses in Hochschild's (1983, 1990) explanations of organizational emotionality.

First, Hochschild overemphasized the divide between 'public' and 'private' performance of emotion management and tended to use the words 'public' and 'commercial' interchangeably, which creates a simplified opposition. Air stewards in Hochschild had no distinction between "*emotion work as part of the capitalist labour process, emotion work due to professional norms of conduct, or emotion work during normal social interaction in the workplace*" (Bolton and Boyd, 2003: 293). This means that emotion management is undertaken for the purpose of making money for the company, emotion management is undertaken for the purpose of meeting professional standards (show smiling face and express positive emotions to customers) and customary emotion management is done during normal social interactions at work. Hochschild (1990) is criticized for her inclination to differentiate between emotion work in the sphere of the 'private-self' and emotional labour in the 'public-self' sphere that is commodified and exchanged for a wage. For Hochschild, the underlying assumption is that there is no room for private life in organizations since employees' feelings are transmuted to a saleable commodity, therefore, feelings belong more to the organization than to the self (McClure and Murphy, 2007; Bolton, 2005). McClure and Murphy (2007) and Bolton (2005) say that Hochschild's theory is not accurate because she separates emotion work done in one's private life from emotional labour done in one's public, or work life. In fact, Hochschild assumes that a person has no private life at work, because all of a worker's emotions belong to the company instead of to the worker. So the company transforms the worker's emotions into something it can sell to customers (Bolton and Boyd, 2003).

Second, Hochschild mistakenly parallels physical labour with emotional labour (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). This is also based on the idea that ‘transmuted feelings’ become something that exists apart from the worker and are commodified (Korczynski, 2002). So the idea of ‘transmuted feelings’ is that they are changed in a way that is not easy or obvious from a person’s normal feelings into something that belongs to a company and can be sold and is separate from a person. The company delivers ‘service with a smile’ but not because the employees are really happy to see the customers. This is, however, not related to physical labour. As Hochschild (2012) stated, a cabin crewmember’s ‘have-a nice-day’ smile is not really her smile; it is the company’s smile. This happens when a cabin crewmember performs service for customer satisfaction while feeling estranged, resulting in an alienation from both physical labour and emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983). To this, feelings are transmuted when a cabin crewmember serves a customer and creates customer satisfaction but does not actually feel her own feelings at the same time. In this way, the airline sells the cabin crewmember’s physical and emotional labour, so she no longer owns either form of labour.

Emotional labour, however, carries high costs of effort to the workers who must invest their feelings in the production of customer satisfaction (Hochschild, 1983). Not to do so would damage the product and the worker’s sense of self because neither the customer nor the worker is going to have a really good time (Hochschild, 1983). This means if the worker does not use their own emotions to produce customer satisfaction, the result will be both poor customer satisfaction (unless they are surface acting) and poor worker identity because neither the customer nor the worker will be happy with a social interaction that does not use real emotions. Some workers may distance themselves from the job by not taking it seriously, while other employees may distance themselves from it another way. For them, their job is serious but they do not act authentically in their job. When the workers cannot make themselves believe that acting fake or just pretending to have an emotion is just part of their

job or is actually a good and required thing to do, then the worker might start acting like a robot without showing any emotion (Hochschild, 2012). When they refuse to act, they put a mask on their faces to protect themselves from the public. The next section will present the performance of emotion management within the workplace according to Bolton.

2.6 BOLTON'S EMOTION MANAGEMENT IN WORKPLACES

Bolton and Boyd (2003) noted that it is time to move on from Hochschild's *'The Managed Heart'* and provided recognition of four different types of emotion management in the workplace, which will help to de-construct the complex subject of emotion in organizations (Bolton, 2000a). Bolton (2005) proposed her typology of workplace emotion to show that organizational actors are able to have multiple selves even whilst they are constrained by organizational structures. This means that they are intelligent enough to draw on different sets of feeling rules and sources of motivation so that their feelings match the situation or they can maintain face. Hence, it can be seen that the employees are able to adjust their performances and judge how much feeling should be behind their face. This shows that they are skilled actors, especially when they have to balance conflicting demands and to give polished performances. Since Bolton (2005) is one of the first who attempts to break down Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour (surface and deep acting) into different types and categories of emotion management skills, her typology is suitable for examining the spa industry to understand a wide range of emotions performed and managed by the spa employees. This is because the spa employees (managers, receptionists, and therapists) meet and interact with different kinds of customers and emotionally difficult situations and they have to maintain and present desired faces and emotions to customers.

Another reason why Bolton’s typology is suitable to use is that emotional labour happened in the spa industry (as Chan’s research, 2011) in China, apart from the Western context. It is assumed that the spa employees in Thailand engage in various types of workplace emotion, rather than just surface and acting strategies (Hochschild). Moreover, during the preliminary period, the researcher of this study has found that the spa employees engaged in four types of emotions whilst delivering customer service.

Inspired by Goffman’s (1959), Hochschild’s (1983), and Bolton’s (2005) works, this thesis will explore the existence of workplace emotion in the spa service setting by using a multi-perspective approach (see Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework, p.86). This researcher agrees with Bolton and Boyd’s (2003) idea that emotional labour cannot be seen as one dimension and that emotion is sold for a wage (Hochschild’s, 1983) is not always true in the workplace. The spa actors have their own skills and they can draw on different sets of feeling rules and motivations to perform various types of emotion. Their emotions belong to themselves, rather than to the organization. Therefore, this study applies the four types of emotion management (Table 2.2: A Typology of Emotion Management) to fully understand the performance of emotion management and customer service in the Thai spa context.

Table 2.2: A Typology of Emotion Management

Forms	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
Different set of feeling rules	Commercial	Professional Organizational	Social	Social
Associated motivations	Instrumental	Altruism Status Instrumental	Ontological Security Conformity	Gift
Performance	Cynical Compliance	Cynical/sincere Consent/commitment	Sincere/cynical Commitment/consent	Sincere Commitment
Identity	Imposed/self	Professional/self	Self	Self
Consequences	Alienation Contradiction Conflict Resistance	Professional identity Contradiction	Stability	Stability Satisfaction

Source: Bolton, S.C. and Boyd, C. (2005: 93)

The table above shows that each type of emotion management is performed for a wide range of reasons and response to different rules. The following sections will take each typology in turn.

2.6.1 Four Typology of Emotion Management

This section discusses Bolton's (2005) typology of emotion management where she distinguishes four distinct types of emotion management: 'pecuniary' (emotion management for commercial gain), 'prescriptive' (emotion management according to organizational/professional rules of conduct), 'presentational' (emotion management according to general social 'rules'), and 'philanthropic' (emotion management given as a 'gift'). Bolton's (2005) typology offers an alternative to and more rounded picture of organizational life than Hochschild's suggesting that there are many possible motivations behind each and every performance of emotion management. It also allows that motivations are continually emerging and changing through the process of social interaction. Therefore, employees who successfully perform the organizationally prescribed manner may or may not invest their feelings in the performance depending on socially embedded motivations. The type of feeling rules and motivations can be seen to impact on the presentation of self, a sense of self, and lead to the outcomes for the social world around us.

The four typology of emotion management (Bolton, 2005) allows employees (social/organizational actors), whilst constrained by prescribed organizational structures, to display 'multiple selves' (Goffman, 1967). It shows that actors are able to draw on different sets of feeling rules and sources of motivation in order to match the feeling with the situation or to maintain face. Therefore, multi-skilled emotion managers are the performers on the organizational stage and capable of regulating their performances and manage to put feeling

behind the face. This can be seen in that skilled organizational actors are able to balance conflicting demands and can give polished performances (Bolton, 2005).

The emphasis on Hochschild's concept of emotional labour being related only to commercial emotion management enables Bolton (2005) to put forward an alternative typology of workplace emotion management (Brook, 2009b). Bolton's typology is valid since employees display varied performances by drawing upon different sets of feeling rules, of which the typology broadly distinguishes three classes: commercial, professional, or social feeling rules. In addition, individuals have different motivations that lie behind their various performances. For instance, a service worker has instrumental motivation and performs positive emotions in order to receive a promotion or bonus.

The performances under 'pecuniary' and 'prescriptive' emotion management are seen as empty of feeling (Brook, 2009b). In contrast, 'presentational' emotion management requires the worker to follow accepted social rules about emotions (i.e. be polite, helpful, and friendly) at all times and hide the expressions of negative emotions (i.e. anger, frustrated). Finally, 'philanthropic' emotion management describes the situation where the worker decides to give more of themselves during an interaction in the workplace (Bolton, 2005). In other words, it is the free giving of 'emotion gifts' to customers and colleagues (Brook, 2009b: 537). Brook (2009b) also noted that this form occurs outside of corporate, organizational or professional feeling rules in contexts where they feel relaxed. The in-depth explanation of each typology will be presented in the following sections.

2.6.2 Pecuniary Emotion Management

'Pecuniary' emotion management and commercial feeling rules are most common in the growing number of workers who provide direct services to customers, such as front-line service workers (Bolton, 2005). Service work is the only type of work that uses the customer

as part of the production process (Bolton, 2005). Service work requires front-line workers to present a pleasant attitude to customers and provide an attractive emotional situation for the customers (Akanji *et al.*, 2015). In order to create such an attractive emotional situation, service workers work on their own emotions and try to manipulate the customer's emotions at the same time as they follow the required commercial feeling and display rules (Bolton, 2005).

For Bolton, service workers do 'pecuniary' emotion management because they need to talk directly with customers, and the company requires that they represent the corporation with a positive image and satisfy the customers. The feeling rules of the organization are clearest in situations where particular characteristics or ways of acting and being are required for particular roles or positions in the organization. The commercial feeling rules are most obviously made bureaucratic in many common face-to-face customer service jobs. Because the organization wants the work to be done efficiently, the organization requires that the work is predictable and follows standardized rules (the use of scripts) at all times. This means that the organization tries to make each of its employees do the same thing every time the same situation happens. When the situations are face-to-face interactions with customers, the organization will try to make sure that employees convey positive emotions to customers (Goffman, 1990; Bolton, 2005) so that each face-to-face interaction follows the same standardized rules in the same way. This means that employees are only allowed to show a certain limited type of emotions that should not change. However, they might change depending on the situation regarding the customers.

Organizations may give clear rules in training, rulebooks, and written guidelines that explain to employees how to show positive emotions to customers. This is a way that an organization can create a standard for behaviour that only allows specific emotions to be shown. Employees are asked to act like a specific type of person to do their work more efficiently

and effectively. Basically, employees are being paid to laugh, smile, and act like they care about the customers. Following the organization's rules for behaviour can require the workers to ignore and not follow any part of their natural identity that does not agree with what the organization requires (Bolton, 2005). Goffman (1990) describes this process by saying that the organizational feeling rules will require that members of the organization feel only certain ways about many things and provide a guide about how the workers must appear at all times, even if the workers do not actually feel the way that would match their appearance.

Managers' requirements that customer service workers follow scripts, meet or exceed performance targets that are often impossible to meet, and follow specific rules when interacting with customers actually reduces and harms the employees' ability to laugh, smile, and act like they care about the customer (Bolton, 2005). These management requirements which are a part of 'pecuniary' emotion management mean that employees are not able to follow normal social rules of interaction so that they feel irritated and unhappy. They, then, perform cynical performance as their imposed identity because they only need to comply with organization's requirements to satisfy customers. These bad results are caused by management paying too much attention to the result of a customer service interaction and ignoring or neglecting the process of customer service as a social interaction (Bolton, 2005).

2.6.3 Prescriptive Emotion Management

Organizational actors perform this type of emotion according to the professional and organizational feeling rules as a member of an organization (Bolton, 2005). Every organization has different requirements for how an employee should act ("*organizational feeling rules*"). The organizational feeling rules create a set of on-going expectations/requirements for how an employee, and other people relating to the organization, should act. However, feeling rules are only one part of life in an organization

and only one of many types of rules required by each organization (Bolton, 2005). Many feeling rules required by organizations are not clearly or directly stated or explained to certain employee roles. Yet, these organizational feeling rules still require specific characteristics of the employee and have a significant influence on the employee's character/personality.

Policies (written rules), organizational structure, rules, job duties, and job status are affected by feeling rules. Bolton (2005) noted that knowing a written rule without knowing the feeling rules will not tell how people in the organization should behave. Organizational feeling rules are similar to the words we memorize for a play (acting) or a speech and they are like general guides for employee behaviour. In large organizations, the feeling rules may be clearly stated with specific punishments for breaking the rules, but feeling rules are usually more like symbols that hold employees more or less to correct behaviour. The feeling rules provide a system for interpreting or understanding things that happen in the organization and standards for normal behaviour that can help people avoid problems in a certain social group. The feeling rules can help clarify the requirements for success in a role, just like a script in a play. As the feeling rules become familiar, the person becomes familiar and comfortable with the standards for normal acceptable behaviour for a certain job, role or social group. The person knows what is required for success. In this way, feeling rules help a person plan how they will act and feel like they belong and identify with a certain occupation or organization. These feeling rules differ from commercial feeling rules in 'pecuniary' emotion management in that employees concern themselves more about their professional image, rather than monetary exchange.

More contemporary management uses corporate culture (which does not have feeling rules) as a guide to action to members of the organization (Bolton, 2005). The corporate culture approach assumes that employees will agree to a culture or way of being thereby enacting 'prescriptive' and 'pecuniary' emotion management with enthusiasm and sincere

performances. Organizations want employees to love the organization, love the organization's product, and be self-motivated by the employee's role in the workplace. Organizations want employees to perform their jobs with feeling, honestly believe and agree with everything the organization asks them to do and to present to customers. This could imply that organizations require their employees to do more than 'surface act' (Bolton, 2005).

According to Strauss (1975), some jobs require much more professional training and socialization ("*professional feeling rules*"). Each profession has its own 'implicit feeling rules' which describe the profession's specific goals. For Bolton (2005), people who join a profession agree to these feeling rules for normal behaviour. People think of professions as a way of life or what they will do for their whole life, and not just a job. This is because many professions have high social status, earn a lot of money, and are connected to ideas of caring about people or public service working for social good. So, people who join a profession are happy to put the profession ahead of their personal life in their priorities. People who join a profession begin to think about themselves as their professional title and according to professional rules.

Socialization is the process where newly-hired employees or newcomers learn about, adapt to, and come to identify with the organization (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). It is significant to individuals regarding their access to opportunities in the organization and career development. Bauer *et al.* (1998; 2007) noted that socialization is a learning process whereby an individual needs to take responsibility to learn to fit into the organization. New members of an organization learn to be active and productive employees when they learn the organizations feeling rules. Feeling rules are like 'ropes' (learn the ropes) that help the new members become a true part of the organization. Socialization influences people in organizations because it shapes the way employees view teamwork, work habits, and sharing

of information. In addition, socialization offers employees with the skills and societal norms essential for participating within the corporate culture.

Goffman (1961b) noted that some people who start a job can fall in love with the role required by the job and start to see themselves as the job role and identify themselves as acting that role. The idea of a professional is a person who does 'prescriptive' emotion management (Bolton, 2005). Professionals agree to follow and accept professional feeling rules in order to meet their co-workers and the public's expectations about the right appearance of a professional on how to present themselves and keep their appearance professional. It makes sense that many professionals talk about these appearance rules as a mask that must be held up at all times so that the appearance of the profession is not harmed. Keeping a professional appearance can require difficult emotion work and is used to keep a distance between the professional and the customer. For instance, even though some professionals must show that they care about their customers they cannot show real emotion. Doctors, nurses and social workers all say that they would be ashamed of themselves if they cried in front of a patient because they would be dropping their professional mask by crying (Bolton, 2001).

Bolton (2001) and Lively (2000) say that 'prescriptive' emotion management is not too difficult for two main reasons. The first reason is that professional feeling rules help shield the professional from the emotional demands of the job. The second reason is that professionals agree with and identify with their role as a professional and like the benefits it brings to them so that the work required to keep up the professional mask is not seen as hard work. It is clear that professionals change to behave in the way that they are expected to behave or have the required characteristics to follow the certain professional feeling rules. In other cases, people start a professional career even before their first job. Hence, when a

company is looking for a new professional the person, paying attention to the ideas and images that go with the profession, has already chosen the job and company they want to join (Bolton, 2005). This process before recruitment is most important for professions that need the right people to accept a complex set of professional feeling rules (Salaman, 1974).

New professionals try to match their idea about their profession, so it is easy for them to put on the professional mask they have chosen. The way new professionals put on their professional masks includes their education and their everyday relationships with other professions they learn from. New professionals learn to copy a public and a perfect idea of their professional image and other professionals rather than following written professional feeling rules that are used to control the professionals' behaviour. As Bolton (2005) states, everything that we see, from the news to romance novels to television dramas, gives us pictures of different professionals with characteristics that seem good. These professional feeling rules are so strong that they affect the daily habits of people with jobs closely related to the professions.

2.6.4 Presentational and Philanthropic Emotion Management

This section discusses 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management because these two categories share the common characteristics (see Table 2.2: A Typology of Emotion Management, p.58). These two types of emotion management do not follow an organization's feeling rules. Instead, they follow the feeling rules of society ("*social feeling rules*"), especially the feeling rules that control how people relate to each other and treat each other when they spend time together. The feeling rules of society are not stated directly and clearly but are understood by people who live in society. 'Presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management show a person's basic social identity that is done by following social feeling rules (Bolton, 2005). Another way to say this is to say that people are social creatures

and can manage their emotions by following the ‘conventions of feeling’ (Hochschild, 1990) so that they can live in society without being rejected for being abnormal.

Throughout life, people receive information about how to act properly and manage their emotions. So, as people grow up they learn how to move about in social life and interact with other people without causing offense (‘traffic rules of social interaction’) (Goffman, 1959) and acquire what Goffman (1959) calls ‘universal human nature’. People learn this by being taught the moral rules of the society where they live. This universal human nature is required for people who do not understand how to move about in society. Those who fail to understand this will not be allowed by other people to stay in an organization because they will not act properly. Employees would not be able to follow organizational feeling rules or perform ‘pecuniary’ and professional ‘prescriptive’ emotion management if they did not already know the basic social feeling rules from their life outside of the organization. This means that organizations need employees who already know how to follow social feeling rules so that they operate efficiently (Bolton, 2005).

However, whenever organizational feeling rules are not in control for some reason, people will use the freedom and act following social feeling rules. Emotion must still be managed even in these free spaces. The moment of a social interaction can be an ‘unmanaged space’. Employees sometimes skip work, by not acting/behaving in a way their employer requires, even when the employee is physically present at work and is doing the task that the employer requires. Workers do many things in unmanaged spaces for many different reasons, while following social feeling rules.

According to Bolton (2005), ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ emotion management describe how the workers act based on their own choices and knowledge and describe the complex way that relationships in the workplace have multiple meanings. By classifying

behaviours as 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management, it can be show how social norms of emotion present themselves in the workplace and how emotion in the workplace is always moving from one category to another at the same time. If the organizational feeling rules are not in operation/control for some reason people will use the space or freedom not to be controlled by the rules. Within the workplace, people are able to make their own 'emotional zones' (areas for emotion) (Fineman, 1993) or 'back regions' (areas behind the presentational area) (Goffman, 1959). These types of spaces are places where people feel comfortable, relaxed and protected. People use these parts of the organization to do all kinds of things without others watching or controlling them (backstage) and without planning (Gabriel, 1995). The following section explains spaces in an organization where those workers create.

2.6.5 Spaces in Organization

Bolton (2005) noted that emotion must still be managed even in these free spaces. But people's duties in these places are usually much closer to normal life, and the motivation for emotion management is very different. Some organizations and work cultures have strong traditions for long term, real physical spaces (e.g. break room or cafeteria or hiding in the toilet to smoke a cigarette). In other organizations the 'unmanaged space' may just be a single moment between co-workers, such as a smile or small gesture of support (Bolton, 2005). These unmanaged moments show how workers can be both 'at work following the rules' and 'free to act as they want in some situations'. This means that even when a worker is following all the rules exactly in how she presents herself, she may be able to communicate many things the organization might not like, including disrespect for the organization, all without saying anything against the rules. The employee can just change her tone of voice, the way she says certain words, how fast she talks, or other things that the rules do not control.

In the spaces where people do ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ emotion management, people may take on many different kinds of roles depending on with whom they are interacting with. Nonetheless, acting as a friend to customers (even not in unmanaged spaces) or helpful co-worker can require very difficult emotion work. These people feel a connection to their work life because of their friendships and the way they feel like a good co-worker when they help other workers instead because of their wish to be a good worker or employee (Bolton, 2005). Not all of this type of emotion work can be called ‘philanthropic’ emotion management. For example, sometimes workers are required to work closely with other workers that they do not like at all. It is true that organizations prescribe feeling rules for teamwork and often require workers to treat team mates like customers. When employees work together there are ways to make space that is free from organizational feeling rules. These free spaces are the places where the co-workers can become good friends and release stress by chatting and joking together. These unmanaged spaces are also the times and places where co-workers can become enemies who would rather hit each other than work together and have to do a lot of emotion work just to tolerate each other.

Bolton (2005) highlighted spaces within organizations that employees may create, such as space for resistance and misbehaviour, space for a gift exchange, or space for maintenance and creation of identity. The rest of this section will describe spaces for ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ emotion management. These two emotional categories may be undertaken to break the organization’s rules to show disagreement, to share something nice with someone else, to build community with co-workers, to bring humour to work, to do wrong and break social rules, and/or to make and keep the idea of self-healthy.

1. Spaces for Resistance and Misbehaviour

Many people think that employees are doing exactly what managers want them to do. Some people admit that there is a conflict between what is important to an employee and what is important to an employer (Bolton, 2005). The conflict comes from an employment agreement that requires employees to be doing emotion work all the time. It is also noted that organizational rules are always changing. But, in every organization with people in it, there are people who do not give the organization what the people above them in the organization say they should. Employees can resist or avoid organizationally prescribed feeling rules in ways that are hard to notice, such as by acting insincerely or using humour. This means that when employees do not follow organizationally prescribed feeling rules, they may do 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management (Bolton, 2005).

2. Spaces for a Gift Exchange

Even during the part of work life that is social, there can be times when employees have to do difficult emotion work. These are times when the employee cannot do what is natural or customary for herself. When the employee realizes that there is a difference between her true emotion and what she thinks she should feel, the employee must make a choice. The employee must decide how much work to do to manage her emotions so that her actual emotions are the same as the emotions required by social norms. An employee's ability to 'give that little extra' or do a little bit more than usual is categorized as 'philanthropic' emotion management. 'Philanthropic' emotion management is a special type of emotion management because it means that the employee does extra emotion work to make her emotions match what is expected in society. This extra emotion work is a gift to the person she is interacting with (Bolton, 2005).

Hochschild (1979, 1983, 1989) says that in social interactions, some actions seem more generous than others. Generous social interactions are a 'gift exchange' and the most generous gesture of all is the act of successful self-persuasion, genuine feeling, a deep action that works and that in the end is not phony (Hochschild, 1979). To this, the most valuable gift we can give another person is to actually change the way we feel about them to be more positive and interact with them sincerely without being fake (Bolton, 2005).

Even though work life is difficult, the gift of sincerity can still be given every day. As Frost *et al.* (2000: 26) highlight "*organizations are sites of everyday healing and pain*" which means companies are where people experience the normal hurts and difficulties of life and where they can also receive comfort, and recover. Therefore, the possibility of giving emotion management as a gift is extremely important to society and to people's work life. If people did not give the gift of emotion management, people would not really be living a true life. Instead people would be in a world where they could not trust anyone and everybody would only care about themselves (Bolton, 2005).

Nonetheless, in reality, a lot of social interaction requires people to save face and protect the dignity of people around them (Goffman, 1967). The need to save face and protect each other is especially important where close friends work together and when emotional labour is very difficult, so co-workers need to support each other by doing 'philanthropic' emotion management. Similar to 'presentational' emotion management, workers can use 'philanthropic' emotion management to perform their duties at work. In this case, workers will do more emotional work than is required by just 'prescriptive' or 'pecuniary' emotion management. The use of 'philanthropic' emotion management shows how taking care of people, feeling sympathy and wanting to help someone who is suffering, and receiving sympathy and help when you are suffering is a normal part of work life (Kahn, 1998). It can be said that 'philanthropic' emotion management shows normal human benevolence in the

workplace and the employees exchange the gift of 'philanthropic' emotion management they are always helping the friendships in the group (Bolton, 2005).

The performance of 'philanthropic' emotion management between co-workers is not like giving 'philanthropic' emotion management to customers, because workers are not likely to expect anything from customers in return. When giving 'philanthropic' emotion management to customers, workers are only likely to benefit from a feeling of satisfaction because they 'made a difference' or an improved customer's life (McQueen, 1997a). Even though workers might understand and truly share customer's feelings, workers cannot express these feelings to the customer because the worker must keep a professional appearance (Bolton, 2001).

Workers give a little bit more 'philanthropic' emotion management so they start to feel like they are a part of their customer's lives. And then workers have to do more emotional labour to follow professional feeling rules and show the customer a professional appearance. This process means that professionals who care for other people as a part of their job have to do twice as much emotional work (Bolton, 2005). They have to do 'prescriptive' emotion management as a part of their job. Besides, more and more jobs are requiring 'pecuniary' emotion management as a part of their emotional labour requirements (instrumental motivation). But these workers also give 'philanthropic' emotion management as an additional gift by sincerely caring about their customers. What professionals who care for other people as a part of their job do when they care for customers is special because it is not a gift exchange. Instead, it is a true gift without the request (either stated or unstated) for a return gift says Richard Titmus (1970 as cited in Bolton, 2005) who studied social interactions that involve gifts.

'Philanthropic' emotion management is less likely to be done by customer service workers who have less freedom or ability to leave their script during emotional labour. A very good

example of 'philanthropic' emotion management is seen in flight attendants, who must often respond to first aid problems and help passengers who are sick (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). The flight attendants may share the passenger's feelings and have a strong desire to help them. These feelings of empathy and compassion may motivate the flight attendants to do more emotion work than required by the professional feeling rules that describe their first aid duties and more emotion work than is required by the commercial feeling rules, that are described by Hochschild in the 1983 study of Delta flight attendants. Just like in regular social interactions, flight attendants do extra emotional work to show the people around them that they are sincere and trustworthy moral people (Bolton, 2005).

3. Spaces for Maintenance and Creation of Identity

A lot of the things done in unmanaged spaces are small things that people barely notice. 'Presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management are so complex that they can actually help companies, even when that is not the worker's goal. For example, when customer service workers are extra kind, the customers think the company is a good company. And when workers de-stress using humour, they are able to do their jobs even when they are very busy and have to deal with strong emotions. Even when workers use unmanaged spaces to protest organizational feeling rules, they do not cause a big enough problem to change the way the company controls the way workers should interact. For instance, a worker might use subtle humour or follow 'pecuniary' emotion management scripts like a robot without actually doing real emotion work. But the unmanaged spaces are very important. Workers need to be able to use these spaces to keep themselves safe from the way organizationally prescribed feeling rules can try to control everything about their identity.

Goffman (1961b) describes this importance, when we avoid doing what we are told to do, or when we do it in a way that is different from what we were told, or when we do it because of our own reasons and not the reasons we were told, we are moving away from the identity the organization told us to take and the world the organization told us to live in. When an organization tells us to do something, the organization is basically telling us what world we should live in. When we avoid doing what we are told, we are avoiding the role that we have been told to be in. In addition to requiring that workers do 'prescriptive' and 'pecuniary' emotion management, commercial, professional and organizational feeling rules require that workers have a certain 'nature'. To this, commercial, professional and organizational feeling rules treat people like they are not exactly human but can follow the rules and do emotion management exactly as required.

Paules (1996) argues that even though a waitress has to act like a servant in customer service interactions and has to wear a uniform like a maid, she does not think of her work like a servant's work and does not think of herself as a servant or slave. When she is stressed, she thinks of doing her job like she is a soldier going to war. When she is not stressed, she thinks of doing her job like it is her business and she is making money in creative ways.

Bolton (2005) states that it is becoming more common for companies to want workers to do a lot of emotion work such as engaging in deep acting during service delivery. Companies try to tell workers when and how they should feel. Companies tell workers when they can feel happy, sad, excited and loyal. But even good workers, who like their jobs and feel loyalty for the company they work for, will always be trying to present and protect their identity. The different parts of a company where 'philanthropic' and 'presentational' emotion management are performed are really the most important part of work life. Goffman (1959) also describes how emotion management is complex and one process can be done in multiple spaces within the company. In some cases, 'philanthropic' and 'presentational' emotion management can

allow the worker to protect their own idea of self from the company's rules even at the same time as the worker properly follows the feeling rules required by the company. As mentioned in section 1.3: Research aim and objectives, that the overall aim of this research is *“to explore the range of emotions in the spas and how they impact employees and customer service”*, the following section summarizes the potential antecedents and outcomes of emotion management performance and the way emotion management can impact customer service delivery.

2.7 ANTECEDENTS OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT

Based on the literature reviewed and an understanding of related emotion management concepts in this chapter, this section serves to introduce and discuss the antecedents of emotion management that can influence the performance of customer service. Consideration was given to a review of relevant literature in the areas of emotion management and customer service (see Figure 2.1). At an individual level, demographics, emotional intelligence, and personality are assumed to influence the management of emotion. While at an organizational level, display rules, feeling rules, service scripts, and leadership can influence the performance of emotion management. Although there are many interesting antecedents of emotion management, the researcher considers the feasibility to conduct the research. Therefore, this study focuses on two elements at an organizational level: display rules and feeling rules.

2.7.1 Display Rules

Ekman (1973) introduced the term ‘display rule’ as the appropriate emotional expressions and the noticeable emotional expressions that are likely to have the greatest impact on customers when performed by service employees and on subordinates and colleagues when

performed by leaders. In other words, display rules are standards or norms of behaviour indicating which emotions are suitable in a particular situation and how these emotions should be expressed (Ekman and Oster, 1979). According to Christoforou and Ashforth (2015), the organization often communicates to its employees certain display rules regarding the expected expression of emotion towards customers. These display rules can elicit and shape service delivery performance in order to please customers (Hochschild, 1983). In service contexts, display rules include the presentation of positive emotions to create a desire for affiliation (Allen *et al.*, 2010). Organizations communicate display rules via their selection, training, remuneration procedures (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989), handbooks, manuals, mission statements, and personal briefings (Christoforou and Ashforth, 2015).

The management of employees' feelings is strongly tied to the idea of competitive advantage. Most of the service industry recognizes that the right emotional expression by service employees brings success to the company, because these service employees represent the brand of the organization. In order to create a good corporate image, it is necessary to understand that 'emotional display rules' specify standards or norms concerning appropriate emotional expression for specific situations.

Display rules are aspects of culture that are learned through socialization. These rules affect the emotional expression of people in different cultures, depending on what are acceptable and unacceptable expressions of emotion (Safdar *et al.*, 2009). Display rules are culturally shared norms that specify how, when, and to whom people should express their emotions (Safdar *et al.*, 2009). Hochschild (1983) noted that service employees manage their emotions when they demonstrate desired emotions as part of their jobs. 'Service with a smile' may be the most common form of emotion management, where service employees must show friendliness towards customers during service encounters (Pugh, 2001).

The service role (face-to-face and voice-to-voice service interactions) has articulated 'display rules' which are organizationally prescribed and serve as a standard for the appropriate emotional expressions in the workplace (Kiely, 2008). The way employees communicate and behave towards customers and colleagues can affect outcomes such as customer satisfaction and sales. As emotional expression is a vital aspect of interpersonal interactions, numerous organizations specify the appropriate emotions that employees should express through display rules (Ekman, 1973).

2.7.2 Feeling Rules

Hochschild (1983) argued that emotion comes before action. Feeling is internal behaviour that one engages in preparation to act externally. Hence, how people feel and how people act are clearly linked. However, one's emotions and actions should be aligned with norms and expectations of one's social setting. Each setting requires different types of emotional responses and management of feeling. These scripts are designed for emotion feeling rules where emotional interaction (and emotion work) is controlled by a person's idea that she deserves something or the other person owes them something. These ideas are the result of feeling rules (Hochschild, 1983). This means that these feeling rules are social norms telling us what to feel, when to feel, where to feel, how long to feel, and how strong our emotions can be. For instance, people should feel happy and have a sense of gratitude when receiving an award. The study on how normative feeling rules influence durability bias (conducted by Wood and Bettman, 2007) revealed that feeling rules can influence both the expectation of emotion and the way customers remember an experienced incident.

2.8 OUTCOMES OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT

Figure 2.1 illustrates the possible antecedents and outcomes of emotion management performance. Previous relevant literature noted that at an individual level, service employees may engage in job satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, and employee well-being. While at an organizational level, the performance of emotion management produces customer satisfaction and service quality. Goodwin *et al.* (2011) noted that understanding the consequences of emotional labour is important because both theory and empirical evidence propose that emotional labour is essential to the daily work experience of many frontline service employees and is closely related to employee well-being (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983), customer outcomes such as customer satisfaction and customer loyalty (Grandey, 2000; Grandey *et al.*, 2005; Hennig-Thurau *et al.*, 2006; Giardini and Frese, 2008), and ultimately, organizational performance (Grandey, 2000).

The previous work on emotional labour (Bolton and Korcszynski) either supported or argued with the construct of Hochschild (1983) that emotional labour has both positive and negative outcomes to individuals and the organization (Hwa, 2012). Similarly, Kim (2008) stated that emotional labour has double-edged effects: a positive influence on organizational success but a negative impact on employees' well-being. However, the researcher in this study aims to analyze the outcome of emotional labour in order to make recommendations to enhance customer service and service quality. This study will examine how emotional labour leads to a better performance within the spa industry.

Wang and Groth (2014) noted that the impact of emotional labour on customer outcomes is obtaining extensive attention in the existing literature, where research suggested that the authenticity of emotional expressions may be positively related to customer consequences. At the organizational level, there has been a growing awareness of the connection between the

performance of emotion management and perception of service quality, customer loyalty, repeat business, financial gains (Sasser *et al.*, 1997), customer satisfaction, and organizational productivity (Meier *et al.*, 2006; Wang and Groth, 2014). Research conducted at the individual level has shown that emotional labour influences employees' well-being (Johnson and Spector, 2007), job satisfaction (Yang and Chang, 2008), emotional exhaustion (Johnson and Spector, 2007; Kim, 2008), organizational commitment (Abraham, 1999; Yang and Chang, 2008), intent to leave (Abraham, 1999), turnover (Meier *et al.*, 2006), and work-family conflict (Seery *et al.*, 2008).

2.8.1 Service Performance

Service performance is the individual outcome of the performance of emotion management. It encompasses intended behaviours relevant to organizational goals (Campbell *et al.*, 1993). Service performance is behaviour that serves customers (Liao and Chuang, 2004). Display rules are a critical part of service performance because employees must conform to those rules. Good service performance occurs when service employees induce appropriate feelings to customers (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993) and positive emotions as well as sincerity lead to a better service performance. Wang *et al.*(2004) noted that emotion is gaining attention as a significant component in service quality management, because emotion is a fundamental aspect of satisfaction. Since emotions have a strong effect on satisfaction with quality, it is important to understand the role of emotions in service encounters (Wang, 2004).

In service encounters, employees are frequently seen as the first point of contact for customers (Gabriel *et al.*, 2014). It is employees' responsibility to create positive impressions of the company (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). According to Parasuraman *et al.* (1985), one way to create such impressions is through expressions of positive emotions which signify friendliness, warmth, and interest with a smile, eye contact,

or vocal tone, for example. This impression then makes interpersonal behaviours a key aspect of service performance. Barger and Grandey (2006), Pugh (2001), and Tsai (2001) highlighted that the more the service employees display positive emotions, the higher the customer satisfaction and customer intention to return.

Service scripts (i.e. 'always smile') are seen as one way to ensure service employees comply with organizational display rules and provide a standard performance in every situation. A service script refers to verbal specifications (i.e. suitable words and phrases) and may also specify behavioural rules (i.e. smile or make eye contact). Service businesses require service employees to display positive emotions (friendliness) and suppress negative emotions (anger) (Hochschild, 1983) to enhance the customer experience and customer loyalty (Giardini and Frese, 2008; Groth *et al.*, 2009). Victorino and Bolinger (2012) noted that one way service companies manage service encounters is to use a script as a guide for employees to follow when interacting with customers. The use of a script allows management to control the service process (Ashforth and Fried, 1988; Seymour, 2000) and attempt to increase positive service experiences (Dev and Olsen, 1989).

Grandey (2003) and Seymour (2000) said that a script may even prescribe the proper emotions to display to customers. A script includes details of the required performance and the emotions (positive and pleasant) employees should show to customers (Johnson and Woods, 2008). Such emotional performance influences employee job satisfaction (Gursoy *et al.*, 2011) and the quality of customer experience. Another potential benefit of scripting is to help employees who lack confidence to know how to act in front of customers (Seymour, 2000).

2.8.2 Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is the employees' feeling towards their jobs. Emotional labour helps to reduce uncertainty and avoid embarrassing interpersonal situations, and to increase job satisfaction (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Goffman, 1959). Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) and Morris and Feldman (1996) noted that within the research area of emotional labour, emotional display rules may influence job satisfaction. Kiniman (2009) stated that the previous research on emotional labour and job satisfaction has produced mixed findings. Abraham (1999), Pugliese (1999), Zapf *et al.* (1999), and Ybema and Smulders (2010) concluded that employees who perform emotional labour had low levels of job satisfaction. Alternatively, some studies (Wharton, 1993; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1996) found that emotional labour was a source of satisfaction. For instance, surface acting may lead to psychological strain and job dissatisfaction, whereas deep acting may lead to feelings of accomplishment and positive job satisfaction (Kruml and Geddes, 2000).

Bono and Vey (2005) supported the evidence that emotional labour is associated with job satisfaction; that is, surface acting was negatively associated with job satisfaction while deep acting was positively related to job satisfaction. Moreover, positive emotions that are performed through deep acting in order to meet organizational display rules contribute to improved job satisfaction (Johnson and Spector, 2007). Hochschild (1983) identified various negative outcomes of managing emotions as part of the work roles. The negative outcomes are increased job stress, burnout, absenteeism, headaches, and lower job satisfaction. From her perspective, any display rules may have harmful effects on individuals, especially when employees are required to suppress negative emotions (findings from health psychology research) (Dembroski *et al.*, 1985). Specifically, research findings revealed that hiding

negative emotions was positively associated with physical symptoms such as higher blood pressure and stress (Dembroski *et al.*, 1985; Gross, 1998). However, this research aims to investigate employees' well-being and organization success. Therefore the researcher will emphasize the positive effects of display rules while minimizing the negative effects such as emotional exhaustion. Furthermore, the researcher assumes that spa employees perform different forms of emotion management, based on various motivations and feeling rules they enact, can lead to their satisfaction of job.

Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) found that the perceived demands to express positive emotions were positively associated with the feelings of accomplishment that led to positive job attitudes (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). Besides, Wharton (1993) found that different jobs require different degrees of interpersonal interactions and are positively related to job satisfaction. The findings showed that more display demands would enhance satisfaction. In other words, once people realize that they are required to express positive emotions, they may attempt to actually experience the positive emotions that lead to personal benefits (Grandey, 2000). Surely, this depends not just on a requirement but many other things – such as a belief in the need to display positive emotion. Alternatively, if encountering an aggressive customer, a worker still believes they should be positive due to a company culture and re-imagining the customer (Bolton's comment). Adelman and Zajonc (1989) and Schaubrieck and Jones (2000) facial feedback hypothesis literature suggested that prior to displaying positive emotions, people may have to experience a positive emotion which leads to an increase in job satisfaction.

2.8.3 Customer Satisfaction

Diefendorff *et al.* (2006) noted that emotional performance is seen as the main aspect of service work. Bono and Vey (2005) and Hulsheger and Schewe (2011) viewed emotional performance as nonverbal and expressive behaviours (i.e. smiling, eye contact, and pleasant vocal tone) that are consistent with organizational display rules. These nonverbal expressions have been linked to customer satisfaction (Gabriel *et al.*, 2013) and customers will give high performance ratings if they receive positive emotions from employees (Hatfield *et al.*, 1994). According to Gabriel *et al.* (2013), and in line with the impression management literature (Barrick *et al.*, 2009; Bangerter *et al.*, 2012), employees' positive emotional displays play a more important role in low-familiarity contexts or service encounters (less familiar and one-time interaction with customers) than in high-familiarity settings or service relationships (personal familiarity due to past exchanges and future intention of contact).

The spa service industry is characterized by employees who engage in a high level of contact with customers, in a context where employees and customers tend to be less familiar with each other (similar to food services, shoe stores, and hair salons) (Gabriel *et al.*, 2013). 'Service with a smile' enhances service performance evaluations more in low-familiarity contexts than in high-familiarity contexts. In general, when employees have one-time encounters with customers or interact/provide service to a customer who is new to the company, a positive emotional expression is more influential on performance evaluations (Gabriel *et al.*, 2013). Furthermore, customers evaluate the workers more powerfully when the workers use nonverbal expressions (smiles and eye contact) than supervisors do (Kristof-Brown *et al.* 2002; Barrick *et al.*, 2009). In other words, service employees are appraised more positively when they show positive emotions (Bono and Vey, 2005; Diefendorff *et al.*, 2006; Hulsheger and Schewe, 2011). It is confirmed that the performance of emotional labour

by service employees is a significant aspect of service performance (Diefendorff *et al.*, 2006; Hochschild, 1983) in a low-familiarity context such as the spa industry.

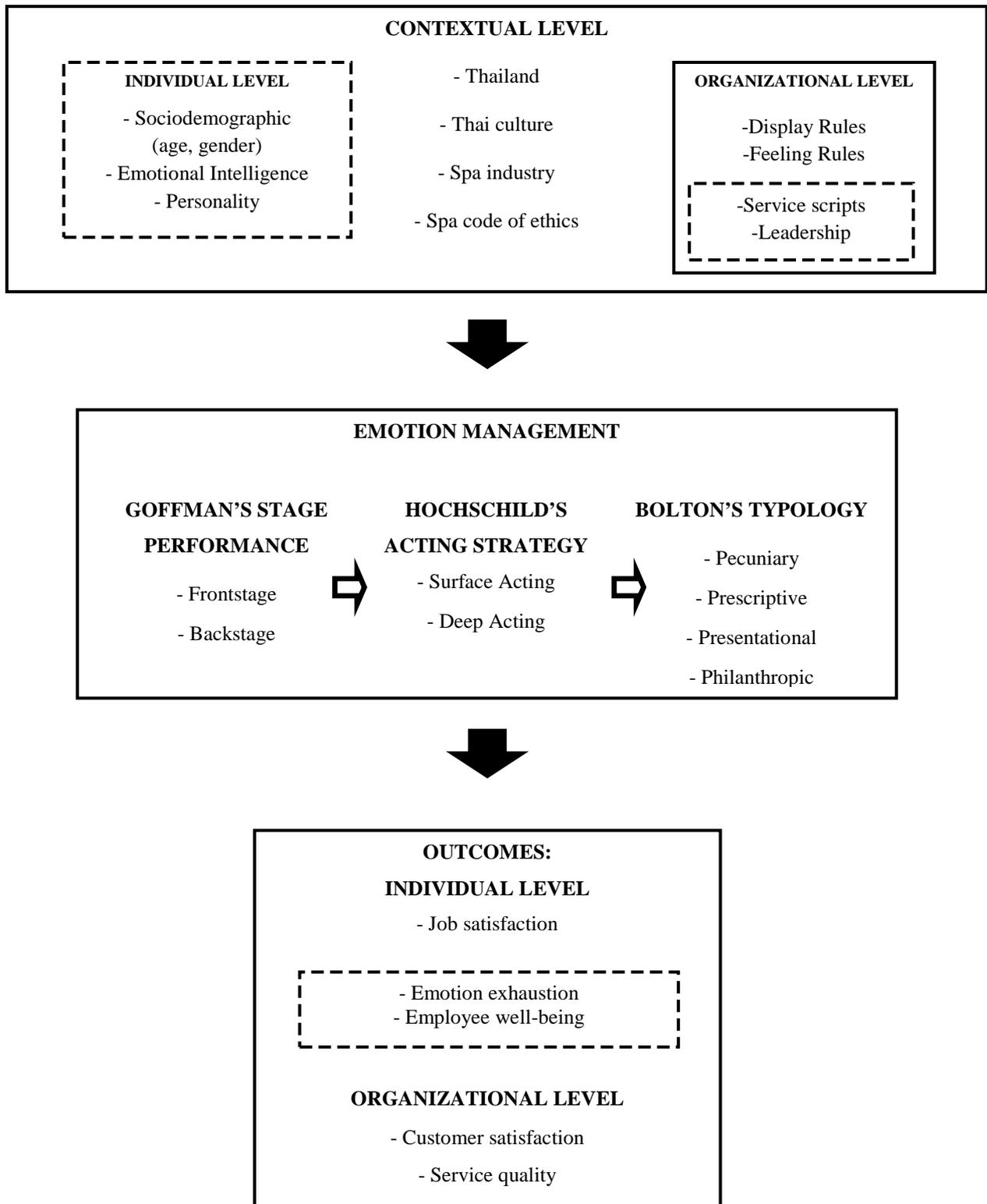
2.9 SUMMARY

Since the seminal book *'The Managed Heart'* (Hochschild, 1983) was published, discussion of emotional labour has grown rapidly in the literature on organizational emotion because it is a conceptual tool to analyse employees' emotion work (Steinberg and Figart, 1999). Hochschild's (1983) major work on emotional labour in organizations is where the term 'emotional labour' originated. This classic concept is the process in which service workers align their emotional displays with managerially enforced 'organizational feeling rules' (Lopez, 2010). In other words, they do emotional labour for a wage.

The concept of emotional labour has been applied to a wide variety of workplace contexts where there is a dyadic interaction or interaction between two persons (either face-to-face or voice-to-voice) (Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007). From the time when Hochschild (1983) studied emotional labour, extensive work has been done by researchers in the investigation of emotional labour carried out by workers in different service jobs (Chan, 2011). However, to the researcher's knowledge, there was a lack of non-Western focused research on emotion management and in the spa context and in using a multi-perspective approach (Goffman, Hochschild, and Bolton) of emotional labour. Moreover, there is a limited research study of three groups of people (manager, receptionist, and therapist) performing emotional labour in one study. These gaps would add further scholarly relevance to this project. Hence, this research fills the research gap by extending the emotional labour concept into the spa industry in Thailand and studying a wide range of emotions performed by a variety of spa employee groups.

The intent of this last section is to propose the conceptual framework of this study. A multi-perspective theory on emotion management is pulled together because each perspective explains emotion management differently and focuses on different types of strategies. However, an effort to use this is to provide a more holistic approach to understand how emotion is managed and performed in the workplace. In this way, the conceptual framework enables the researcher to capture similar and different concepts of the emotion management phenomenon and inform the design and analysis of the empirical research. The exploration of the range of emotions in the Thai spas can be addressed by the selection of proper research methods that is presented in the following chapter.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

When undertaking research, it is important to recognize different research paradigms and ontological and epistemological approaches. This is because they label perceptions, beliefs, assumptions and the nature of reality and truth (knowledge of reality). In addition, they can influence the way research is undertaken from research design to conclusion. The researcher should understand these aspects so that the approaches adopted are consistent with the nature and the aims of the research. Researchers' views of ontology affects their epistemological approaches that, in turn, influence their views of human nature and choices of methodology. However, different research paradigms encourage researchers to study phenomena in different ways. Different types of knowledge, therefore, may be derived through investigating the same phenomena from different philosophical perspectives. Research methodology involves the rules and procedures upon which research is based (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2007).

Increasing what we know about performing emotion management was the goal of Chapter 1. This goal was important to the research theoretically, and as a way to get the research done. Chapter 2 was a literature review that showed things we do not yet know or understand (research gap), about how emotion management in a spa may affect the way customer service is delivered. This chapter of the thesis discusses the research methodology by outlining the philosophical assumptions behind this study. The ontological and epistemological assumptions influence how the researcher sees things, and leads to the design of the research process and development of a research strategy that aligns with the research aim. As the overall research aim of this study is "to explore the range of emotions and how they impact employees and customer service", within this broad aim the research objectives of this study

were: (1) to understand the characteristics of different types of emotion management within the Thai spa industry, (2) to identify how emotion is managed and performed within the Thai spa industry, and (3) to explore how spa employees feel about, deal with, and experience their emotions within emotionally difficult situations. These research objectives in turn guided the methods employed to answer the research questions (section 3.3). The researcher provides an overview of the research design (section 3.4) that was employed to explore the theoretical framework of emotion management in the spa industry. Then in section 3.5, the various research strategies are introduced, followed by a descriptive explanation of data collection and data analysis in the research method section (3.6).

3.2 PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

Saunders *et al.* (2012) noted that the philosophy the researcher adopts is composed of significant assumptions regarding the way the researcher views the world. These philosophical assumptions will support the research strategy and research methods that the researcher selects. Johnson and Clark (2006) highlighted that researchers should be aware of this, because it will influence what the researchers do. In addition, it is important that researchers reflect upon their choices and be able to defend them in relation to alternative approaches. Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2008) noted that the relationship between theory and data has been a debatable issue for many centuries. The failure to link philosophical issues can affect the quality of research. Guba and Lincoln (1994: 105) argued that questions of methodology are of minor significance compared to the choice of the paradigm chosen for the research. They noted that:

“Both qualitative and quantitative methods may be used appropriately with any research paradigm. Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways”.

In other words, we can use numerical or non-numerical research methods with any research framework and/or philosophy. The method we choose is less important than the philosophy we have. Although philosophical ideas remain implicit in most research (Creswell, 2009), they influence the practice of research and should be identified. According to Saunders *et al.* (2012), research philosophy is the building of knowledge and the characteristics of the knowledge we build as compared to our research. Philosophical assumptions consist of a viewpoint about the nature of reality ('ontology'), how the researcher knows what she knows ('epistemology'), the role of values in research ('axiology'), the language of research (rhetoric), and the methods used in the process ('methodology') (Creswell, 2007: 16). However, Saunders *et al.* (2012) noted that the two major ways of thinking about research philosophy were ontology and epistemology. The discussion of these two assumptions will be explained in the following section.

Philosophical assumptions reinforce the selection of research strategy. However, a choice of research philosophy does not mean that one philosophy is better than another. Rather, each philosophy is better at doing different things. To consider which research philosophy is best depends on the questions the researcher seeks to answer. Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2008) noted that there are at least three reasons why understanding research philosophy is important and useful. First, understanding our research philosophy can help us determine our research design. For example, it can help us decide which data we need, how to collect data, how to interpret data, and how our interpretation answers our research question. Second, understanding our research philosophy can also help us decide which research design will work for us. Finally, understanding our research philosophy may help us discover research designs that we never would have thought of otherwise. We can also use our research philosophy to change our research design to work with different topics or research questions.

Philosophical assumptions reflect a certain view that the researcher makes when qualitative research is selected. Once the researcher makes a choice, she further shapes the research with the inquiry paradigms or worldviews (Creswell, 2007: 19). The term ‘paradigm’ or ‘worldview’ is used to conceptualize research philosophy. Saunders *et al.* (2012: 140) defined a paradigm as “*a way of examining social phenomena from which particular understandings of these phenomena can be gained and explanations attempted*”. As a point of this definition, it is a method of looking at things that people do in groups. This method allows a person to know certain things about the things that people do in groups and can be used to try to explain society. Guba (1990: 17 as cited in Creswell, 2007: 19) defined ‘paradigm’ or ‘worldview’ as meaning “*a basic set of beliefs that guide action*” or the fundamental group of things that a person thinks and will use to decide how to act. Philosophical assumptions, epistemologies, and ontologies (Crotty, 1998) broadly refer to research methodologies (Neuman, 2005). Overall, a paradigm guides how the researcher makes decisions and carries out research. The researcher’s subject will also be guided by a paradigm. As the researcher reads papers in her subject, she will begin to identify the kind of paradigm which will be used through the methodology. Therefore, as a researcher, it is vital to know one’s subject and understand different ways of viewing the world and various approaches to knowledge.

This research seeks to explore “*the range of emotions in the Thai spas and how they impact employees and customer service*”. The researcher of this study has a ‘social constructivist’ view and assumes that individuals seek to understand the world in which they live, hence they develop subjective meanings of their experiences directed toward certain objects or things in wider view (Creswell, 2009). The researcher will identify how emotion management is performed and managed within the Thai spa industry (RO2) and explore how employees feel about, deal with, and experience their emotions within emotionally difficult situations (RO3). People construct knowledge, either individually or socially, rather than receiving it

from an instructor or another source. Therefore, the aim of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied to understand the different types of the spa industry in Thailand (RO1) (see section 1.3, p.17).

For Creswell (2007), social constructivism is often combined with interpretivism. Interpretivism means the study of humans as social actors as they play a part on the stage of human life (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). This is linked to Goffman's idea on the metaphor of the theatre which suggests that "*actors play a part which they interpret in a particular way*" (Saunders *et al.*, 2009: 116). In practice, the interview questions are broad and general in order to give the participants opportunity to construct meaning of a situation. Meaning is produced through discussions or interactions with other persons (Creswell, 2007). This means that social constructivism emphasizes the meaning making in the spa employees' minds more than things or experiences in their environments (Thai spa context). Cultural or social context then, is seen as the source of human thought and behaviour (Crotty, 1998). McMahon (1997) noted that social constructivism focuses on the significance of the culture and context in which an individual understands what happens in society and, in turn, constructs knowledge based on this understanding. Hence, the 'individual' is at the heart of meaning making within a social context and emphasis is on individual interactions. The interview questions for this research include "*Tell me how you came to this job?*", "*What do you like about this job?*", "*What is a typical day like?*", and "*What about demanding customers? Please give me an example. How does it make you feel and how did you cope with it?*" The researcher picks up on interesting points and probes more with "*How do you use your emotions?*" and "*How do you feel about customer interaction?*" to understand the meaning the spa employees make and behaviour they perform during customer service interaction.

Crotty (1998) identified several assumptions within constructivism. First, meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world. As Creswell (2007) noted for a constructivist viewpoint, people actively construct new knowledge as they interact with their environments³. So meanings are varied and multiple which leads people to search for an understanding of the complexity of workplace emotions. Qualitative researchers may use open-ended questions, and broad, general questions so that the participants can share their views and construct their own meanings of a situation (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). Second, humans make sense of the world around them based on their historical and social perspectives – we are all born into a world of meaning created by our culture. These subjective meanings are formed through interaction with others (social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in participants' lives (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). Thus, researchers seek to understand the context of the participants' lives by visiting their context (the Thai spa industry) personally. Researchers interpret what they find and recognize that interpretations are shaped by their own experiences and background. Finally, the generation of meaning is always social. Meaning arises from interactions with humans (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). The process of qualitative research is inductive, so that the researcher generates meaning from the data collected in the field. The intention of this study is to interpret or make sense of the meanings others have about their world, thus generating or inductively developing a theory or pattern of meaning.

For this research, it is believed that reality is socially constructed. The researcher follows the interpretivist philosophy since the researcher wants to explore the subjective meanings that motivate the behaviour of employees. The focus of this study is on the performance of emotion management; to understand the characteristics of the Thai spa industry and how the spa employees manage and perform their emotions during customer service interaction.

³<https://docs.moodle.org/en/Philosophy>

Therefore, there are multiple realities that are socially constructed across a wide range of spa types and spa personnel. For instance different groups of spa employees – receptionists, therapists and managers - may have different interpretations of various situations (e.g. how they feel about, deal with, and experience the emotions with various emotionally situations). Therefore, individual spa employees will perceive different situations in various ways depending on how they view their world. These different interpretations will probably affect their behaviours and their social interactions with others, especially customers. The spa employees being investigated in this study interact with their external environment (the spa setting) and they make sense of their environment through their interpretations of situations (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). The subjectivist view in this study is the performance of emotion management that is produced through the social interaction between service providers and customers. Therefore, the research philosophy adopted for this research is an ‘interpretive’ inquiry.

After discussion of the selection of a constructivist paradigm or worldview, the researcher now moves on to explaining the philosophical assumptions. The selection of ‘interpretivist’ inquiry for this study is based on the researcher’s view that there are multiple, subjective, and socially constructed realities (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). Hence, the data collection technique consists of a small number of samples seeking to explore in-depth understanding in the setting.

3.2.1 Ontological Assumption

Blaikie (1993: 6) originally defined *ontology* as “*the science or study of being*” and expanded this meaning for the social sciences to embrace “*claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other*”. Ontology relates to ‘the nature of reality’ (Creswell, 2007; Burrell and Morgan, 2011) and ‘its

characteristics' (Creswell, 2007). The ontological issue is the researcher's view of the nature of reality and it includes two viewpoints: objectivism and subjectivism. Objectivism holds the position that "*social entities exist in reality external to social actors concerned with their existence*" (Saunders *et al.*, 2012: 130). To this, the reality in the objectivist position can be measured, tested, and proved because social actors who worry about their lives live in a reality that is outside of themselves. Subjective reality, on the other hand, refers to the social phenomena that are created from the perceptions and actions of social actors. The qualitative researchers embrace these multiple realities including statements from different people that give various observations/perspectives about reality (Creswell, 2007). Subjective reality is based on each individual's unique perspective so there are always multiple subjective realities if there are multiple people interviewed in a research project. This means that the researcher should study what each person says and use their words to develop themes for her conclusions. The themes should be supported by quotes showing each interviewee's perspective or subjective reality (Creswell, 2007).

Regarding the subjective-objective divide, this study follows the subjectivist view that realities are multiple and socially constructed. Realities or social phenomena are created by the perceptions and consequent actions of the spa service providers. Therefore, this study falls into the interpretive paradigm and is concerned with subjective views of the world. This study seeks the subjective meanings that motivate the behaviour of the spa employees. For subjectivist perspectives, the researcher interacts with the subjects being studied with the aim to understand what is happening. The choice of qualitative methods with small samples allows in-depth investigation because everything is contextual. For this reason, the researcher will interview different people in each spa in order to have more valid data. When considering different views that exist regarding what constitutes reality, the next questions

are how the researcher is going to evaluate that reality, and what constitutes knowledge of that reality. Hence, the next section will discuss the ‘epistemology’.

3.2.2 Epistemological Assumption

Epistemology is concerned with the most effective ways to find out about reality (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2008: 60) and “*what ... knowledge [is] and what ... the sources and limits of knowledge [are]*” (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008: 14). Blaikie (1993: 6) defined epistemology as the study of knowledge, where it comes from and how we get it. This definition was developed into a set of claims or assumptions about the ways in which the researcher can gain knowledge of reality and what can be known and described as knowledge. Epistemology refers to what constitutes acceptable knowledge and the relationship between the knower (researcher) and the knowable (participants/respondents). Burrell and Morgan (2011) noted that epistemological assumptions are about the nature of knowledge and how the nature of the truth can be acquired. For a qualitative researcher, the epistemological assumption may require that the researcher must spend time with and talk to the people being studied to try to understand as much as possible about their perspectives (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the researcher conducted the study in the place where the people she interviewed live and/or work in order to better understand what the participants say. Moreover, the longer the researcher stays at the research site or gets to know the participants, the more the researcher knows from first-hand information (Creswell, 2007). For Creswell (2007), this is considered a characteristic of interpretivist epistemology where the researcher tries to spend more time with and completely understand the perspective of the people she is studying.

According to Burrell and Morgan (2011) assumptions related to ontology, epistemology, and human nature determine the methodology of social research: interpretivism. The epistemological assumption of this study is interpretivism. Therefore, the researcher views subjective meanings and experiences and treats social reality as the product of the individual's mind. The various philosophical positions provide us with different ways of understanding social reality. The focus of this study is on the experience and performance of emotion management, and how emotion management enhances service performance. Therefore, the focus is not only on the actor's (spa employee's) perception, but also on the interactions and relationships between emotion management and customer service delivery, where multiple realities are socially constructed.

The choice of 'interpretive inquiry' is suitable for this study because the primary aim is to explore the individual perspectives (experiences and feelings) with respect to the performance of emotion management that exist in the spa industry. The interpretive research paradigm refers to the way that researchers, as humans, try to make sense of the world around us (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). In the social world, it is argued that individuals make sense of the world (situations) based on their experience, memories, and expectations. Hence, meaning is constructed through experience, resulting in different interpretations. Literature has been used to inform the study but the researcher does not set out to test existing theory, instead the researcher will rely on qualitative data collection with rich, open-ended interviews with different social actors (spa employees) to discover and understand the individual and shared senses of meaning regarding emotions in the spa industry.

The concern of the researcher employing this paradigm in this study is to understand the fundamental meanings attached to organizational life or workplace emotion. In addition, the researcher tries to understand and explain what is happening. Under the interpretivist

paradigm, it is important that the researcher discovers and understands the socially constructed meanings and the contextual factors that affect the interpretations reached by different individuals (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006). This research is based on the philosophy of interpretivism since personal insights of the phenomena in the spa industry are examined. The researcher also aims to understand the differences between humans as social actors. The interpretive paradigm seeks to explain behaviour from the individual's viewpoint. The researcher of this study would like to conduct research among spa workers (actors) who act in accordance with their own interpretations of everyday social roles (emotion management performance).

3.3 APPROACH TO RESEARCH

The previous section described research philosophies; this section involves the extent to which this research should use an inductive approach to answer the questions raised in this study. Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2008) noted that the choice the researcher makes concerning the research approach is important for three reasons. First, the research approach enables the researcher to decide how to design her research based on more information (Saunders *et al.*, 2009: 126). A well-informed research design covers the overall configuration of a piece of research, involving techniques of data collection, analysis, and interpretation in order to provide answers to the research questions. Second, the research approach will help the investigator to think about research strategies and choices that will and will not work for the study. This study aims to explore how emotions are managed and experienced by spa employees, thus it may be more appropriate to undertake an inductive research approach. Finally, different sources of knowledge allow the researcher to change the design of her research to make up for areas where the original research design did not meet the research goals. For example, the original research design might not allow the researcher to collect

enough data or she might not know enough about some of the people she is studying, so drafting a hypothesis might not be possible (Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

Generally, there are two approaches concerning whether research should use deductive or inductive methods. On the one hand, a deductive approach is the way in which the researcher develops a theory and hypothesis, and designs a research strategy in order to test the hypothesis (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Alternatively, the inductive approach is the way in which the researcher develops a theory after data collection and data analysis. Saunders *et al.* (2012) noted that it is useful to attach research approaches to the different research philosophies, where deduction is matched with positivism and induction with interpretivism. However, either inductive or deductive approaches can be used in either research paradigm (Bryman, 2011). This study combines both deductive and inductive approaches. Due to a wealth of literature on the research topic, the researcher of this study has a well-defined theoretical framework and research questions to guide the researcher (deductive approach). However, this study mainly emphasizes the inductive element, remaining in a phenomenological tradition, where the researcher generates the themes after entering the field and collecting data by interviewing the spa employees about their feelings and experiences on emotion management. The aim is to understand how emotion management is experienced by spa employees. Hence, this research used phenomenology as the main research strategy (see for more detail section 3.5.1, p.104) to understand how spa employees experience emotion management. The researcher's task is to make sense of the interview data by analyzing the data collected (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Data Collection Process



The selection of an inductive approach for this study follows from the desire to understand the ways in which humans (spa employees: managers, receptionists, and therapists) interpret their social world. Research using an inductive approach is concerned with the context in which the event (the performance of emotion management) takes place; therefore, a small sample of subjects might be more appropriate (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). The researcher of this study is more likely to work with qualitative data and use a variety of data collection methods such as document analysis (academic literature, the spa code of conduct, and spa manual) and in-depth interviews in order to understand and establish different perspectives of the phenomena (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2008).

3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

This section focuses on the process of research design where the researcher turns research questions into a research project. The philosophical worldviews, research strategies, and research methods all contribute to a research design that tends to be of quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods (Creswell, 2009). According to Saunders *et al.* (2012), the ways in which the researcher chooses to answer her important questions will be influenced by the research philosophy and the research approach. The research questions then will inform the choice of research strategy, choice of data collection techniques and analysis, and the time

horizon of the research project. Research design is a general plan of how the researcher attempts to answer the research questions. Research design includes the objectives of the study, specifies the sources from which the researcher intends to collect data, discusses the limitations the researcher may encounter (such as access, time, location, and money), and ethical considerations.

According to Creswell (2007), a qualitative approach is simply a better fit for this study, because, firstly, a complex and detailed understanding of the management of emotion can be found by directly talking to people in the field (spa workplace) and allowing them to tell their stories/feelings/experiences. Secondly, the researcher would like to understand the contexts where the spa employees perform emotion management and their deeper thoughts and behaviours related to their responses. In addition, from the above discussion, it can be argued that a quantitative research method does not fit this particular study in a number of ways. For instance, quantitative measurements or statistics cannot explain why spa employees perform a certain type of workplace emotion rather than another in different contexts. The question of how emotions are actually managed during the customer interaction between the spa service provider and customers cannot be answered by numerical data and is difficult to capture with numbers. Finally, the measurements in quantitative methods overlook the uniqueness of spa employees in the study, which can be obtained during an interview. In summary, the goal of this research is to form a deep understanding of emotion management by certain people in the spa industry rather than getting a lot of information about many different industries and people. As a result, the characteristics of the research questions tell the researcher that the qualitative approach is appropriate.

Creswell (2014) has discussed the main characteristics that define qualitative research; firstly the natural setting where the researcher will collect data in the field (spa industry) and where participants experience workplace emotion. The researcher can get 'close-up' information from 'face-to-face interaction' by talking directly to spa employees and seeing them perform and act within their contexts. Secondly, the researcher is a key instrument who collects data by interviewing participants. Thirdly, the researcher uses multiple sources of data, such as interviews and spa related documents, to make sense of these forms of data. Fourth, the researcher builds patterns, categories, and themes inductively from the data, ranging from general to particular themes. Then the researcher works deductively by looking back at the data from the themes to find more evidence to support each theme (if there is any) or determine whether the researcher wants to gather additional information. Fifth, the researcher focuses on the meaning that the participants hold about workplace emotion, not the meaning from the researcher or the literature. Thematic analysis is an analytical tool to analyze data and will be used for the analysis of the interviews. The researcher identifies themes around the objectives of the study and the concept of emotion management (Bolton's typology). At the final stage of analysis, the themes will be refined and analysed within the context of the performance of emotion management, reflecting the spa employees' experiences.

The use of qualitative techniques to collect data is not for generalizing the findings. However, once the researcher has collected data, she may add something new to the literature (theoretical contribution) as the researcher tries to generalize the set of research results to a broader theory (Yin, 2009). Moreover, the researcher realizes that her research strategy will allow her to provide context-specific recommendations and conclusions that the spa industry can use (practical implications). Finally, the researcher of this study may reflect on her role in the study along with her personal background, culture, and experiences she has in order to shape interpretations such as themes and the meaning she makes to the data.

3.4.1 Research Ethics

This PhD thesis provides a report on interviews where the researcher protects the identities of the people she has researched and ensures that the interviewees understand and consent to the research. The researcher ensures truly informed consent by describing the research aim, objectives, and participants' behaviour in the research project (i.e. interviewees are free to leave the interview as they want and there is no harm to them and/or their job). This means that the researcher of this study does not pressure people into agreeing to participate in this study (Silverman, 2006). Moreover, the research participants are not given any reward for participation because in Thai culture this is considered to be a way to humiliate people or imply they are poor.

In this research, spa employees' identities in the spa contexts are concealed. Hence, the researcher uses pseudonyms to replace their real names and organization. Silverman (2006: 323) highlighted the 'ethical safeguards' which the researcher of this study uses as a check list and aims to achieve in ethical research: (1) this research ensures that people participate of their own free will, (2) the researcher protects people from harm and ensures mutual trust with people studied by not conveying the interviewees' true experiences and feelings to the spa owners, and (3) the researcher keeps people's comments, data, and behaviour confidential.

3.5 RESEARCH STRATEGY

Strategies of inquiry, designs or models that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design are called 'approaches to inquiry' (Creswell, 2007) or 'research methodologies' (Mertens, 1998). Creswell (2009) proposed five approaches to qualitative inquiry that are, the narrative, phenomenological, ethnographic, case study, and grounded

theory approaches (see Table 3.1). However, the choice of a research strategy is guided by philosophical assumptions, the research topic, research questions, and, time and other constraints (Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

Table 3.1: Qualitative Approaches to Inquiry

Characteristics	Narrative Research	Phenomenology	Grounded Theory	Ethnography	Case Study
Focus	Exploring the life of an individual	Understanding the essence of the experience	Developing a theory grounded in data from the field	Describing & interpreting a culture-sharing group	Developing an in-depth description & analysis of a case or multiple cases
Type of problem best suited for design	Needing to tell stories of individual experiences	Needing to describe the essence of a lived phenomenon	Grounding a theory in the views of participants	Describing & interpreting the shared patterns of culture of a group	Providing an in-depth understanding of a case(s)
Unit of analysis	Studying one or more individuals	Studying several individuals that have shared the experience	Studying a process, action, or interaction involving many individuals	Studying a group that shares the same culture	Studying an event, a program, an activity, more than one individual
Data collection form	Using primarily interviews & documents	Using primarily interviews with individuals, documents, observations, & art may also be considered	Using primarily interviews with 20-60 individuals	Using primarily observations & interviews, but perhaps collecting other sources during extended time in the field	Using multiple sources e.g. interviews, observations, documents, artefacts
Data analysis strategies	Analyzing data for stories, “restorying” stories, developing themes, often using a chronology	Analyzing data for significant statements, meaning units, textural & structural	Analyzing data through open coding, axial coding, selective coding	Analyzing data through description of the culture-sharing group; themes about the group	Analyzing data through description of the case & themes of the case as well as cross-case themes
Written report	Developing a narrative about the stories of an individual’s life	Describing the “essence” of the experience	Generating a theory illustrated in a figure	Describing how a culture-sharing group works	Developing a detailed analysis of one or more cases

Source: Creswell, J.W. (2007: 78-79)

3.5.1 Selection of Phenomenology as a Research Strategy

After considering the research philosophy, theoretical aspects, and methodological perspectives associated with the design of research, 'phenomenology' is the appropriate strategy to answer the current research aim and meet the research objectives. Defining the research aim is important for the researcher to do to prepare to select a research strategy and way of research. The preferred research strategy for this study is using phenomenology to discover the overall aim of this research by: "*exploring the range of emotions in the Thai spa industry and how they impact employees and customer service*". Phenomenological research will be used as a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher identifies the nature of human experiences about a phenomenon (the performance of emotion management) as described by participants (spa employees) (Creswell, 2009). In a phenomenological study, the very nature of a phenomenon is understood by asking "*what is the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon (emotion management) for this person or group of people (spa employees)?*" (adapted from Patton, 2002: 104). Understanding lived experiences marks phenomenology as a philosophy and a method. Phenomenological procedure involves studying a small number of subjects through extensive and prolonged engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meaning (Moustakas, 1994 as cited in Creswell, 2009). Hence, the researcher of this study will set aside her own experiences to understand those of the participants in the study, to take a fresh perspective toward the phenomenon under investigation (Creswell, 2009).

For Patton (2000), the term phenomenology can refer to a philosophy (Husserl, 1967), an inquiry paradigm (Lincoln, 1990), an interpretive theory (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000), a social science analytical perspective or orientation (Schutz, 1967), a major qualitative tradition (Creswell, 1998), or a research methods framework (Moutakas, 1994). Phenomenology offers

different concentrations: the essential meanings of individual experience, the social construction of group reality, and the language and structure of communication. However, a common focus of the phenomenological approach is on studying how people understand their experiences and change their experiences into their thought life, both as individuals and as a part of a group (Patton, 2002). Therefore, the researcher must be very methodologically careful in capturing and describing how people experience a phenomenon, considering how they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others. Data gathering should be undertaken with in-depth interviews with people who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest that is those who have 'lived experience' (Patton, 2002).

Van Manen (1990) mentioned that phenomenology tries to get more understanding of what our daily life experiences really mean. The phenomenon that is the focus of inquiry for this research is emotion management in the spa industry in Thai culture. Hence, the researcher studies how spa employees describe emotion management experiences through their senses.

Patton (2002: 106) said that:

“Phenomenologists focus on how we put together the phenomena we experience in such a way as to make sense of the world and, in so doing, develop a worldview. There is no separate (or objective) reality for people. There is only what they know their experience is and means. The subjective experience incorporates the objective thing and becomes a person’s reality, thus the focus on meaning making as the essence of human experience.”

In other words, researchers using phenomenology study how people form their worldview by grouping and arranging experiences in their minds in order to understand the world. People do not know about the world apart from their individual experiences and opinions, so there is no such thing as objective reality. People can only know their experience and what it means. This subjective reality includes objective things. People experience subjective reality, so trying to understand experiences is fundamental part of life as a person.

From a phenomenological point of view, the researcher is interested in the nature or the essence of the experience of managing emotion, so that people can better understand what a particular experience is like for customers. Hence, conducting a phenomenological study emphasizes on the things that individuals experience and their perspective on what happens to them (Patton, 2002). Van Manen noted that phenomenology research involves a dynamic interplay among several research activities. First, researchers turn to a phenomenon that interests them. In the process, they reflect on important themes that represent the nature of lived experiences. They then write a description of the phenomenon by retaining a strong connection to the topic under investigation. Phenomenology is also seen as an interpretive process where the researchers interpret the meaning of lived experiences (Cresswell, 2007: 59). The researcher of this study tries to understand the performance of emotion management from the point of view of the research participants who try to make sense of their personal and social world. The researcher then tries to make sense of what participants say.

According to Lester (1999), the purpose of the phenomenological approach is to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation. This normally translates into gathering 'deep' information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, from the perspective of the research participants. Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of subjectivity, and emphasize personal perspectives and interpretations. As such they are powerful for gaining insights into people's motivations and actions. The researcher of this study focuses on the phenomenon of emotion management performance, which may be difficult to separate from its context. Therefore, phenomenological methods are particularly effective at analyzing the experiences of individuals from their own perspectives. In order to gain insight understanding and information from participants, the researcher will establish a good rapport to gain depth of information. To conclude, phenomenology offers a

rich and deep understanding of a phenomenon that is experienced by numerous individuals (Creswell, 2007).

3.5.2 Quality of a Phenomenological Study

So far, this chapter has described philosophical assumptions, research approach, research design and strategy. This section talks about the credibility of qualitative research, based on factors such as validity, reliability, and generalizability.

3.5.2.1 Validity

Validity represents the truthfulness of findings (Altheide and Johnson, 1994) or the amount that a report correctly describes a social phenomenon (Hammersley, 1990 cited in Silverman (2006). Creswell (2014: 201) stated that validation occurs throughout the steps in the research process; however, validity in qualitative research does not have the same implications as it does in quantitative research. In qualitative research, validity means research results are tested to find out if they are correct using special methods. Silverman (2013) suggested two forms of validation to qualitative research:

*“First, comparing different kinds of data (e.g. quantitative and qualitative) and different methods (e.g. observation and interviews) to see whether they corroborate one another. This form of comparison, called **triangulation** derives from navigation, where different bearings give the correct position of an object. Second, taking one’s findings back to the subjects being studied where these people verify one’s findings; it is argued that one can be more confident of their validity. This method is known as **respondent validation**.”*

The respondent validation method requires that the research take the results back to the participants in the study to see if they agree with the researcher. If the people we are studying think we are correct, then it is more likely that we are correct. The researcher of this study has undertaken respondent validation where she brings the transcripts back to the respondents for them to see if they are correctly transcribed. Moreover, the researcher tries to validate the

research findings by taking them back to the people they have studied to see if the findings match their experience (Silverman, 2014). This was done when the researcher visited Thailand during December 2014 and January 2015. The researcher visited the spas and used the service, which allowed her to meet and talk to the spa employees (almost all of the respondents). Some of the spa therapists invited the researcher to the kitchen (backstage), sat down on the floor and had a meal together whilst talking. Some of the research respondents even became friends with the researcher (due to similar age and personality), so we met outside the spa. For instance, we went to coffee shops or restaurants together. Therefore, the researcher has had an opportunity to give the transcripts back to the research participants to reflect, comment on, or report any inaccuracies. This process was done before the researcher started to analyse the interview transcripts to ensure the validity of the data and confirm the accuracy of the interview transcripts.

However, since this research applies phenomenological strategy, the intent is to explore in-depth understanding of the individual lived experiences in relation to emotion management performance and customer service interaction. Therefore, the researcher identifies a phenomenon or human experience by collecting data from those who experience it via the use of in-depth interviews with the spa employees. This means that data triangulation cannot be done by the use of different methods (e.g. a combination of interviews with observation or survey).

3.5.2.2 Reliability

According to Hammersley (1992 cited in Silverman, 2013), reliability is a description of how consistently different observers of a phenomenon will categorize it in the same way and/or the same observer will make the same decision about the data at different times. Silverman (2014) noted that reliability answers the question of whether another researcher could follow

the same research methods and get the same results and conclusions. Moisander and Valtonen (2006) suggested two ways to enhance reliability in qualitative research. The first way is to make the way we do our research clear by completely describing our research strategy and how we analyze our data, with a lot of details when we report our findings. The second way is to pay attention to and make our theoretical approach and philosophical assumptions clear. The researcher also needs to show how her analysis and results are based on her theoretical approach and philosophical assumptions.

Silverman (2013) highlighted that firstly, the reliability of interview schedules is very important. This is achieved by making sure each respondent understands the questions in the same way and the researcher can code the answers with surety. The researcher of this study ensures this by pre-testing interview schedules during preliminary data collection in the Thai spa industry (between July and August 2013) during her visit to Thailand. Secondly, reliability of this research involves the textual data where the researcher uses categories or themes to analyse each text in the same way ('standardized way') (Silverman, 2006).

3.5.2.3 Generalization

Another concern is whether a study's findings can be generalized beyond the study itself. This term sometimes refers to '*generalization*' or '*transferability*', which means whether the findings may be equally applicable to other research settings (Saunders *et al.*, 2012) or whether the sample is intended to generalize to a larger universe (Yin, 2009). For Creswell (2009), generalizability refers to the external validity of applying results to new settings, new people, or new samples. In fact, the value of qualitative research lies in the particular description and themes that develop in the context of a specific site. Due to the collection of data from the sample of convenience from the certified and registered spas in Chiang Mai province, this research can only be generalized to employees of the spas in Chiang Mai

province (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). In a broader context, the research result of this phenomenological research may/can be generalized to other service contexts where the job roles are similar to the spa service industry.

3.6 RESEARCH METHOD

This section describes the methods the researcher adopts to explore the range of emotions in the Thai spas and how they impact employees and enhance customer service. The researcher uses a qualitative method to gather and analyse data and, considers that the phenomenological study is the most appropriate for this study to aid in understanding and exploring contemporary workplace emotion. Learning and understanding people's subjective experiences has multi-faceted importance and practical applications (Crotty, 1996). A key application of this study is that the research findings can be used to make recommendations to the spas on how to provide staff training in relation to emotion management so that the spa employees would better interact with customers and deliver good customer service (practical contribution). The phenomenological study, in practice, can proceed with small numbers of respondents (Miles and Huberman, 1994) which allows the researchers to understand the phenomenon (the performance of emotion management) in depth (Patton, 2002). Therefore, this research uses convenience method to select a number of respondents depending on people available at the time of interview. This section includes the qualitative data collection where the researcher selects interview as a method of collecting data, convenience sampling, and thematic analysis of the research findings.

3.6.1 Qualitative Data Collection: Interview

Due to the objectives of this study, an in-depth interview will be used as a method of data collection. A researcher can use interviews to get empirical data about society by asking

people about what they experience in their lives. The goal of the interview is to collect data that helps the researcher truly understand what people experience (Silverman, 2010). Research participants would be interviewed to illuminate, in greater depth, information in relation to the performance and experience of emotion management. For Burgess (1982: 107), in-depth interviews are significant because interviews allow the researcher to ask for more information to support more understanding, give a different perspective about the respondents' experiences, and collect interesting points based on their own experiences. The main purpose of using qualitative interviewing for this study is to understand the feeling, performance, and experience of emotion management from the spa individuals' perspective. The interview will be conducted on a one-on-one basis where the researcher is the interviewer and the interviewee is a spa employee.

The researcher uses semi-structured interviews to capture insights into the meaning and interpretation of phenomenal experiences of emotion management practices in accordance with the interviewee's worldview (Kvale, 1996). Easterby-Smith *et al.*, (2008) highlighted that the use of semi-structured interviews is an appropriate method when the researcher wants to (1) understand the worldview and philosophical assumptions that a person bases their opinions and beliefs about a phenomenon on, (2) work on understanding a person's situation so that the interviewer can influence the situation, and (3) find out about topics that are sensitive or secret. In this case, the interviewee might not want to talk about the topic if the interview is not private with the interviewer. The researcher would ask participants to narrate their experiences of managing their emotions within the spa during customer service interactions without directing or suggesting in any way. However, the researcher would try to encourage the participants to give a full description of their experiences, including their thoughts and feelings, along with a description of the situation in which the experience occurred.

According to Creswell (2007), in conducting phenomenological research, data will be collected from the individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. Usually, data collection in phenomenological research entails in-depth and multiple interviews with research participants. The researcher of this study will conduct face-to-face, in-depth interviews with participants (spa managers, spa receptionists, and spa therapists). These interviews are semi-structured and use open-ended questions to elicit views, feelings, and experiences from the spa employees. The open-ended questions focus on gathering data that will lead to a textural or structural description of the experiences, and eventually offer an understanding of the common experiences of the research participants (Creswell, 2007). A series of follow up prompts or topics to frame and focus the interview conversation has been prepared in advance by considering the research aim (an exploration of the range of emotions the spa employees experience and how emotions can help to enhance customer service). The aim of probing is to draw out and dig deeper personal stories, experiences, and meanings related to emotion management and customer service in the workplace from each participant.

The researcher created a list of interview topics derived from the literature as a guide before starting fieldwork. The list of interview questions started with general questions as an introduction to help the interviewees feel comfortable and the researcher can establish a rapport with the interviewees. Then, were questions about more specific topics (related to the research objectives) and a list of topics to discuss in more detail to help the interviewer understand more about the interviewees' perspectives on customer service interactions and emotion management experiences. For instance, the researcher identifies how spa employees' emotions is performed and managed within the Thai spa industry and explores how employees feel about, deal with, and experience the emotions in different situations.

The interviews were conducted in the spa's office, private room, or reception area. The interviews were face-to-face and each interview lasted 60 – 90 minutes. All interviews are confidential. To ensure confidentiality, the researcher agreed not to reveal the name and position of employees or the name of spas where they worked. The researcher uses pseudonym for each interviewee along with the job title, for instance, Daisy, Spa Manager, Janet, Spa Receptionist, and Paris, Spa Therapist. A common language (Thai or Northern Thai) was used. Prior to each interview, the researcher sought permission from the interviewees to audio record the interviews which were then transcribed. The researcher transcribed audio-recorded interview conversations as soon as possible after each visit to ensure the contextual information (the facial expression or tone of voice of the interviewee) during the interviews was kept (Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

The first questions were asked for general background information so that the interviewee could become familiar and comfortable with the interviewer (building a rapport). This helped reduce stress during the interview (Silverman, 2009). At the beginning of the interview, the researcher also told each interviewee that their names would not be shared, asked their permission to record the interview and told the interviewee that if they felt any topic was too sensitive, the researcher would stop the recording. At the end of the interview, the researcher summarized the important issues discussed and thanked the interviewee.

3.6.2 Convenient Sampling Method

Miles *et al.* (2014) noted that sampling involves decisions about which people to interview, settings, events, and social processes. A sampling decision can be based on a conceptual framework and research aim. The selection of the spa employees for this research was based on a 'convenience' or 'availability' sampling technique (Saunders *et al.*, 2012: 291) and is guided by the constraints of time and resources. Convenience sampling is done by selecting

the spa employees to interview because it is easy or they are convenient to interview because of their work schedules. This sample may correspond to the whole population of employees of certified spas in Chiang Mai province. If so, this sample allows the research to meet the research goal requiring an in-depth understanding of a single homogenous population. Moreover, this sample holds a high variation, as shown in Table 3.3. The participants include employees from all three types of spas (health, hotel, and day). Table 3.2 shows the numbers of the spa industries participated in this research.

Table 3.2: Research Participants in this Study

No.	Name of the Spa	Type of Spa
1	TG	Health
2	DS	Hotel
3	NS	Hotel
4	RS	Hotel
5	LM	Hotel
6	PV	Hotel
7	SM	Day
8	CS	Day
9	FL	Day
10	OL	Day
11	OS	Day

Source: Ministry of Public Health, updated on 30th September 2013

The research participants include 1 health spa, 5 hotel spas, and 5 day spas. And the total number of interviewees is 48 (see Table 3.3). The selection of the spa industry for this research is due to specific industry characteristics, in that the service process needs to be performed by high contact employees. By analyzing the spa industry, which involves high

levels of emotional labour performed by the spa employees, the researcher clarifies how employees' personal emotional management enhances customer service performance.

The spa industry is different from many other service industries such as hotels, restaurants, call centres, and hospitals, in terms of the purpose of the visit. It is a place for relaxation to balance body and mind (holistic retreat). Customers use the spa to enjoy the fine pleasure of pampering themselves. It is possible that the spa employees manage different types of emotion (pecuniary, prescriptive, presentational, and philanthropic) during customer interactions, which are different from other service contexts. For example, the spa employees may perform 'pecuniary' emotion management to satisfy the customer and receive tips in return. Some employees choose to maintain a professional demeanour and present the correct face using 'prescriptive' emotion management. Some other employees seek their own space to release stress, feel relaxed, and get together with other staff by performing 'presentational' or giving a gift to customers or colleagues while performing 'philanthropic' emotion management.

The aim of an in-depth interview is to understand the spa employees' experience of how they manage their emotions and cope with difficult or demanding customers (Seidman, 1998). This study does not test hypotheses and the purpose of the study is not to generalize the findings of an interview to a broader population in other contexts. Instead, the researcher aims to show the experience of research participants in enough detail and sufficient depth so that the readers can connect to that experience (emotion management), learn how experience is constituted, and deepen their understanding of the issues it reflects (Seidman, 1998). Hence, the major participants who are involved in designing, giving, receiving, or managing the service being provided, and who might otherwise be affected by it include spa managers, spa receptionists, and spa therapists. The following section justifies the selection of the spa industry for this research.

3.6.3 Identifying Field Sites

The key features of qualitative sampling usually work with small samples of people in context with in-depth study. The target population consists of spas certified by the Ministry of Public Health in Chiang Mai province, Thailand. The certification standards for Thai spas is a consideration for the researcher because the Ministry of Public Health and Thai spa associations have developed specific standards for the Thai spa industry (in 2004) and has taken this into practice – the regulation and the enforcement of industry standards via legislation. This development of guidelines and specific standards for the Thai spa industry are being developed according to the global quality of spa industry (Ministry of Public Health).

To find information about the spas, different sources were used such as the Ministry of Public Health, the Tourism Authority of Thailand, and the Thai Lanna Spa Association. There are 41 certified spas in Chiang Mai province; however, 11 spas are available to conduct the interviews. The researcher sent out a cover letter (Thai version) and supporting letter from the researcher's supervisor (English version) to all spas to secure informed consent. Table 3.3 shows the demographics of the interviewees, including 14 spa managers, 12 spa receptionists, and 22 spa therapists. Table 3.4 summarizes the research participants of this research while Table 3.5 shows the numbers of interviewees from each spa in Chiang Mai province, Thailand.

Table 3.3: Demographics of Interview Respondents

NO.	SPA	NAME	POSITION	TYPE OF SPA	AGE	GENDER	STATUS	EXPERIENCE	EDUCATION	BACKGROUND
1	TG	Daisy	Director	Health	50	Female	Married	11 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
2		Edie	Supervisor	Health	31	Male	Married	5 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
3		Neomi	Manager	Health	41	Female	Single	2 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
4		Janet	Receptionist	Health	23	Female	Single	7 Months	Bachelor	Lamphun
5		Patty	Therapist	Health	32	Female	Married	12 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
6		Nyla	Therapist	Health	55	Female	Married	10 Years	HighSchool	Bangkok
7		Ossie	Therapist	Health	55	Female	Married	10 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
8	OL and OS	Nanci	Manager	Day	30	Female	Single	3 Years	Bachelor	Lampang
9		Pamela	AstManager	Day	28	Female	Single	1.3 Year	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
10		Fiona	Receptionist	Day	24	Female	Single	6 Months	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
11		Nida	Receptionist	Day	27	Female	Married	1 Year	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
12		Sofia	Receptionist	Day	21	Female	Single	4 Months	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
13		Bunny	TpistLeader	Day	42	Female	Married	7 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
14		Lidia	Therapist	Day	50	Female	Married	5 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
15		Nila	Therapist	Day	33	Female	Married	5 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
16		Ocie	Therapist	Day	32	Female	Single	2 Years	HighSchool	Sukhothai
17	Vicki	Therapist	Day	40	Female	Married	8 Years	HighSchool	Chaiyaphum	
18	FL	Mark	Manager	Day	30	Male	Single	9 Months	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
19		Ima	Manager	Day	25	Female	Single	2 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
20		Meg	Receptionist	Day	28	Female	Married	3 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
21		Tu	Therapist	Day	35	Female	Married	5 Months	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
22	SM	Gigi	Manager	Day	32	Female	Married	9 Years	HighSchool	Phuket
23		Bella	Receptionist	Day	23	Female	Single	3 Months	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
24		Good	Therapist	Day	45	Female	Married	1 Year	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
25	CS	Neva	Manager	Day	50	Female	Married	5 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
26		Mara	Receptionist	Day	24	Female	Single	6 Months	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
27		Paris	Therapist	Day	27	Female	Married	6 Months	HighSchool	Chiang Rai
28		Yasmine	Therapist	Day	45	Female	Married	10 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
29	DV	Debbi	Manager	Hotel	37	Female	Married	11 Years	Bachelor	Phyao
30		Mazie	Receptionist	Hotel	25	Female	Single	2 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
31		Nicole	Therapist	Hotel	33	Female	Married	8 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
32	PV	Abby	Manager	Hotel	45	Female	Married	2 Years	Bachelor	Bangkok
33		Tina	Receptionist	Hotel	26	Female	Single	3 Month	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
34		Lily	Therapist	Hotel	33	Female	Married	3 Months	HighSchool	Srisaket
35		Vita	Therapist	Hotel	32	Female	Married	2 Months	Bachelor	Bangkok
36	NS	Sindy	Manager	Hotel	22	Female	Single	< 1 Year	Bachelor	Bangkok
37		Yanira	Receptionist	Hotel	23	Female	Single	10 Months	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
38		Nikki	Therapist	Hotel	26	Female	Married	4 Years	HighSchool	Machongson
39		Nelly	Therapist	Hotel	37	Female	Married	2 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
40		Tiffani	Therapist	Hotel	36	Female	Married	2 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
41	RS	Ozie	Manager	Hotel	38	Female	Single	3 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
42		Maya	Receptionist	Hotel	35	Female	Married	5 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
43		Tammy	Therapist	Hotel	42	Female	Married	6 Months	HighSchool	Korat
44	LM	Jenni	Manager	Hotel	38	Female	Married	6 Years	Bachelor	Chiang Mai
45		Olevia	Receptionist	Hotel	37	Female	Married	6 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
46		Mona	Therapist	Hotel	35	Female	Married	2 Years	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
47		Onita	Therapist	Hotel	21	Female	Single	6 Months	HighSchool	Chiang Mai
48		Carly	Therapist	Hotel	25	Female	Married	1 Year	HighSchool	Chiang Mai

Table 3.4: A Summary of Respondents

Basic Information	Manager (Total 14)	Receptionist (Total 12)	Therapist (Total 22)
<u>Age</u>			
21-25	2	7	2
26-30	3	3	2
31-35	2	1	8
36-40	3	1	3
Above 40	4	0	7
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	2	0	0
Female	12	12	22
<u>Status</u>			
Single	7	8	2
Married	7	4	20
<u>Education</u>			
High School	2	10	20
Bachelor's Degree	12	2	2
<u>Income</u>			
5,000 – 8,000 Thai Baht	0	0	12
8,001-9,000 Thai Baht	1	10	10
Above 10,000 Thai Baht	13	2	0
<u>Experience</u>			
< 1 year – 23 months	3	8	8
2-5 years	7	3	7
6-10 years	2	1	6
Above 10 years	2	0	1
<u>Background</u>			
Chiang Mai	9	11	15
Other provinces (Rustic)	5	1	7

Table 3.4 shows background information of the spa employees from three types of spa. Most of the spa managers are over 40 years old. The majority of the spa receptionists are aged between 21 and 25 years old while the spa therapists are aged between 31 and 35 years old. Within the research, there are only two male spa managers. Half of the spa managers are married while the other half are single. Almost all of the spa receptionists are single, only four of them are married. In contrast, most of the spa therapists are married, only two of them are single. Almost all of the spa managers and spa receptionists have finished undergraduate level of education whereas the spa therapists have finished high school. Income for the spa employees are varied depending on their working experiences, position, and educational level. Almost all of the spa employees are local people where they were born, lived, and worked in Chiang Mai province.

Table 3.5: The Spa Industries in this research

Spa No.	Name	Number of Interviewees				Location
		MGR	RE	PIST	Total	
1.	NS	1	1	3	5	Muang District
2.	LM	1	1	3	5	Muang District
3.	OL	1	1	3	5	Muang District
4.	OS	1	2	2	5	Muang District
5.	FL	2	1	1	4	Muang District
6.	DS	1	1	1	3	Muang District
7.	SM	1	1	1	3	Muang District
8.	RS	1	1	1	3	Muang District
9.	TG	3	1	3	7	Doi Saket
10.	PV	1	1	2	4	Mae Rim
11.	CS	1	1	2	4	Hang Dong
Total		14	12	22	48	

Note* MGR refers to Spa Manager, RE for Spa Receptionist, and PIST for Spa Therapist

Thailand is selected for the field study because of its central geographical location in Asia and its renowned, professional, hospitality service industry that everyone admires for being one of the best in the world. The service excellence of Thailand is not just about friendliness and warmth, but also about professional standards that ensure the business' success (Sawasdee magazine, September 2013). This leads to the assumption that the spa employees and any other employees in service context in Thailand have ability to manage and express positive emotions to customers. The selection of spas based on accessibility and data availability to the researcher of this study. To gain entry to the spa setting and to secure permission to study the participants, the researcher got approval from gatekeepers (spa manager and/or spa owner) to allow the research to be done. However, a research proposal and interview guidelines need to be submitted to and reviewed by the gatekeepers. Details in such a proposal include why the site is chosen for study, what activities will occur at the site during the study, how the results of the study will be reported, and what the gatekeeper

will gain from the study. These are explained in the cover letter (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992 as cited in Creswell, 2009). The following sections talk about data analysis for this research.

3.6.4 Thematic Analysis

According to Saunders *et al.* (2009), there are various techniques to analyse qualitative data as it is related to concepts and is characterized by data richness. These techniques are based on the researcher's ability to explore a subject. Data analysis in a phenomenological study is based on the data and the researcher goes through and analyzes the data from interview transcriptions, highlighting the significant sentences or quotes that offer an understanding of the way the participants experience the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). The important themes, then, are used to write a description of what the participants experienced ('textural description').

Interview analysis starts with transcribing the recorded interviews and transcriptions generate verbatim data where the researcher can find the themes related to the overall research aim. Then each question is analysed along with the themes related to that question (Krueger, 1998). After reading and re-reading the transcription, the researcher wrote an initial draft describing the data and analysis, and concludes with a summary of the results and recommendations for practice or further research. This is a standard process for analyzing and reporting interview results.

Qualitative data analysis has these important steps: understanding the thing being studied by "*defining, categorizing, theorizing, explaining, exploring, and mapping*" it, finding relationships within the data, looking for reasons for the data, and making new theories or plans for research (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002: 176). A basic 'framework' for doing the analysis of qualitative data is also called 'thematic analysis'. This framework uses a matrix to organize and bring data together to learn from it (Bryman, 2012). Thematic analysis starts

with getting to know the data (familiarization), then the researcher finds a theme (identifying a thematic framework), decides how each piece of data relates to the theme (indexing), makes a chart showing how the data is related to the theme (charting), describes the patterns in the chart (mapping), and makes explanations based on the pattern and themes that have been found (interpretation).

Familiarization, or getting to know the data, requires that the researcher reviewing all records of data collection interviews, including notes, transcripts, and recordings. Familiarization continues until the researcher is able to find things that repeat in the data, including themes, ideas and problems. Then the researcher must identify theme(s) that can be used to organize the data. The theme makes a system to separate the data into smaller pieces that are easier to understand. Then the researcher decides how to match the data to the theme based on the importance and meaning of the data. By making notes with the data about how it matches the theme, other academics can see how the researcher is matching the theme to the data and organizing it. Making notes or indexing also helps the researcher see her own assumptions to see if they are really based on the data. Then the researcher creates a table or chart. The researcher must take data from the interview transcripts and arrange it with the theme(s). This process of charting is a lot like Miles and Huberman's (1994) 'Matrix Analysis'. The chart can be based on the theme(s), research aim and objectives or the researcher's plan for writing the report. Usually, the chart is organized by theme, so that the data from each respondent is listed for all the themes, or by respondent, so that all of the themes in a respondent's data are separated. (e.g. For a thematic table Theme 1 will be the first row and each column will be a respondent and for a case based table, Respondent 1 will be the first row and each column will be a theme or issue. Finally, the researcher will analyze and explain the data based on the notes and tables created during the thematic analysis. The researcher must compare the different perceptions and descriptions of respondent's experiences, find patterns or

relationships among the data with the comparisons, and look for ways to explain these patterns using the data (See Appendix for an example of Matrix Analysis of Emotion Management, p.293).

The researcher decided to use thematic analysis to organize, study, and understand the qualitative interview data. Thematic analysis was used to create themes based on the interview data using inductive reasoning. Interview data analysis started with getting the data ready, organizing it, and then trying to understand it. The researcher got the data ready by studying her notes and the interview transcripts. Then the researcher categorized the data, found relationships between the categories, and listed the categories in a matrix. Categorization was done following pattern or thematic coding strategies (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Qualitative Data Analysis Process

The data in the qualitative analysis chapters is derived from the interviews of 48 spa employees: 14 managers, 12 receptionists, and 22 therapists, working on a busy day (it was high season at the time of the interviews). There are 11 different types of spas located in Chiang Mai province in the northern region of Thailand that participated in this research. From interviewing the spa employees, commercial feeling rules ('pecuniary' emotion management) are the first priority factor followed by professional feeling rules ('prescriptive' emotion management). They all need money for life, to support themselves and their family, and the social status of being employed. The monetary motivation ('pecuniary' emotion management) makes them feel they have to work even when they feel frustrated, disgusted, angry, insulted, and insincere because of the need to present false faces to customers. The professional feeling rules mean that they feel like skilled workers, especially the spa therapists who recognize themselves as doctors (from both health and day spas) who cure

patients and make the customers feel better and relaxed during the spa service. The following section presents the emotion management performance of the spa employees in the spa industry, Chiang Mai, Thailand. The research was concerned with exploring, understanding, and gaining deeper insights into how the spa employees actually manage and perform their emotions.

The analysis is shaped and formed around four typology of emotion management (Bolton, 2005) by explaining how the spa employees cope in each situation they experience. On reviewing the literature concerning the subject of emotion management, it was considered useful to adopt Bolton's typology of workplace emotion to describe how spa employees really manage their feelings. It is suggested that understanding of workplace emotional nature could offer insights into people's everyday working lives and that organisational workers are multi-skilled people who enable organizations to succeed in the volatile service markets (Bolton, 2005). The framework devised by Bolton shows different types of emotion management in the workplace and is used in this thesis.

3.7 LIMITATIONS

There were several potential weaknesses in this research that are out of the researcher's control and made the research design not work as well as planned so the reliability of the results is limited. First, the study was bound by time and cost constraints, which required the researcher to conduct interviews within one particular location, Chiang Mai province. The study of more provinces in Thailand would help to see the comparison of different provinces of Thailand where people have different socioeconomic profiles. This means that the findings of this study cannot be generalized to the larger population or out of the spa industry. Along with this restriction, the use of a convenient sampling means that the results of this study cannot be applied to a larger population. However, the aim of this research was not to

generalize the findings to any other service industries, except the spa itself. But using a sample of convenience enables the researcher who is familiar with the culture, way of life, local language (Northern Thai and Central Thai languages), and behaviour of the people to get rich and insightful data from the research participants.

Another limitation is time that the study conducted over a certain interval of time where a snapshot dependent on the experiences and situations occurring during that time. Due to the peak tourist period or high season in Thailand, especially in Chiang Mai province during the data collection period, there were access issues at many of the field sites. The researcher had to re-arrange and re-schedule the interviews with the spas due to the density of customers. Several times, the spas cancelled the interview dates and times and a few spas cancelled participation in this research. To overcome this, the researcher arranged the interviews on the day off of the spa employees or had a discussion with them during their breaks or on the least busy days and hours (for instance on weekdays, between 9 am. and 11 am). This might not affect the outcome of the study because conducting an interview on staff's days off also enabled the researcher to overcome the problem of a third person during the interview. At one particular spa, the spa manager (male) was present during the conversation between the researcher and spa employees (2 interviewees at this spa). He was always sitting and listening to the interviews, and for some questions he answered on behalf of the interviewee. The researcher tried to convince him to leave the interview room (a spa treatment room) because the researcher was concerned about the confidentiality and the quality of the data from the interviewee, but he insisted on staying and controlling the interviewee's responses (by using his facial expression and eye contact with the interviewee) to prevent the interviewee from saying bad things about the spa. At the end of the interview, the researcher asked the contact details from the interviewees for further information required by the researcher. Two interviewees from this spa (Ima, Manager and Meg, Receptionist) were willing to have an

interview at a coffee shop with the researcher two more times, rather than inside the spa. The researcher (since then has become friends with these interviewees) received in-depth information about how they actually feel at work and how they cope with customers. This can improve the reliability of the interview data.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter gives an overview of research methodology explaining the ontological and epistemological philosophical assumptions. The researcher also discusses data analysis employed in this research which enables the researcher to address the research aim and objectives. The strategy of inquiry includes a qualitative approach, as this chosen method was made based on the researcher's philosophical understanding (interpretivist) along with research aim and objectives, conceptual framework, and extensive literature reviews on emotion management and the customer service relationship. This research follows social constructivist and interpretivist paradigms in which individuals engage with the world they live in and they develop subjective meanings of their experiences with certain things. Within the interpretivist perspective, the researcher adopts a phenomenological research strategy to understand in-depth information regarding the performance of emotion management.

The method of data collection includes semi-structured interviews. Convenience sampling is utilized according to the availability of the spa employees. Thematic analysis is chosen and used to analyse the interview data since the interviews involve 48 research participants. The process involves coding and analyzing themes regarding the antecedents and outcomes of emotion management reviewed in the literature (Chapter 2) and the conceptual model (Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework) with different background (education, status, experience, type of spa they work for) from each type of spa (day, hotel, or health spa helps to ensure the robustness of data collection.

CHAPTER 4 : THAI SPA INDUSTRY CONTEXT

4.1 THE SPA CONTEXT IN THAILAND

This chapter of the thesis portrays the context of Thailand, the Thai spa industry, and the basic information about wages for the labour in Thailand. The evolution of spas in Thailand started in 1997 with the arrival of international operators and spa consultants who brought with them experience and expertise in establishing and managing spas (Walden-Schartz, 2003). However, the global spa industry has operated before in Thailand as this was commercializing a spa industry. The reappearance of 'back to nature' themes since 1997 and consumer preference for natural health and beauty solutions generally has refocused attention on the healing power of indigenous herbs and plants. Thai traditional healing is based on the use of herbal remedies and traditional practices such as massage and heat therapies. Many of the rejuvenating treatments offered in Thai modern spas have evolved from these ancient recipes. These include the use of hot herbal compresses or the refreshing Thai herbal steam. Thai Spas do not mean only traditional Thai massage to relieve symptoms or restore health, they also mean holistic healthcare (mind, body, and soul treatment and balancing). Herbs play an important role in the Thai spa industry today because Thai massage uses herbs to help relax tense muscles and stimulate blood circulation.

At the beginning, spas in Thailand were chiefly located in luxurious hotels serving to high class Thai people. They were established around 1994 to meet the needs of foreign visitors and the services gained popularity very soon after. That is why new spas have sprung up like mushrooms in cities and near famous attractions. Table 4.1 provides the number of spas from 2000 until 2015; this means that Thailand's spa sector has witnessed a phenomenal growth (Ministry of Public Health). Due to the steady increase in spa businesses, the government has taken on a role in spa regulation for consumer protection. This ensures the highest efficacy

and safety of services, making sure that services are given in adequate facilities, by skilled personnel using hygienic practices. The spa, therefore, needs to be certified by the Ministry of Public Health and registered as a “Certified Spa” (Patin *et al.*, 2009).

Table 4.1: Growth of Thai Spas

Year	Growth Rate in Percentage
2000-2002	64
2003-2007	25
2008	6
2009	7
2010	10
2012	6.5
2013	4.7
2014	6
2015	15

Source: *www.intelligentspa.com; www.thaispaassociation.com; Capgemini Analysis, Economist Intelligence Unit, 2013*

Service and hospitality are vital assets and are key differentiating factors attributed to Thai people. This is complemented by the friendly, caring nature and gentle ways of the Thai people. These characteristics are properly matched (in recruitment) with the spa industry’s need for service-minded staff. Since 1999, Thai spas managed to consistently secure a place in the world’s Top-Five overseas spas. In 2002 readers of *Condé Nast Traveler* voted Thailand the second best spa destination, with an overall score of 93.67%, after Australia (93.87%) (Tourism Authority of Thailand or TAT, 2003). According to the World Factbook⁴, the national GDP in 2015 is composed of 55.8% services, 32.6% industry, and 11.6% agriculture. The labour force in 2015 consisted of 51.1% service workers, 32.2% agriculture, and 16.7% industry. The portion of the workforce in the service sector has been increasing steadily from 23% in 1990 to 39.6% in 2011 (the latest date for which statistics from the World Factbook are available) (see Table 4.2: The World Factbook Figures).

⁴<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/th.html>

Table 4.2: The World Factbook Figures

Economy Overview		
GDP (2015)	Services	55.8%
	Industry	32.6%
	Agriculture	11.6%
Labour force (2015)	Service workers	51.1%
	Agriculture	32.2%
	Industry	16.7%
Spa industry (2011)	Therapeutic massage	64.4%
	Health spa	31.6%
	Beauty massage	4%
Number of Certified Spa	1,436 spa operators (2011)	
	469 spa operators (2004)	

Source: The World Factbook, 24th September, 2015

The number of spas that had registered with the Ministry of Public Health by February 2011 was 1,436, an increase of 32.66% from 2004. Certified spas had a total income of 5,000 billion Thai Baht (£97.86 billion⁵) from 469 spas in 2004. Therapeutic massage businesses make up 64.42% (925 spas) of the spa industry, spas for health 31.62% (454 spas), and beauty massage 3.97% (57 spas) (see Table 4.3). Thailand's health spas and therapeutic massage studios continue to bring large amounts of revenue into the country (the latest figures available in Bangkok Post newspaper, 2012). This means that the spa industry plays a critical role in Thailand's economic growth and has significant meaning for the hotel and tourism industry (Krungsri Bank, 2005).

Table 4.3: Certified Spas in Thailand (May 2011)

Spa Business	Number of Spas	Percentage
Thai Massage	925	64.42
Spas for Health	454	31.62
Beauty Massage	57	3.97

Source: Office of Service Business Promotion, Department of Export Promotion

The majority of the spas are mainly located in the tourist attraction provinces such as Chiang Mai, Phuket, Chonburi (Pattaya) and Bangkok. In February 2011, there were 321 spas in Bangkok and in tourist attractions 443 spas (see Table 4.4).

⁵https://www.bot.or.th/thai/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchange_rate.aspx

Table 4.4: Spa Businesses by Location

Location	Number of Spas	Percentage
Other provinces	613	42.69
Tourist Attraction Provinces	443	30.85
Bangkok	321	22.35
Bangkok Suburbs	59	4.11
Total	1,436	100

Source: Office of Service Business Promotion, Department of Export Promotion

Table 4.5: Number of Spas according to Spa Types

Types of Spa	Percentage
Day Spa	68
Hotel and Resort Spa	28
Medical Spa	3
Destination Spa	1
Total	100

Source: Office of Service Business Promotion, Department of Export Promotion

Figure 4.1 shows a map of Thailand and the major tourist destinations: Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Phuket, Pattaya, and Koh Samui.

Figure 4.1: Map of Thailand and Tourist Attractions



In addition to being a popular country for international tourists as a holiday destinations, Thailand has also earned a reputation and was called as the ‘Spa Capital of Asia’ up to now. And the Thai spa industry has been growing exponentially. In 2005, the Intelligent Spa found that from July 2003 to June 2004 there were about 3.6 million foreign customers at Thai spas. Foreign customers were 78% of total customers, with 57% of female and 43% of male customers of foreign origin (Intelligent Spa Releases, 2005). Since 2010, the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Commerce have been working together to promote

Thailand through three programs: Health Tourism Hub of Asia, Wellness Capital of Asia, and Thai Herbs for Health. The four provinces chosen for initial efforts in these health and wellness programs were Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Phuket and Suratthani (Koh Samui)⁶. These provinces are popular and fascinating places to visit for tourist destinations because of its sunny tropical beaches, world-class hotels, food, and historical culture. Bangkok is the capital city of Thailand where everybody must visit. The ancient capital city of Chiang Mai is located in the hills of northern Thailand where there is a mix of beautiful scenery and architectural reminders of its rich history back to more than 700 years. Phuket is the most famous of the Thailand beach resorts and is a very scenic island of 50 kilometres long by 20 kilometres wide. Koh Smui is Thailand's second largest island and about half the size of Phuket with white sand beaches, warm blue seas, lively nightlife and top class resorts. Figure 4.1 shows a map of Thailand as the Asia Health Tourism Hub Centre and highlights the tourist attraction provinces in Thailand. Traditional Thai massage is unique, because Thailand has an outstanding culture for providing smooth service in the Thai style and it is the only country in Southeast Asia that was never ruled by a European country. Therefore, Thais are not culturally dominated and controlled by any other nations (Siamrath newspaper, August 2012).

Selection of Thai Spa

The spa industry is chosen because the daily work routine includes interpersonal interactions between employees and customers. It is believed that spa employees are the major creator of positive or negative spa experiences for the customers. Spa experiences are often evaluated based on employees' attitudes and behaviours. The researcher selected the spa industry as the basis for this research for the following reasons: first, spas are considered a high potential business in terms of providing and supporting health services. Spa workers engage in face-to-

⁶<http://www.bangkokbiznews.com/> by Samniang posted on December 2011

face interactions with customers everyday, so they require and perform emotional labour in the workplace. Unlike other industries, the spa industry relies on close contact with customers to deliver its services. Spas are dependent on their employees to deliver a competitive advantage because they are a service business with close customer contact (Pfeffer, 1994). Today, employees are the most valuable resource for companies and the only resource that can give a company a long term competitive advantage. Products, services, and buildings can be copied, but employees are unique human beings (Effron *et al.*, 2003). So understanding the emotions of spa workers is becoming extremely important for increasing spa performance. To the researcher's knowledge, so far no research has studied the concept of emotional labour in the Thai spa industry using phenomenological research methodology. Therefore, the researcher believes that it is worthwhile effort to carry out research in this area. Second, the contribution of the findings and the body of knowledge from this research will be of interest and benefit for both the spa sector and the university where the researcher works (academically and practically).

Table 4.6: Area of Northern Thailand

Province	Area
Chiang Mai	20,107.0
Tak	16,407
Phetchabun	12,668.41
Lampang	12,534
Chiang Rai	11,678.5
Nan	11,472.07
Phitsanulok	10,815.85
Nakhon Sawan	9,597.7
Kampangpetch	8,607.5
Uttaradit	7,838.59
Mae Hong Son	6,976.65
Uthaithani	6,730
Sukhothai	6,596.09
Phrae	6,538.59
Phayao	6,335.06
Lamphun	4,505.88
Pichit	4,351.01

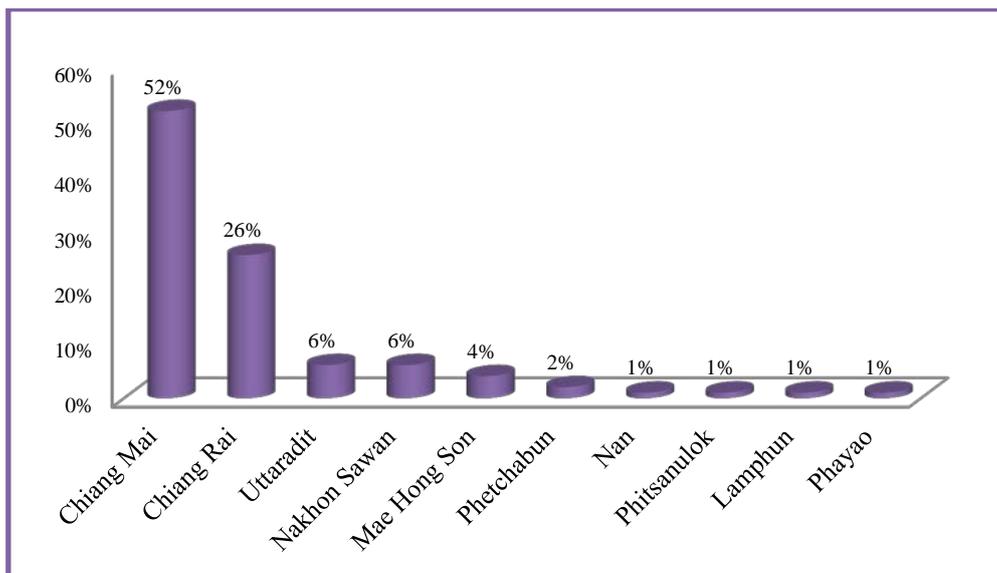
Map of Northern Thailand



Source: www.e-report.energy.go.th

According to the total numbers of the spas in the North of Thailand (see Figure 4.2), most of the spas are located in Chiang Mai province. Chiang Mai is the largest city (see Table 4.6: Area of Northern Thailand) in northern Thailand. It is known as the ‘Pearl of the North’ and has strong traditions from its past history. Chiang Mai is a population location for tourists to visit because of the beauty of nature nearby. The researcher has an understanding of the local culture (Chiang Mai) where she comes from and this allows her to get rich and insightful data from the respondents. This allows the researcher to select a wide range of spa types, for instance day, hotel, and health spas. This is desirable because it could be implied that the selection of various types of spas can help understand the various emotions used in the different spa types.

Figure 4.2: Spas in the North of Thailand



Source: Chiang Mai Province Public Health Office, October 2014⁷

⁷http://www.chiangmaihealth.com/cmpho_web53/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3071:-30-2557&catid=59:2014-01-16-09-08-40

4.2 BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT WAGES

On October 17th, 2011, the Ministry of Labour⁸ has announced the minimum wage of 300 THB per *day* or £6.06 (as £1 = 49.4563 THB⁹) to be effective from January 1st, 2013. Chiang Mai is one of the provinces that include in this announcement. Moreover, on March 1st, 2012, the 18th Central Wage Committee¹⁰ approved unanimously to raise wage rates in 22 types of jobs, based on the skill standards. This move would give workers in these work fields 11.7-42.9% pay rise, equivalent to 320 to 775 THB (£6.47 to £15.67) to be effective from April 1st, 2012 (see Table 4.7). For the service sector, wage rates will be increased by 39.5% in all work areas and at all skill levels, including the skilled spa therapists who have passed the training course. The wage for Thai massage therapist Level 1¹¹ will increase from 310 THB to 440 THB (£6.26 to £8.89) per day, from 410 THB to 580 THB (£8.29 to £11.72) per day for Level 2, and from 510 THB to 720 THB (£10.31 to £14.55) per day for Level 3. According to the Ministry of Labour, Thai massage therapist Level 1 is 18 year of age or above, with at least 150 hours of skill training on Thai massage, have provided Thai massage to at least 100 customers, and have a minimum vocational qualification in relevant field. Level 2 are those who have trained 330 hours on Thai massage and have provided massage to at least 100 customers. Level 3 includes 800 hours training on Thai massage. Three different levels of the spa therapists are classified and tested by the Department of Skill Development.

⁸http://www.mol.go.th/en/employee/interesting_information/6319

⁹https://www.bot.or.th/thai/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx

¹⁰<http://www.mol.go.th/en/content/skill-standard-wages-22-types-jobs-go-force-april-1>

¹¹<http://www.mol.go.th/en/content/ministry-labour-opens-national-skill-standard-test-thai-chefs-and-thai-massage-therapists>

Table 4.7: Wages per Day

Position	An Increased Wage Rate		Hours of Training
Spa Therapist Level 1	From 310 THB or £6.26	To 440 THB or £8.89	150 hours
Spa Therapist Level 2	From 410 THB or £8.29	To 580 THB or £11.72	330 hours
Spa Therapist Level 3	From 510 THB or £10.31	To 720 THB or £14.55	800 hours

Source: Ministry of Labour

Corresponding to the Ministry of Labour¹², wages are paid only by money and pay at least at the minimum wage. If the normal work schedules are over 8 hours per day, the employer has to pay compensation to the employees at least 1.5 times of the wage rate per hour or per work day. The compensation must be paid at least 3 times of the wage rate per hour on holidays (weekly, traditional or annual holidays). The minimum wage per *hour* for the spa therapists are between 50 and 300 THB (£1 and £6) and this wage being paid by the employer. Tips from the customers are ranging from 50 to 1,000 THB (£1 to £20) per service, depending on customer satisfaction. Paying tips are seen as the customary practice and belief for the spa therapists who pay respect to the Great Teacher. Tips are not shared by everyone; rather customers give tips for the particular therapists and they keep it themselves. The guaranteed insurance is also paid to the spa therapists when they do not work, 100 to 350 THB per day (£2⁹ to £7⁹) which will be paid on 1st and 15th monthly. This means that in a case of none or few customers, the spa therapists still get paid by the employer at least 100 to 350 THB per day. The employer wants to ensure that the spa therapists can gain at minimum wage monthly.

In reality, the spa managers have a base income 20,000 THB per *month* (£404), the assistant spa managers and spa supervisors have a base income 12,000 THB per month (£243), the basic monthly income for the spa receptionists is 8,500 THB (£172), and monthly income for

¹²http://www.mol.go.th/en/employee/interesting_information/6389

spa therapists is 5,500 THB (£111). The managerial positions are being paid the position allowance (allowed by the spa owners), for instance, spa manager have 5,000 THB per month (£101), assistant spa managers and spa supervisors have 3,000 THB per month (£61). While the spa therapist supervisors have a base income 7,000 THB per month (£142) and position allowance is 2,000 THB per month (£40) and the spa therapist leaderships have a base income 6,500 THB per month (£132) and position allowance 1,500 THB per month (£30).

Table 4.8: Monthly Base Income for Spa Positions

Spa Managers or Spa Director	Assistant Spa Managers or Spa Supervisors	Spa Receptionists	Spa Therapist Supervisors	Spa Therapists Leadership	Spa Therapists
20,000 THB or £404	12,000 THB or £243	8,500 THB or £172	7,000 THB or £142	6,500 THB or £132	5,500 THB or £111
Position Allowance					
5,000 THB or £101	3,000 THB or £61	-	2,000 THB or £40	1,500 THB or £30	-

Both spa managers and spa receptionists receive additional monetary income (see Table 4.9: Additional Money for Spa Employees, p.138) from service charge (10% of the spa treatment price), commission from selling the spa menus (between 2,000 and 4,000 THB or £40 and £81 per month), bonus from selling gift voucher and member card (80% for those who sell and 20% for other members of staffs, except spa managers), sale target (every day from 50 THB or £1 per day per person up to 500 THB or £10 per day per person), overtime (OT) working hours (50 THB or £1 per an hour), and tips from customers and tour guides (divided to all receptionists, except spa supervisors, spa assistant managers, and spa managers). While the spa therapists receive additional money such as tips from customers (receive individually and privately from customers), massage hours (start from 40 THB or £0.81 per hour up to 90 THB or £1.82 per hour according to the massage skills), service charge (10%), overtime working hours (25 THB or £0.5 per hour which is approximately another 10,000 THB or £202 per person per month). The Thai Oasis School will have a massage test to upgrade their skills and increase the massaging hour's payment. The therapist will be called to have a test according to their working experience.

Table 4.9: Additional Money for Spa Employees

Additional Income	Payment	Spa Managers	Spa Receptionists	Spa Therapists
Service charge	Per package	10% of the spa treatment price		
Commission	Per month	Btw 2,000 and 4,000 THB or £40 and £81		-
Bonus	Per month	-	80% for seller & 20% for other members	-
Sale Target	Per day	Btw 50 THB and 500 THB or £1 and £10		-
Tips	Per day	-	Shared	Individually
Overtime	Per hour	50 THB or £1		25 THB or £0.5
Massage Hours	Per hour	-	-	From 40 THB or £0.81 to 90 THB or £1.82

To sum up the monthly income for each position of the spa employee (see Table 4.10), the spa managers receive a base income (20,000 THB or £404 per month), position allowance (5,000 THB or £101 per month), 10% service charge (average 3,000 THB or £61 per month), commission (average 3,000 THB or £61 per month), sale target (average 300 THB or £6 per day * 24 = 7,200 THB or £145 per month from working 24 days, 6 days a week), and overtime (average 4 hours a day * 50 THB or £1 = 200 THB per day and 4,000 THB or £81 per month), excluding tips, bonus from selling gift voucher and member card. Hence, the spa managers receive 42,200 THB or £853 per month, excluding tips and bonuses.

Spa receptionists receive a base income (8,500 THB or £172 per month), 10% service charge (average 3,000 THB or £61 per month), commission (average 3,000 THB or £61 per month), sale target (as same as spa manager: average 7,200 THB or £145 per month), and overtime (as same as spa manager: average 4,000 THB or £81 per month). Overall, the spa receptionists receive 25,700 THB or £520 per month, excluding tips and bonuses.

Spa therapists receive a base income (5,500 THB or £111 per month), 10% service charge (as same as spa manager: average 3,000 THB or £61 per month), overtime (average 4 hours per day and 25 THB or £0.5 per hour = 100 THB or £2 per day * 23 days = 2,300 THB or £47 per

month), and massage hours (125 hours per month * 65 THB per hour = 8,125 THB or £164 per month). Therefore, the overall monthly income for spa therapists is 18,922 THB or £383 per month), excluding tips from customers and position allowance for those in managerial positions. Please note that the spa therapists have three chances to refuse working overtime, hence the average monthly payment for overtime is calculated from 23 days as they work 26 days per month. However, the performance appraisal for spa therapists is at 85%, if one fails to reach this standard the spa owners will deduct 10 THB or £0.2 from massage hours. For instance, if therapist A gets 60 THB for massage hours, she will get 50 THB.

Table 4.10: Monthly Income for Spa Employees

Income Sources	Spa Managers	Spa Receptionists	Spa Therapists
Base Income	20,000 THB or £404	8,500 THB or £172	5,500 THB or £111
Position Allowance	5,000 THB or £101	-	-
Service Charge	3,000 THB or £61	3,000 THB or £61	3,000 THB or £61
Commission	3,000 THB or £61	3,000 THB or £61	-
Sale Target	7,200 THB or £145	7,200 THB or £145	-
Overtime	4,000 THB or £81	4,000 THB or £81	2,300 THB or £47
Massage Hours	-	-	8,125 THB or £164
Total *excluding tips	42,200 THB or £853	25,700 THB or £520	18,922 THB or £383

The above paragraphs show that the spa owners pay more than the minimum national wage of 300 THB or £6.06 per day according to the Ministry of Labour's law. The spa managers get 42,200 THB or 1,623 THB per month, the spa receptionists get 25,700 THB or 988 THB per month, and the spa therapists get 18,922 THB or 727 THB per month, excluding tips and bonuses.

CHAPTER 5 : PECUNIARY EMOTION MANAGEMENT

“Monetary servitude”

Overall, the characteristic of ‘pecuniary’ for the Thai spa context is ‘monetary servitude’ because the spa employees have a feeling of humiliation or when they have to show a nice emotion in order to get money but being cynical about it. This category is defined as the management of emotions based on commercial feeling rules imposed by an organization (Bolton, 2005). Hochschild (1983) defined ‘emotional labour’ as the way the service providers induce certain feelings to customers. Hebson *et al.* (2007) noted that the main characteristic of this form of work is that emotions performed by employees were utilized for the company’s profit as part of the labour process. The performance of this category requires the employees who work in routine and face-to-face service jobs to fulfil organizational objectives. In this way, the spa business establishes codes of conduct that dictate the expected emotional expressions when interacting with customers (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). The codes of conduct of the spa employees are to create the gentle and courteous ambience that pervades all to create a magical place where beautiful and gracious people provide the ultimate in personal service without pretentious airs¹³. However, it is difficult to show positive emotions or smiling face at all times. It is found that most of the spa employees feel alienated to habitually comply with organization’s rules, resulting in cynical and robotic performances where they have no feelings during the service interactions. More importantly, they have to show and maintain a nice face and pleasant working environment, even though they are treated badly (not even like a human sometimes) like a slave but they are given a salary of wage. This could be something to call ‘wage slavery’. This is also commonly linked

¹³<http://www.oasisspa.net/philosophy/beginning/>

to resistance, cynicism, humiliation, and conflicts at work as they perform ‘pecuniary’ category.

First, the researcher draws on the commercial feeling rules to present the ‘indoor labourer’ where the spa workers see themselves as labourers who use a lot of energy to provide massage. To strengthen this theme, the ‘monetary motivation’ is discussed, which, in turn, leads to the performance of ‘cynicism’ and ‘habitual compliance’ performances. As a result, the illustration of ‘conflict and resistance’ is explained. The new emerging theme which is similar to Bolton’s (2005) and Hochschild’s (1983) ‘alienation’ is showed. The appropriate terminology that best describe the feelings of the spa employees is called ‘humiliation’ where spa’s people are being insulted (physically and emotionally).

5.1 INDOOR LABOURER

The terminology ‘indoor labourer’ is received from the spa therapists who explain the nature of spa work as hard as labour because they have to use effort and energy to massage customers. The researcher then translated the term from what the spa therapist have said from Thai language to English language. The original Thai word is “*rang gnan nai rom*”, where ‘*rang gnan*’ means labourer and ‘*nai rom*’ means indoor. Indoor labourers are perceived as people who work hard (physical labour or massaging) and work long hours (more than the standard working hours per day) like an unskilled outdoor labourer. The interviewees feel that they ‘must do’ their work, regardless how they feel. This means that providing a spa service involves both physical and emotional labour (Chan, 2011). However, this emerging theme is found within the luxurious Day Spa where its employees attempt to provide the ‘Ultimate Spa Experience’ in a combination of the long working hours due to its popular spa in Chiang Mai. While they have to present a smiling face and satisfy customers’ needs:

“We have both regular and walk-in customers; the latter come with the spa brochure and want to experience relaxation feeling as promoted in the ads. We have to afford whatever they demand for, such as weight of massage, the focus area on a body, room temperature, light, and even wearing them their shoes. At the end of the day, every day, I feel exhausted for both my body and mind” (Nila, Therapist)

This research has a contradictory result as to the research in the Shenzhen spa, China where Chan (2011) argued that the masseuses did not have negative outcomes such as burnout, mental fatigue when performing emotional and physical labour. The Thai spa employees in this research felt drained at the end of the day because they had to work longer hours than the standard hours:

“When I first worked here I felt exhausted because I have to massage 7 or 8 hours a day. But now I get used to it because I accepted the nature of spa therapist job.” (Onita, Therapist)

The above quotes show that the spa employees comply with spa service and nature of job, resulting in the presentation of imposed performances. They are not allowed to show their authentic selves in the frontstage during customer interaction. Compliance performance and imposed organizational identity also helps to ensure the spa employees provide the same level of service standard and it is easy to monitor or evaluate their performances.

When customers say they want to use the spa service for relaxation, they mean they just want massage and they pay for massage and the location of the spa. The spa, then, fulfils customers' need with the exceptional size of the treatment room and shower areas while remain in harmony with the environmental and cultural ambience of the surrounding neighbourhood. The spa therapists always ask if customers feel comfortable with room temperature, music, light, and weight of massage. This to ensure quality of customer service and quality of service provided to customers.

There is an expectation that the spa employees are 'subservient' as in Bolton and Boyd's (2003) and Hochschild's researches where the airline industry has taught the flight attendants to be very subservient towards passengers. In order to perform the work role more efficiently, the cabin crew are asked to act as a servant where customer is a master. Thompson *et al.* (2008) stated that emotion workers enact in commercial feeling rules when providing services because the 'customer is always right' (sovereign customer). Some of the spa customers demanded (not asked) the spa employees to take the shoes and underwear off for them and wear socks for them:

"It was awful when the VIP customer or the boss's friends use our spa services and treated me like a slave. They expected us to pamper them and do everything for them, i.e. one gay customer asked me to wear his underwear and socks. I was bitter because I couldn't refuse him. When I used the hot herbal compress along his body, he asked me to focus only on his ass by claiming that he spent long hours driving. I felt disgusted, but what else I can do except pamper him. I had no choice." (Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader)

The majority of the interviewees who work in Day Spa highlighted that they have to provide a high quality services in order to meet customers' demands. Since this particular spa is located in the middle of the city of Chiang Mai, it inspires a high volume of customers and provides a high standard of customer service. Therefore, most of the spa employees, especially the spa therapists, feel drained when performing emotional labour as part of their jobs. As reviewed the literature in Chapter 2, Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour means that the feeling of employees belong to the organization, rather than to individual. Therefore, the spa workers are estranged from their own feelings and their own labour by performing either surface acting or deep acting (Lopez, 2006). The estrangement can be seen as a form of surface acting where the spa workers feel their emotional displays are as phony or as a form of deep acting where the spa workers modify their internal feelings for rewards in return.

The majority of the spa employees in this particular Day Spa further added that they have a chance to refuse working overtime 3 times within a month. If it exceeds this condition, the spa owners will lower or (most of the times) deduct their overall performance evaluation and monthly income. Hence, most of them have to work longer hours than the standard regardless how they feel and whether they want to do or not. This also means that the spa employees have to constantly show a positive facial expression and manner; one way of doing this is to present a smiling face (surface acting) to ensure that good customer service is being provided to the customers. However, it is discovered that most of them feel emotionally exhausted and estranged from their own true feelings:

“When I applied for a job here, the boss said he would look after the therapists the best because we made money for the spa. In reality, I had a feeling that the spa treated me like a buffalo, but a buffalo that worked indoors. It was so dreadful. I was not excited to work here, however I needed money for my life, money to improve my life” (Lidia, Therapist)

“This spa used us as hard labour, we had to work from 8 a.m. until 10 p.m. every day while someone had to work like this for a week. I absolutely mean that it was a tough job and I felt so exhausted like all the other therapists feel. The therapists who worked here had to work very, very hard, like we were indoor labourers. This spa expected us to work harder and harder, I felt that it was the hardest labour in a spa in Chiang Mai. We had to work extra hours (overtime) even though we didn’t want to.” (Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader)

“It is too much work for me each day, some days I have to provide massage for 10 to 11 hours. I am very drained, I felt uncomfortable and coerced but I have to work because money is my biggest need in life. Sometimes I think that an unskilled labourer is better off than I am because he has a proper break to have his lunch at noon. For me, I have to work longer hours and cannot have lunch. I just feel like I am an indoor labourer.” (Vicki, Therapist)

According to the Ministry of Labour¹⁴, the standard working hours is 8 hours per day or by the employer and the employees agree not exceed 48 hours per week. The interval during normal working includes at least 1 hour per day after the employees have worked more than 5 consecutive hours or may be agreed from time to time but should not be less than 1 hour per

¹⁴http://www.mol.go.th/en/employee/interesting_information/6389

day. If the employees work overtime (at least 2 hours overtime), 20 minutes break must be given before they start working overtime. A weekly holiday is at least 1 day per week. This is always happen in the spa business because it is controlled by the Ministry of Labour. However, if this does not happen, the spa employees do not and will not complain because they fear for losing job and they need/work for money. This is common in reality within the Thai social context.

The terminology 'indoor labourer' comes under Bolton's category of 'pecuniary' emotion management because the high percentage of the spa employees are being paid to smile and act like they care about the customers even when they do not feel like to do so. They are required to display pleasant emotions to customers and deliver an attractive emotional situation for customers (Bolton, 2005). Moreover, they are seen as the 'emotional proletariats' whose work is repetitive, low-skilled, and controlled by the spa management. It can be argued that the spa employees, especially the spa therapists have skills since they have to go for the Thai massage training course at least 150 hours. However, they are seen as low-skilled because people in the Thai society perceive they have low educational level which is not enough. This research is similar to Toerien and Kitzinger (2007) that employees are underpaid when the therapists working on the body of customers performing emotional labour.

The 'Indoor labourer' in the Thai spa context is interpreted as someone who works longer than normal working hours, but the work setting is under the roof with the air-conditioned. This terminology reflects the feeling of the spa therapists where they found their jobs need effort and energy to massage parts of the body, joints, and ligaments. It is all about massage techniques and massage quality to heal certain pains for customers. This reflects the spa therapists are not low-skilled employees, but the expert because they always learn on the job

and from their own experiences. The interviewees feel that the spas ask them to expend all of their effort and time at work so that the spa can get a large amount of customers and maximize profit. This implies that the spa industries do not obey the law enacted by the Ministry of Labour about the employee rights to have a proper break during lunch time and even before they start to work overtime. This is the reason why the spa workers have to seek their own spaces (at the backstage) for their physical and emotional comfort to release tension and refresh themselves and get ready for the frontstage performance (see detail in Chapter 6: 'Prescriptive' emotion management and Chapter 7: 'Presentational' emotion management).

It is found that the spa employees may show a genuine smile or a fake smile depending on the situation and whom they are meeting. For instance, they may show the fake smile to demanding and irate customers while they show sincere smile to nice and polite customers. Considering whom the employees meet, they will have to show smiling face (either fake or genuine) because they realize customers come and pay to receive good experiences and services from the spa. In addition, they may show fake smile, rather than genuine smile, due to the dissatisfaction with working hours. This, in turn, affects the customer service performance if customers rate them 'poor' in the feedback form when customers detect the insincerity of the service provision from the spa employees. However, for some customers, they still give 'good' or 'average' performance without distinguishing between genuine or fake smiles once the perception of the service meets their expectations.

5.2 MONETARY MOTIVATION

The presentation of organizationally imposed performances and complied with the spa service standard mean that the spa employees' feeling and acting belong to the organization. The researcher of this study agrees with the previous scholars (Hochschild, 1983; Lopez, 2006) that emotional labour as a form of surface acting leads to the feeling of estrangement

and the performances are insincere. But who really cares if customers are satisfied with the services (and repeat purchase) and spas still receive large amount of income on a daily basis? From interviewing with the spa employees, it is obviously seen that they perform ‘pecuniary’ category and engage in surface acting because they want to earn money. This is where the whole thrust of this chapter talks about ‘monetary servitude’ where the spa employees are acting on.

All of the respondents highlighted that even though they feel the customer service is subservient, money is the main factor they need to make their lives go on. They further stated that they worked for money even though customers looked down on their profession, the spa therapists feel disgusted when customers asked for erotic massage, or they felt like an indoor labourer. One of the spa managers narrated her frustrating experience with a demanding customer:

“Actually our spa does not provide body waxing even though we had equipment because the son of the spa owner always came and used waxing service. One female customer came and asked for a bikini body wax. Once when the spa therapist finished waxing her legs, she complained that there was still the hair on her shin. I then told the spa therapist to remove more but the customer wasn’t happy and started to feel irritated. During that time, I also felt annoyed and wondered why I had to put up with this demanding customer but still keep myself calm and polite, I couldn’t show that I was angry with her. While the therapist provided facial treatment, the customer asked her to remove more of her eyebrows, which were already very thin, but the customer wanted to remove more to make a nicer shape. Then, while finishing one side, the customer again complained that the spa therapist removed too much of her brows, which she didn’t like. I tried to touch and feel her eyebrow, but she yelled at me and told me not to touch her. I was shocked and lost my confidence, but I had to stay still and try to solve the problem. The only thought that came to my mind was that I needed money from her because she had already used our services. However, I could only charge her for the treatment that she was satisfied with (leg waxing) so I asked her to pay half price because I wanted to stop serving her.” (Ozie, Manager)

The quote here reflects O’Donohoe and Turley (2006) by arguing that Hochschild (1983) placed emotions on the company agenda where employees are commanded/obliged to manage their emotions for commercial purposes. The spa manager stated at the end of the

conversation with the researcher that she has learnt from this incident on how to cope with it in the future. Since the spa is not fully-equipped with the waxing service, she and all of the spa employees have to remove waxing treatment from the spa menu and refuse to provide this service if returning customers visit the spa. This is a protection of customer complaint and show that spa provider can provide services efficiently. It is suggested that the spa should not only have concern for profits, but also the quality of service and the emotions felt by its employees if customers are irritated and spread negative rumours about the spa and its employees. The end of the quote captures that the interviewee show cynical performance and still give smile to customers even she felt annoyed, but she is scared if customers complain to the hotel.

Another interviewee noted that:

“Often, male customers come and ask for ‘special massage’, they say ‘I want a beautiful young therapist’. In reality, we have to refuse customers because we are a spa, not just any massage place. However, when in a private treatment room where no one can see what is going on, the spa therapist may provide sexual massage in exchange for money. I was shocked when I first worked here and a customer asked this. It is disgusting and I felt those customers have a mental disorder. It is frightening really.” (Meg, Receptionist)

Meg performs ‘pecuniary’ emotion management where her motivation is money. The response from Meg when asked how she interacts and copes with customers when they asked for special massage (from the receptionists) is consistent with Chan’s (2011) TCM masseuse interviewees. Chan argued that customers have few chances to observe the facial and bodily expression of the masseuse; hence, voice and touch from the masseuse are the only apparent aspects. Such this environment, the private performance of the employees in the treatment room is not subjected to surveillance from management or other customers (Chan, 2011). This allows employees (therapists or masseuse) to have a high degree of autonomy to present different identities and roles as part of their interactions with customers.

According to the information provided about wages of spa employees (Table 4.7, Table 4.8, Table 4.9, and Table 4.10) the spa employees have multiple ways to receive monthly income; some of the spa receptionists shared their views regarding monthly income and tips from customers:

“We all expect extra money or tips from customers and I think it affects the way we provide customer service. Unfortunately, it depends on customer satisfaction with the services from spa receptionists and spa therapists. At this spa we do not have a tip box like many other spas, we only have a donation box for foundations and associations. I sometimes feel dispirited because customers always give tips to the spa therapists in the private treatment room. As the spa receptionists, we only receive service commission from selling spa packages. If the spa therapists do not receive tips from customers, they always come to me and grumble about their ‘Tough luck!’ saying ‘I do heavy massage and use a lot of my energy to rub their body, but I do not get any tips from customers.’ When this happens, I appease them by saying that ‘not receiving any tips is better than receiving customer complaints.’ I sometimes feel it is ludicrous when customers give 10 Thai Baht (£0.20¹⁵) that we have to divide among three spa employees.” (Meg, Receptionist)

“If the customers give me a tip before a treatment, I will provide a better service. I will do whatever they ask me to do because my heart smiles for money. I just feel encouraged and like I have spirit to work for them. In contrast, I felt a bit strange if they do not give me a tip. However, if they do not want to give a tip, I expect them to give me excellence service performance review on the customer satisfaction index because this tiny paper influences my monthly income.” (Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader)

The quotes above show that the spa employees (both spa receptionists and spa therapists) expect tips from customers. However, when customers do not give them tips, it can influence how they perform customer service. For instance, they may show fake smile (surface acting) to customers after finish the spa treatment if they do not receive any tips. In contrast, they may show sincere smile during and after the treatment (as their heart smile for money) if customers give them tips. As Bunny said, she prefers good comment in ‘Customer Satisfaction Index’ form, if customers do not give tips. This form influences the monthly performance appraisal from the spa managers and spa owners. Since the spa set the standard

¹⁵[https://www.bot.or.th/english/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=feed:+bankofthailanddailyforeignexchangerates+\(bank+of+thailand:+daily+foreign+exchange+rates\)](https://www.bot.or.th/english/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=feed:+bankofthailanddailyforeignexchangerates+(bank+of+thailand:+daily+foreign+exchange+rates))

performance at 85% and if one gets below than 85%, the spa owner will deduct money from their incomes. This is all linked between customer service and pays the spa employees receive.

Consistent with Chan's (2011: 12) research that the TCM masseuses explain they perform expert role to show that they are paying attention to customer's body with prompts such as asking customers questions like 'How does it feel here?' and 'This place is quite sore. I am going to press a little harder. Tell me if you feel any pain.' However, one of the masseuses noted that she had to work hard on her emotions when one customer said 'I am paying you to treat my body, not to answer your questions.' This customer, hence, ended up with paying no tips at the end of the treatment where the masseuse considered the customer is very ungracious act because tipping is expected. This can lead to the performance of customer service which may be performed below the standard or just 'surface acting' in the monotony of a long hour massage. In contrast, some of the masseuses choose to perform 'deep acting', in both frontstage and backstage, where they try to experience the emotions they want to show to regular or returning customers, not for new customers. This is because the masseuses considered themselves having really good massage skills and ability to take care customers' body (i.e. sympathetic) to make customers return to them (customers stick with the same masseuse).

The spa receptionist stated that she felt discouraged because her monthly income is decreased and this brings negative influence to the way she interacts with customers. It is showed that she engages in cynical performance or surface acting while she works:

“One thing that makes me feels discouraged and feel like giving up is my monthly income. I used to get around (28,000 THB or £566¹⁵ a month) but now I only get £300. Actually I get 8,000 THB (£162¹⁵) as my base monthly income, but I receive commissions from selling spa packages, service charges from customers, and monthly target bonuses from the spa. The spa owner now sets a higher monthly target, which I think is so ludicrous since he knows we cannot reach it (170,000 THB or

£3,437¹⁵ per day). The number of customers is the same. It's as busy as usual so I know the monthly income should stay the same, but it is not. The spa owner takes advantage of us, I feel I do not want to work and I only put half-hearted effort into my work. He ruins my heart and I think I will not work for him wholeheartedly." (Nida, Receptionist)

The spa therapist shared her money motivation, saying that:

"I felt isolated from the colleagues here; I had no friends here because I didn't trust anyone. They always found me guilty even when I did the right thing. The spa supervisor asked me to move to another branch just because it was closer to my husband's workplace. However, I didn't want to go. Eventually I decided to transfer to another branch because one male therapist threatened me by holding a knife and walked closer to me, held my neck and stared at me as if he wanted to kill me. This incident made me feel unsafe and I thought I had to go away from here. I worked for money, I wanted money for my life and my family, I didn't want to fight with anyone here (tears flow and crying)." (Lidia, Therapist)

The quote from Nida shows that she feels discouraged and wants to quit her job because she receives lower monthly income than usual. She performs cynical performance during customer interaction as she said she only puts half-hearted effort into her work. While Lidia feels isolated and does not trust anyone in the spa, as a result, she may perform cynical act because she only works for money. The performances from these two interviewees show that they fake/insincere to provide good quality service to customers, but during the service encounter, they have to comply with the spa standards by giving a nice smile and show friendliness to customers to satisfy customer.

Another interviewee noted that she has to carry on the regular massage skill test to increase her massage hour rate. She has positive attitude about update training which eventually brings her more wages. This shows that she is acting according to certain accepted spa standards (compliance). In addition to the monetary motivation, Ocie performs 'presentational' emotion management where she learns the social norms and agrees to behave in the same ways as other spa therapists do:

“I was delighted to work as a spa therapist even though I was forced to remember all the spa massage positions and spa packages. In addition, I had a test with the therapist teacher every six months in order to improve my spa skills and raise my hourly massage hour rate. However, I didn’t feel stressed or discouraged because I always thought that if the other therapists could do this job then I could do it as well. It was an axiom or set of rules that I accepted before I started to work here.” (Ocie, Therapist)

Stealing customers is another theme that emerged from the interviewees where it is one way to earn additional money. Some of the spa therapists ‘steal customers’ from the spa and this can be seen as one form of resistance against the spa rules. They perform not only ‘pecuniary’ emotion management (to gain monetary compensation from the spa), but also ‘presentational’ emotion management to create entrepreneurial opportunities to gain money from customers independently. Based on interviewing the spa employees, especially the spa therapists, it is found that some of them take regular customers away from the spa by giving out their personal phone numbers to the spa customers. In this case, customers can go and receive massage at the therapist’s house and pay less money for the treatment. This is, let’s say, ‘black market’ where it serves therapists’ benefit where they can earn more money and provide massage at their own time and leisure. Those therapists who are able to do this means that they have invested their own money and effort to have their own massage bed, aroma oil, or any other equipment materials at home and ready for customers to come in. Some of the interviewees described this type of event:

“Next time, you don’t have to come here. I will invite you to my house and I can give you full body massage. I just live near this spa. I don’t want you to pay for an expensive treatment here.” (Ossie, Therapist)

“I sometimes work as a freelance therapist. I run around Chiang Mai and provide massage. This is my phone number, call me if you want a massage and I can come to your house.” (Yasmine, Therapist)

To provide massage at their own places also reflects the ‘true self’ where the spa therapists can be themselves at their own convenient place and feel comfortable at home. This is probably leading to the sincere performance while they engage in ‘presentational’ emotion

management. However, the spa employees are not allowed to give personal contact numbers to the customers or tell customers to request them when they return to the spa. It is prohibited to exchange contact details and meet up outside the spa because it is too precarious for the spa if a spa employee does something against the spa's rules, something not appropriate that might give the spa a bad reputation without the organization's knowledge. This destroys the reputation of the Thai spa industry, however, some of the spa employees do, and it is difficult to control this behaviour since spa service is conducted in private treatment room between two parties (therapist and customer). One of the spa therapists highlighted that:

“We are not allowed to give personal phone numbers or email addresses to the customers because it is perilous. If we do something wrong, it creates a bad reputation for the spa industry. Spa therapists have to provide massage within the spa, not outside. If someone is found guilty of breaking this rule, the spa will expel them. Sometimes, customers buy something for me, such as a necklace, because they like my service, but I have to refuse them. In addition, customers cannot request a particular spa therapist just because she is beautiful or does good massage. The spa has to be run according to the work schedule. It brings scandal to the spa industry if one particular customer always requests me and (s)he gives me 500 THB tips, and one day I call in sick and (s)he has to receive treatment from another therapist but doesn't give a tip. That spa therapist may be curious about whether I offer him special massage or a hand job so that he gives me a tip.” (Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader)

We usually need money for the four requisites for life (clothes, shelter, food, medicine), money is essential for life. In modern economies, money can be the only way to get these things. Some people work for money to survive, while others work for money to support their family and meet any other responsibilities. In the Thai spa workers context, the spa employees expect to receive commission from selling spa packages, bonuses for reaching the monthly target, tips from customers, and written admiration in the customer feedback form. These are related to money where the spas give bonuses based on the feedback forms. These all reflect the money that they wish to earn as part of their job. However, all forms of additional money depend on customer satisfaction and this leads to the expression of positive emotions and suppress negative or true feelings. A production of customer contentment is to

obtain a service performance evaluation from customers and the spa owners. Some of the spa employees express positive emotions because they are afraid of customer complaints which will influence their monthly income.

In the premium grade spas (by stars (1-5) given from the Ministry of Public Health) and hotel spas, a 10% service charge is included in the spa treatment prices, so the spa employees do not expect to receive tips from customers. From the interviews, tips are seen as compensation from customers to employees (either receptionists or therapists) give to the employees for them being hard working; it is not a cultural practice in Thailand. Again, the quotes capture the importance of commercial feeling rules and this, in turn; affect the performance of emotion management and customer service.

5.3 HABITUAL COMPLIANCE

It is true to say the spa employees perform emotional labour in exchange for value, which is money. Working harder or longer hours means they could earn more money. While working hard, they have to ensure they abide by the organizational rules and service standards. For Hochschild (1983), the organizationally expected emotions refer to display rules which may be implicitly, informally, or explicitly stated in the training, company manuals, or company statements. In line with Bolton (2005), to create an attractive emotional situation, service workers work on their own emotions at the same time as they follow the required commercial feeling rules and organizational display rules.

In the spa industry, display rules are implicit because they are not clearly written in the staff manual, staff meeting, or training courses. The spa owners mention to the spa employees that ‘You should have smiley face and be friendly, polite, and courteous to your customers’ and ‘We aim to provide the best service and satisfy customers’ (from interview with Nida,

Receptionist). However, the company statement is explicitly written in staff manuals giving to spa employees on the orientation day, including an attempt to be the best Thai day spa in Asia, delivering a personal and unforgettable Thai Lanna spa experience customers.

Similar to Hochschild's (1983) flight attendants where pilot spoke of the smile as the flight attendant's asset. This is also means that they are trained to follow the airline's display rule:

“Important to smile. Don't forget smile...Now girls, I want you to go out there and really smile. Your smile is your biggest asset. I want you to go out there and use it. Smile. Really smile. Really lay it on.”
(pilot at Delta Airline, p.4)

Flight attendants are trained to control passengers' feelings when the turbulence occurs during the flight (Hochschild, 1983).

The majority of the spa employees highlighted that complying with the spa's display rules helps them to accomplish their tasks and perform to the expected standard. However, the spa managers have to ensure that the spa employees comply, stay within the set guidelines, and perform the jobs as expected through the monthly performance evaluation. This research confirms that display rules and feeling rules have an impact on the performance of emotion management and hence, customer service.

This research shows the similar result as Hebson *et al.* (2007), but the perceptions of the spa employees were not as strong as their term 'embodied approach'. For Hebson *et al.* (2007), teachers used an embodied approach to their pupils, the heads, and the supervisors who demanded a more standardized approach. Teachers felt this was undermined during monitoring mechanisms because they had to perform emotion work which is increasingly prescribed; it was not about the relationship they establish within the classroom with students. The spa employees, however, perceived their work as routine and they are required to comply with the certain display rules. The spa employees are required to perform perfunctory and

prescribed manners during the service encounter; hence, they had to perform emotion work in the ways they felt would have the approval of monitoring control of the management (i.e. performance appraisal). As Harris *et al.* (2011: 480) noted that the performance evaluation within service management/marketing aims to strengthen management control and maximize efficiency for customer loyalty and retention and for feedback to shape future performances. Thus, this relates to the performance of ‘pecuniary’ emotion management where the spa employees enact commercial feeling rules and instrumental motivation to routinized work for money and perform imposed identity.

For Thai spa employees, they conform to display rules and commercial feeling rules when performing ‘pecuniary’ emotion management to ascertain the quality of customer service, to get tips and good comments (verbal and written) from customers, and to pass the performance evaluation. The performance of good customer service, as evaluated by both spa managers and customers, helps them to have an increased income. Service scripts (S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L Company¹⁶) are used in the spa industry to ensure spa employees provide standard performance and enhance customer experience (Giardini and Frese, 2008; Groth *et al.*, 2009) by giving tips and putting a tick box in feedback form as ‘excellence’.

According to Bolton (2005), the performance of ‘pecuniary’ emotion management demands routine compliance since the interaction with customers is short (especially spa managers and spa receptionists) where the employees hardly need an investment in the performance. Therefore, the perfunctory courtesy is often related to this category, resulting in ‘surface acting’ on the part of employees (Hochschild, 1983). The research findings of this study show

¹⁶S.M.I.L.E culture refers to Spirit, Empathy, Inspiration, Loving, and Empowerment while C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company refers to Cheerful, Open-minded, Love and Loyalty, Optimistic, Respect, Function and Flexibility, Unique, and Life is beautiful

contradictory outcome from Jenkins *et al.* (2010) where the ‘pecuniary’ emotion management at VoiceTel is less significant. This is because there are no standardized display rules at VoiceTel, customers’ calls require specific information. In other words, the absence of service scripts allows and encourages the call centre workers to get to know their customers through an initial set-up call and build a rapport by talking to customers (Jenkins *et al.*, 2010). The performance of ‘pecuniary’ emotion management is remarkable with the business drive behind spa employees’ performance. Hence, the spa employees follow scripted interactions during the service encounter. For Strauss (1959: 52), a social script involves ‘who am I in this situation’, ‘what have I done in the situation’, and ‘what shall I do that will be appropriate to both situation and the motives of the other persons?’.

However, in the case of spa therapists who have long interaction with customers (at least 45 minutes in a treatment room), they may need to invest their effort and modify their internal feelings, resulting in deep acting (sometimes surface acting, depending on customers) during the service encounter. Moreover, for the regular customers or returning customers, both the spa receptionists and therapists may show deep acting because they have already known customers and may be getting good comments from them (making them come back to the spa). In this way, customers already know the service standard and their expectations meet their needs, it possible for both parties (customers and employees) have positive emotions to each other.

According to the standard working hours of employee mentioned earlier, spa employees including spa managers, receptionists, and therapists work 8 hours per day and 6 days per week. However, they are asked to work longer hours during the busy periods, especially the long weekend holidays, national holidays, festival holidays (i.e. Thai New Year, Christmas,

New Year), and high season (November to March and April¹⁷). This, of course, makes them earn extra money. Even though each of them has different tasks, they have to work repeatedly. The employees repeat their tasks multiple times during a day or week and every day as they perceive this as norms. For some of the spa workers, they get used to their routinized tasks with time. Their schedule makes them feel like whenever they step into the spa, they have to automatically change their faces and manners no matter how they actually feel. The robotic faces, feelings, and performances are seen as the second nature (familiarity or force of habit pattern) of the spa employees at work where their job roles make them feel this way. As Goffman (1990) noted this means a mask that everyone is always and everywhere playing a role, the role that we know each other and ourselves. In addition, Goffman highlighted:

“In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves – the role we are striving to live up to – this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons.” (p.30)

An Assistant Spa Manager shared her feelings about abiding by the company’s standard display rules that follow the mnemonic S.M.I.L.E culture and ‘C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L Company’. She noted that the spa owners want all workers to follow these rules and customers are happier when she adopts this rule and offers gracious service. She noted that:

“The spa owners expect us to engage in the organizational display rules called ‘SMILE culture’ and ‘C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company’ whenever we interact with customers. SMILE culture of service where S is spirit, M is empathy for colleagues and customers, I is inspiration, L is loving the job, and E is empowerment. C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company: C is for cheerful (being happy at work), O for open-minded (being open-minded and listening to correction of our mistakes from colleagues), L for love and loyalty (showing love and loyalty to the organization), O for optimistic (being positive), R for respect (respecting ourselves and others), F for function and flexibility (being responsible for our jobs and flexible) , U for unique (reflecting the identity that each of us has, using our outstanding skills to work efficiently), L for life is beautiful (putting effort in work, being happy and living a beautiful life). I feel

¹⁷http://www.thailand-holidays-tips.com/The_Best_Time_to_Visit_Thailand.html

it is tedious and I'm tired of doing this every day, but I have to do it because it is required and it is extra work for me in my job routine." (Pamela, Manager)

One of the spa managers, however, responded to organizational display rules differently. She chooses to perform 'pecuniary' emotion management where she complies with the spa standard and service steps. However, she goes beyond the routinized dialogue (service scripts) by engaging in deep acting when she tries to remember customers' preferences. This can also be related to the production of customer satisfaction, which resulting in an expectation of tips from customers (monetary motivation):

"I have to follow the standardized service display rules such as keeping smiling and trying to remember customer preferences so that they are happy. I always try to remember each customer's preference in treatment and which treatment room they like, which spa therapists they like, which scent of aroma oil they prefer or, which one they are allergic to. I think I will become professional if I do all this and I am sincerely trying to make it a habit. However, I am proud of myself and my job title; I am an important person in the spa." (Abby, Manager)

A spa receptionist also noted that she performs 'pecuniary' emotion management where she realizes her work as routine and she has imposed identity to present robotic face at work as her second nature:

"I feel accustomed to my daily work actually and this sounds like my habit. Whenever I wake up, my first questions are 'Will there be a lot of customers or demanding customers today?.' 'Does the number of the spa therapists match the number of customers?.' I feel it is a system for my everyday working life. At the end of the day I feel dead on my feet and fatigued." (Meg, Receptionist)

The above quotes show that the spa employees feel emotionally drained while they perform routine tasks, keep smiling face, and show positive emotions during service encounters. Even though the spa employees feel bored and fatigued, they still have to follow the standardized service and display rules to accomplish their tasks and pass the performance appraisal. Victorino and Bolinger (2012) argued that scripted services will more often result in surface acting among service employees. Scripts allow (new) employees to know how to do their job and scripts are good means to use for training purposes and to ensure the task will be

accomplished correctly (Victorino and Bolinger, 2012). However, scripts limit the employees' ability to personalize service because scripts cannot be modified to suit the needs of each customer. Hence, surface acting leaves the service employees behaving inauthentically or impersonally (Victorino and Bolinger, 2012) as the spa employees have to manage their facial expressions (not feelings) and alter their appearances to ensure the good customer service as the interviewees highlighted that they have to smile and keep smiling.

The extent to what scripts limit the spa employees' ability to provide personalized service is true. For instance, on some occasions where customers are fully booked, spa employees may choose to perform surface acting (present smiley face) during the customer service interaction. On the other hand, the spa employees may choose to perform deep acting if they have more time with each customer to explain each spa treatment and package ('prescriptive' emotion management). In commercial life this characteristic of performance has been exploited as 'personalized service' (Goffman, 1990: 58) by attempting to give the impression for the service. This, in turn, influences the quality of service the spa employees provide because customers (are assumed to) need personalized service to help them select the proper treatment.

Allen *et al.* (2010) noted that a smile from cashiers and pleasant customer greeting may reflect their true feelings or may have little to do with how they feel because such smile is a required as part of the job. In the Thai spa industry, the spa receptionists (sometimes spa managers) show a lovely smile (automatically as smile is seen as part of their job) and warm welcome to customers by greeting them at the spa's door. This is to make a first impression (Goffman, 1990) or a professional image, as Roberts (2005: 687) defined 'professional image' as "*the aggregate of others' perceptions of an individual's competence and character in the workplace*". The implications of managing impression is to achieve social approval,

power, and career success, therefore, the spa employees invest time and energy to construct their professional images. Roberts (2005) further noted that individuals manage their impression to show that they have desirable personal characteristics or the ideal characteristics of the spa receptionists in the spa context are wearing nice and clean uniform, natural makeup, and controlling eye contact, posture, speech, and displayed emotions with customers. Research results of Allen *et al.* (2010) are consistent with previous research (i.e. Brotheridge and Lee, 2003; Grandey, 2003; Gosserand and Diefendorff, 2005) that organizational display rules are positively related to both surface and deep acting. However, the relationship between display rules and emotion regulation strategy (surface and deep acting) varies depending on personal goals/commitment to the goals of the employee (Allen *et al.*, 2010).

As mentioned above, the routine job descriptions within the spa industry vary among the three groups of workers: manager, receptionist, and therapist. For instance, the daily routine of the spa receptionists is opening and closing the spa, greeting customers, answering the phone and scheduling customer bookings, maintaining the cleanliness of the spa reception area, arranging the rota for the spa therapists, and ensuring the spa's rules are followed and service standards maintained. The majority of the respondents commented that these were boring tasks to repeat every day and some for each customer. Some of them said they 'become familiar' (because it is routinized and robotic) with their jobs as one of the interviewees said that she feels too bored but she wants to do it because it is her job, even though it is boring:

"My daily job routine includes being polite and giving smiles to customers, no matter how moody I am. I have to follow the standard steps when approaching customers. I have been trained and have memorized how to do this: open the door for customers -> greet customers -> provide spa menu -> serve herbal welcome drink -> give them some time -> re-approach customers & ask their needs -> introduce & explain spa treatments & spa promotions -> ask customers to fill out the customer information form -> create a bill & ask customers to pay upfront -> tell the therapist to prepare -> take

customers from the lobby area to the treatment room -> as they finish, serve another herbal drink -> ask them to provide feedback by filling out the customer comment form -> ask if they want to book another appointment for the future -> open the door for them & say goodbye. I realized this is my job routine and since I have been working here for a long time I have become familiar with it and feel nothing. It is just something I have to do. I cannot feel bored because that makes me feel like I don't want to work. So now, I try to think that it is my responsibility and it is my job, I have to get accustomed to it and work effectively.”(Fiona, Receptionist)

In the daily routine interaction, spa employees may feel so tired that they offer only desultory courtesy to customers. The spa therapists explained that following display rules in a routinized service interaction make them become familiar with the second nature while they have to act/perform at work. However, compliance with display rules allows them to show knowledge and skills to render services to customers wholeheartedly and effectively. Moreover, the spa employees can enrich a professional image to the spa industry. To be positive towards spa job, it is found that even though the work is routine, the spa employees follow the service scripted, and being robotic, they meet a wide variety of customers every day. This makes them face and experience various types of customers while they learn how to cope with various emotions. It is confirmed that spa workers are skilled emotion performer and this is seen as challenging experience while they have to draw upon different types of emotions in the frontstage. Besides, the more therapists provide massage to customers, the more skills they have. This means the spa therapists can recognize the pain and diagnose the root of the pain (i.e. office syndrome causes back and shoulder pain).

“Display rules require being on time and being polite to the customers, no matter how I feel. I have to keep my irritation inside because I do not want customers to detect this feeling. How can I do this? It is just automatic, I cannot explain. But whenever I am in front of the customers, my frown disappears and suddenly becomes a smiling face. I have trained to be courteous to the customers even when I experience demanding or impolite customers. Always having gracious, good manners makes me feel awkward and cramped, but since I have to do it every day as part of my job, I have become used to it.”
(Vicki, Therapist)

“I thought I could manage my emotion in front of customer quite well. I have never brought personal or family problems into workplace. I had to start managing this first before walking in the spa and work. However, in some moment it was just automatically that I changed my face even I felt I didn’t want to be nice or smile to customer. I felt like I get used to it and did it everyday so I could control my facial expression.” (Nelly, Therapist)

The habitual compliance to organizational display rules in a service context such as the spa industry may lead to robotic behaviour where employees just engage in surface acting. This means that there is no need to invest any feelings into the service encounter. As a result, a cynical or unreal performance is presented in responses to satisfy customer. As evidenced in Chapter 2 Brook (2009b) noted that the commercial feeling rules for ‘pecuniary’ emotion management creating instrumental performances driven by financial, thus the service employees will show empty of feeling or unfeeling performances. Goffman (1967) argued that even though companies want service workers to be sincere and natural when they interact with customers, it is impossible because the employees are controlled by a scripted and routine ‘niceness’.

5.4 BEING CYNICAL

This theme conforms to Bolton’s typology of ‘pecuniary’ emotion management when the frontline workers in service sectors perform scripted interactions with customers, primarily for monetary gain (Korczynski *et al.*, 2000; Taylor *et al.*, 2002; Hebson *et al.*, 2007). Bolton’s typology of workplace emotion conforms to Hochschild’s illustration of emotional labour performed by customer service workers who ‘surface act’ when interact with customers to fulfil management requirements. Such surface interaction leads to the feeling ‘fake’ and the service employees lose their sense of self (Hebson *et al.*, 2007: 682). As Korczynski’s (2002) research in the service sector showed that frontline service employees have to work effectively, they frequently required to interact with customers with empty feelings (‘disembodied’) where they just follow certain rules. In this sense, the frontline

employees can feel 'fake' and 'false' because they only want the interaction quicker and complete their job (Hebson *et al.*, 2007).

The emotional proletariats are the workers who are a big part of the culture where everyone says 'have a nice day' and is nice as a habit, but not necessarily because they feel like being nice (Bolton, 2005). The emotional proletariats are faceless (unimportant without their own personality) workers who talk to faceless customers they do not really know or care about. This is why the spa employees see themselves as 'monetary servitude' who perform 'pecuniary' emotion management by showing a nice emotion in order to get money but being cynical about it. In the spa industry where jobs are routine and require face-to-face interaction, there are some standardised service performances governing the organizational emotionality and these rules are required to be followed with every single customer to ensure the actors provide consistent smooth service. In this way, scripts or dialogue of conversation are heavily used in the spa industry, particularly in such activities as greeting customers, scheduling reservations, dealing with check-in and check-out, and interacting with customers. The spa employees rely their services with a script because they believe such scripts bring good task outcomes, such as get good comments and tips from customers.

Service scripts and display rules such as S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L Company are not only allowing the spa employees to provide the same service standard in every situation, but scripts also leading to the cynical performance. Scripted service dictates the expected dialogue and certain emotions that should be expressed. The essential part such performances play in the labour process is referred to as 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983) or 'pecuniary' emotion management in Bolton's typology (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Being optimistic, spa employees see scripts as an effective way to ensure a routine task is completed correctly. However, scripts also cause negative feelings among spa employees and about how customers are treated. They are concerned about 'surface acting' where their

feelings are detached from the prescribed role and the service is seen as robotic and inauthentic. Consistent with Brotheridge and Grandey (2002), Diefendorff *et al.* (2005), Hennig-Thurau *et al.* (2006), surface acting is associated with lower authenticity and performance ratings, whereas deep acting has more positive effects. This supports Lopez (2006), employees' feelings belong to organizations, rather than to individuals. This is called 'estrangement' where the spa employees surface act because they feel that their emotional display are as phony and insincere. The majority of the spa receptionists narrated:

"They provided on-the-job training for me during the first month. I had to memorize all the spa treatments and packages, including price, and the process or ingredients of each treatment. I learned the dialogue for how to greet customers starting from going to the front door and opening the door for customers to sending them home after treatment. It is always like this every day, I am like a robot who repeats the same sentences every day with everyone. I feel it is not authentic because I have to put an organizational mask over my head whenever I come to work. However, it was very exciting when I first started this job, but a few years later I found it was not my true self, I just have fake personality."
(Fiona, Receptionist)

"The corporate culture here is called 'C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L Company', we all have to remind ourselves and practice the C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L rules during everyday's working life. However, sometimes I didn't think to use it at all because it was too busy and there were too many customers. Wait...let me think, oops, actually I use it all; cheerful, open-minded, love... But I think some of the C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L rules are helpful such as cheerful. As a spa receptionist, I have to be friendly even when someone complains or scolds me. I cannot react to them." (Fiona, Receptionist)

The quote from Fiona shows that she has a mix of positive and negative feelings about service script 'C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L' rules. Bolton (2005) noted that almost no employees will know all of the organizational rules and the correct situations to use each rule. Some rules are ignored, forgotten, or never brought up. During the busy hours, Fiona forgets the C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L rule exists and uses each rule effectively. Fiona's performance can be interpreted as cynical where Goffman (1990: 20) explained "*when the individual has no belief in his own act and no ultimate concern with the beliefs of his audience, we may call him cynical, reserving the term 'sincere' for individuals who believe in the impression*

fostered by their own performance". In line with Strauss (1990: 34), "*most acts, of course, are forgotten*". Some of the interviewees noted that they presented fake smile to customers if they are so demanding:

"The spa display rules are 'always smile' and 'smile to every customer'. I think it is freakish and crazy to smile all the time even when I don't want to. If I don't want or feel like smiling, I will give a fake smile, but not a grimace. In the worst cases such as customers are bugging or agitating at me, I will show a blank facial expression." (Meg, Receptionist)

"There was one customer who came and asked about the spa packages. I then introduced him to the Lanna Style package which includes a hot herbal compress, aroma oil massage, and Thai traditional massage. This was 2.30 hour spa package. The customer agreed to the time, price, and massage therapy as I confirmed with him before letting him go to the spa treatment room. Once he had finished one of our hot herbal compresses, he came out to the lobby and complained that he didn't like the spa package and he didn't want to pay. He wanted only aroma oil massage for 2.30 hours. I was so angry and upset because I already confirmed the spa package with him at the very beginning. He insisted on having aroma oil massage for the remaining 1.30 hours, but I couldn't make the spa therapist do that because it was not right. Finally, I decided to change the spa package for him to aroma hot oil massage and asked him to pay again. I had to fake my smile and talk to him nicely even though I wanted to run away from him and let another receptionist take care of him. I don't think it is right to believe that 'the customer is always right'; however, we have been told to accept this stupid idea." (Nida, Receptionist)

Nida has introduced and recommended the customer with the spa package she receives commission. This means that she has monetary drive to sell the expensive spa treatment. This particular customer, who has never been to the Thai spa industry, seems to agree with the spa treatment for 1 hour. Later on he realizes it is not what he really wants (tricky customer) and does not want to pay for 1 hour usage. He prefers to change the package and eventually the spa receptionist changes for him (against the spa rule). The reason why she did not want to change the spa package for the customer was she has already convinced the customer to have particular treatment where she got commission. This can be interpreted as she does not have good customer service since she does not satisfy customer's need. Even though it shows she works hard on her emotion to keep herself calm while satisfying customer's need, the coping strategy she uses is a protection of customer complain and failure of her monthly

performance appraisal. This supports Bolton's (2005) theory of workplace emotion where she viewed employees as skilled actors who have to balance conflicting demands and to influence polished performances.

Not only are the spa managers and spa receptionists important for creating a positive emotional environment complying with the organization's aims, but the spa therapists also have to create a pleasant environment. They follow the organizational display rules 'service with a smile' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1996, Pugh, 2001) to ensure quality of service they provide to customers. Even though they experienced the fussy customers or dreadful colleagues, they have to display a smile. This relates to the performance of 'pecuniary' emotion management when the spa therapists have to comply with display rules (even when they do not want to) so that to produce customer contentment and receive tips in return. Hence, they choose to show cynical/false smile if they encounter demanding customers. Some of the spa therapists said that:

"All of the therapists are asked to give a beaming smile and be cheerful in every interaction with customers. I have to show a false smile to customers when I am really tired and busy." (Lidia, Therapist)

A lot of above quotes show the specific terminology of 'mask' which manifests the concept of 'mirrors and masks' (Strauss, 1990) as mentioned in section 2.3.1: Dramaturgical Perception, p.33. Strauss (1990) noted that all people, including you, show parts of who you are to everyone you interact with, including yourself. Then you can see what people think about you by the way they respond. People's responses show whether they think you are a good person or not like a mirror shows what you look like. In response to what people's responses show you about yourself you will decide how to show your identity to people in the future. You might use masks to hide parts of yourself that you think people will not approve of or like. Or to make the parts of yourself that you think people already like seem bigger.

Just like we use makeup to appear more beautiful and hide blemishes we use social masks when we show only parts of ourselves or the selves we think other people would like to each other.

The overall responses from the spa employees regarding scripts and display rules were that they helped getting the job done for most service interactions. This indicates that the spa employees see the value of such scripts in a production of quality service. Allen *et al.* (2010) argued that conforming to display rules can lead to the fulfilment of the goals. However, they would like to get the sense that these service scripts are flexible and contain customization, allowing the employees to respond to customers' own interactions and to the situation itself. Some of the spa industry uses a so-called 'deep acting' approach where they provide training and practice in using a responsive and flexible service script. To engage in deep acting, the spa employees are given more opportunities to be involved emotionally with customers during the encounters. Unfortunately, it is found that the spa employees no longer had the 'feeling' to concentrate on service steps and customers because they performing to surface act to get through the day and pass the performance evaluation. As Victorino and Bolinger (2012) said, surface acting occurs when employees paint on a smile to conform to organizational display rules, not modify their own feelings (Grandey, 2000).

5.5 HUMILIATION

Humiliation is an emotion that is interpersonal (Fisk, 2001). Organizational humiliation is "*the dark side of organizations*" and feeling humiliated means "*feeling powerless*" (Czarniawska, 2008: 1035, 1037). One will feel ashamed if someone do, think, or feel something that hurts one's pride. This is because humiliation happens in an unequal power relationship, such as customer has power over the employee. One of the reasons that make customer and employee to have an imbalance power is the idea of 'customer is always right'.

Humiliation emerges from an interview data within the Thai spa context where the spa employees feel that they are seen as servants (perhaps wage slavery) when they deliver services. One of the interviewees said that customers disparage her dignity when they say their shoes are worth more than her life. She loses her own sense of self and feels that the organizational and professional rules impose an identity on her:

“There were two wealthy customers. Upon their arrival they said in a loud and aggressive voice, ‘You! You! Come here! Come here now!’ Once she had selected her treatment, I asked her to wait five minutes (which is only a short wait time) because the therapist had to prepare the room and products. She said ‘I don’t want to wait; I need to have my massage now! Now! DO you hear me?’ (in a high and hysterical tone of voice). Once I had served her welcome drink, she said, ‘Come on, why didn’t you clean up all those used cups on this table so that I would know which one was a new cup for me?’ I had to hide my frustration, turn my face down, and take those used cups to the kitchen. Actually there were plenty of vacant seats so I felt annoyed with her and wondered why she had sat here. I started to feel that she was a demanding and annoying customer, but I had to go through with the treatment. Once the treatment room was ready for her, I took her to the treatment room and asked her to take off her shoes before lying down on the mattress. She said, ‘Do you know how much my shoes cost? They were so expensive that I would never take them off’. One customer said her shoes were worth more than my life and she would never take her shoes off. At that moment, I felt worthless downtrodden and imagined that her shoes must be really worth more than my life that is why they talk to me and treat me like a dog. She made my day so depressing and she broke my heart. I was shocked when I heard this, but I could not say anything, just listen and lower my head because she is my customer and she is more important than me. I feel like I am not a human being, I lose my sense of self and even lose my confidence in being a spa manager.” (Ima, Manager)

Ima sees herself in lower social class than this particular customer, however, one thing always in her mind since then is that ‘why Thai people response to Thai people badly?’. Being humiliated is similar to being dehumanized such a feeling of herself as a dog. Ima has to work hard on her emotion to present pleasant and polite manners to this demanding customer (harder than any other customers) while maintain professional demeanour and satisfy customer’s needs. This because the customer is ranked in the high society class and she is wealthy, so that Ima has to ensure she complies with organizational display rules (smile and customer is always right) so that the customer experiences good customer service. It is

found that Ima is being humiliated or job harassment as Fisk (2001) noted that humiliation is one of a number of emotions that can lead to physical harm and influences the job performance of the victim. However, her performance on emotion of whether she engages in surface or deep acting is dependent on customers. In this case, Ima engages in surface acting to high society customer. When customers are nice and talk to her politely as if people talk to people (not to a dog or slave), she will choose to engage in deep acting because she has friendly personality and she has positive attitude toward the spa job. For instance:

“I like talking to people, I like servicing, and I aim to provide good customer service to all customers.”
(Ima, Manager)

The spa therapists also noted that:

“There are some Chinese customers who have really bad behaviour and use bad words when they call me. They treated me as if I am not a human being and they always grunt and make loud noises. I feel discouraged because I think being a therapist is tough and I have to use my best effort when massaging the customer. However, I have been told that customers are always right because they pay us money in order to receive our services.” (Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader)

“Ooh...let me share this silly experience with you. Since that event, I still didn't understand why she did that to me. We were Thai people but the way she looked and spoke to me was as if I was a slave. I felt surprised when she (customer) behaved badly to me and she was in a bad mood. I thought if she didn't like my service, she just let me know or if she wanted harder massage I could do it for her. But she didn't say anything to me. It was annoying and I felt uncomfortable in a treatment room with her. She's so demanding and acted as if she was a princess. Some rich people wouldn't do this to me like she did. Why, she was Thai and I was Thai, why she did this to me question always resounding in my head until now.” (Nelly, Therapist)

The above quotes illustrate that spa employees always and often meet a various type of customers, some are good, some are bad, and some are really nice and polite while some are extremely impolite. These are dependent upon customer's personal background or characteristics and we cannot change them, we can only have to understand them. However, it can be said that the spa employees are skilled emotion managers (Bolton's terminology) who have to balance their required emotions and true feelings. They are good at coping the

hard or challenging situations and provide good service solution. In addition, customers affect the service performance carried out by the spa employees. In other words, good customers make the spa employees happy and engage in deep acting. On the other hand, if they meet boorish or disrespectful or uncouthly customers, they will have to work harder on managing their emotions and deal with customers nicely.

The majority of the interviewees said that customers look down on their profession as the spa therapists and this makes them show cynical performance or surface acting during the service interaction with customers. This confirms Fisk's (2001) idea that the spa employees feel ashamed when customers behave something that damages their pride. Feeling disrespected, loss of image, reduce of pride can lead to emotional distress, whereas Weiner (2010) noted that shame and humiliation lowered esteem. However, the spa employees are proud of their roles, ability, and skills to provide massage and help customers feel relaxed. Even though they have a feeling of being humiliated, they still comply with display rules of being nice to customer and provide good service to customers:

“I have self-esteem and I am proud of my job as a spa therapist. I feel good if I can make customers feel good and relaxed. But sometimes I am disappointed when customers have a bad attitude towards my role. I am not selling sex, I am not providing sexual massage, and I am working in a certified spa. There are a large amount of customers who come and ask for sexual massage, but we (spa therapists) have ways of coping with and escaping this problem. We cannot teach each other as we have to learn from our own experiences how to say no and refuse the customers. Some customers ask the receptionists whether the therapist can go to a hotel guest room and provide massage. From this, we know that they want sexual massage. My own experience with this has left me scared and horrified from then until now, I cannot erase that moment from my heart and my memory. I was frightened because I had never had a customer ask me for sex before in my whole life. I am afraid of male customers raping me. I feel like a male customer started to degrade me by touching my hands and moving my hands over his naked body. After the treatment, he came out to the lobby area, paid and walked out with his eyes down. I think he felt embarrassed.” (Nicole, Therapist Leader)

It is embarrassing to share a story about sexual activities among Thai people in Thai society. The core values in Thai society restrict the discussion of sex and the restrictions are imposed by traditional Thai culture. Furthermore, Thai parents do not teach their children about sex education issues, resulting in youths missing the opportunity to acquire knowledge about sex from their family (Sridawruang *et al.*, 2010). This is why Nicole says the spa therapists cannot and do not teach each other if customers ask for sexual massage. Sex is sensitive topic and for Thai people, it is difficult to talk about sex with their friends or even their family. Nicole further stated that:

“It is disgusting actually when he has sexual arousal and he is erect. Then, I covered his genitalia with the blanket and asked if he felt cold. He told me he wasn’t cold but I heard him moving and he masturbated. Another customer who ordered facial massage, while I massaged his face, I noticed that he used his own hands to fondle his sexual organ and masturbate. It is again, horrible and repulsive and I wanted time to move faster so that I could finish working on him. However, I couldn’t leave the treatment room even though I felt I wanted to run away from him. It is my job, so I have to complete it. By this time I wasn’t scared because I was accustomed to male customers, but I wanted to vomit seeing him doing that in front of me.” (Nicole, Therapist Leader)

The quotes from Nicole could be implied that she engages in ‘pecuniary’ emotion management where she works for money while she has professional identity to politely refuse customers (‘prescriptive’ emotion management).

One of the spa managers experienced a difficult situation with the spa driver where she got really angry but she successfully coped with this tough time, even though she cried at the end of her work day (emotional exhausted). However, she gradually felt a feeling of emptiness when she was with her colleagues (such as spa receptionists and spa drivers) and in the spa itself, but she still loves giving service to customers. She can come to work everyday and she can work longer hours because she likes providing a service and talking to customers. However, she is frustrated with her work when her colleagues look down on her and treat her

like an animal. In this case, she feels alienated and has conflict with her colleagues when she performs 'pecuniary' emotion management. As she discussed:

"I feel that I am worthless and was very upset when the spa driver threw money in my face. Without me, he (a driver) would never get that money, but I have to stand there listening to his swearing and putting up with his rude behaviour towards me. I cannot do anything apart from trying to control my temper. After he left, I tore up that money and threw it in the bin because I lost my temper." (Ima, Manager)

This quote refers to the backstage where Ima uses to release her anger when she says she tears up money and throws it to the bin after the spa driver leaves. In frontstage, she has imposed identity to be nice to everyone in the spa, not just to customers. In line with Tumbat (2011) where he refers backstage to an area that absent from customer's eye and employees use this space to express their emotions freely (present their 'own self'). Ima further noted that she feels alienated because her colleagues seem to be her enemy (rather than friend to support her). In her case, her performance of reaching the sale target cannot prove she is successful worker. That is why she cannot trust anyone in the spa:

"I am not happy to work in this spa, I do not have friends, and I do not love the spa or the spa owner. I cannot trust anybody here; they just want to take advantage of me. However, I like talking and providing service to customers. The spa owner sets a monthly target and we have to reach that amount. I always reach it and this makes the owner happy. But I do not understand why my colleagues are always keeping me down, oppressing me, just because I am smarter than them. They found me negligent, just a little careless, because I was five minutes late to work one day, but they deducted money from my salary and put pressure on me to leave this job." (Ima, Manager)

The above quotes from Ima show that she has a sense of being dehumanized when her colleagues or even the driver, who has lower status than her, humiliating her. However, she likes working with customers (personal characteristic), so the emotion she shows them is genuine. And she actually lost her temper and showed her true feelings even though she waited until after the driver left. For some of the spa employees, they have a strong feeling of embarrassment because they have to manage their emotions to refuse customers when they

ask for sexual massage. Such managing their emotions is a coping strategy to ensure that they provide good customer service and they abide by the organizational feeling and display rules.

A feeling of humiliation appears to create a mental suffering, job title harassment, and wrong perceptions towards the spa job and spa industry. The state of being humiliated leads to the disgrace or loss of self-esteem when customers look downed on female therapists working in the spa industry. As Fisk (2001: 79) highlighted that humiliation at work can interfere with job performance where “*anger, lowered-self-esteem, and reduced ability to perform tasks*” may cause the performance appraisals or wages to worsen. Grandey *et al.* (2004) noted that work behaviours such as yelling, rudeness, and threats from customers lead to the performance of surface acting of employees, whereas employees who were less threatened engage in deep acting.

This research shows the similar results with Bolton’s (2005) where she discovers ‘alienation’ as a consequence of ‘pecuniary’ emotion management performance. Some of the quotes imply this that the feelings of spa employees do not belong to themselves, but to the spa industry (provide good customer service). For instance, Ima has to be patient, hide her true feeling, and provide service with smile to offensive customers. This research agrees with Bolton and Boyd (2003) that alienation (can also be humiliation) is a major cause of harm to emotion workers. In line with Hochschild (1983) and Tyler and Taylor (2001), the commodification of emotion work leads to cynical performance and genuine performance for some employees (i.e. Ima). A loss of sense of one’s true self allows the spa employees to just perform what is needed to make money, which becomes a way for employers and people with money to harm or abuse them instead of achieving a perfect performance. This harm can produce burnout or a feeling that work is too stressful and difficult to continue and can even

cause the emotional workers to feel as if they are not really themselves anymore because they have to act in a specific way for money.

5.6 CONFLICT AND RESISTANCE

All of the themes presented above demonstrate how the spa employees are seen as skilled emotion managers in dealing with various negative situations during customer interaction. 'Pecuniary' form of emotion management means the performance of satisfying customers' needs while presenting smiling face as for money purposes. Spa employees, at the meantime, experience a feeling of confliction and a set of resisting behaviours from colleagues. It is found that not only the spa employees have to manage their emotions in the frontstage with customers, but also they have to manage their emotions at backstage with their colleagues and organization.

Confliction, contradiction, and resistance are seen as the outcome of 'pecuniary' emotion management performance (Bolton, 2005) and these can lead to the performance of surface acting. Conflict is found within the spa industry between spa receptionists and spa therapists. One of the spa receptionists shares her feeling of conflict whenever she has to give the schedule to the spa therapists and they refuse and dispute their rotations and work hours. During the high season (December to April), most of the spa therapists are asked to work overtime. While they get paid for the extra hours, some of them are exhausted and tired from working more than eight hours a day so they refuse to work extra hours for the spa. However, as the above mentioned regarding their overtime, each spa employee has only three chances within one month to refuse working extra hours. Hence, on the busy days or peak hours where the numbers of spa therapists are less than the numbers of customers, the spa receptionists feel anxious. In the worst case, the spa receptionists have to notify the customers

that their treatment has to be cancelled. Having this feeling can lead to the lowered quality of service. One interviewee said:

“I really hate telling a spa therapist to do their job because I am the one who arranges customer bookings and therapist work schedules. They always get angry, talk to me unpleasantly, and behave rudely. I know how exhausted they are, but customers are waiting for our services. So I say, ‘You have to go because it is your turn and, if you have a problem, I will phone the boss for you so you can talk to him’. Suddenly their manner and facial expression changed and they turned their face away and walk to the treatment room to serve the customers. I think it’s kind of selfish behaviour. They complain to me and the other receptionists if I sell an expensive and famous package because they are too lazy to prepare all the treatment materials. Some therapists grumble if they do not have time to have lunch or to rest during the spa treatments they provide to customers.” (Fiona, Receptionist)

This spa receptionist does not sympathize with the spa therapists even though she knows how hard they work. The spa receptionists also have to work hard and longer hours without exemption too. All of the spa receptionists are trying to book as many customers as they can because they aim to reach the monthly targets set by the spa industry. The sale target is seen as one form to evaluate spa employees’ performance, especially those in managerial positions and frontline service employees. However, this is linked to the cynical performance (to both colleagues and customers) where the spa employees offer emptiness feelings during the service encounter. Some of the interviewees shared their opinions regarding quantified targets which is contradict to what the spa employees feel they have to do and focus on:

“Performance evaluation for me is based on achieving the monthly target. For instance, this month they set 80,000 THB (or £ 1,617.59¹⁵) and I hit the target. Then next month, they set 1,200,000 THB (or £24,263.85¹⁵) and I made it. This proves that I work effectively. I have to do it even though I feel it is quite difficult. However, I think achieving the target only proves work efficiency. The spa operators have to pay attention to the quality of service they provide to the customers so that they will return. I have my own customers and they always remember me even when we meet outside the spa and I am sure that they are our returning customers because they like my service.” (Ima, Manager)

“I feel stressed about meeting the budget and there is high competition among spas. Our spa is located in the business area where a lot of five star hotels are. We have to compete with each other and I have to always keep myself updated on spa trends. However, I will not push my subordinates to work hard if they feel sick, I will let them go back home and rest. I evaluate it this way; if they have two days off to

recover from their illness and they can work for me eight days, we win. I want my employees to have a smiling face and be happy to provide service to customers.” (Jenni, Manager)

To reach sales targets (performance targets) require an intensification of work and the feeling of pressure is created because the spa employees have to work longer hours and sometimes do not even have holidays. The spa employees work overtime and work on the holidays because they need money. The interviewees stated that the delivery of quality service was to use their skills in describing spa services menu, pay attention to customers and offer customised service according to their needs. They wish they could have spent more time on each customer so that to satisfy customers, provide personalized service, and make them happy. However, in reality, spa always busy with a high number of customers, especially Chinese. The spa therapists shared different ideas about conflict and resistance that have taken place within the spa industry. However, they still work in the spa industry because the monetary motivation:

“The spa manager is required by the spa owner to nominate seven spa therapists to be fired due to the spa crisis... Finally I found out that there was one way to fight against the company layoff. So I had a word personally with the spa manager and spa director. I asked them to reconsider the act of laying off an employee and proposed the solution for them. My solution was to keep all of us here but we only have to work for four days a week and take leave without pay on the other days. This means that the original working days of us are 6 days per week will now then be 4 days per week. Instead of paying monthly income to us (6 working days and 1 holiday weekly), the spa will now pay us per day, only on the day we work. Once the spa owner agrees with this solution, we kind of resisting to what the spa manager orders. This is because she was the one who tells the spa director and spa owner to lay off the spa therapists and keep those who can provide ‘Karsai massage’ or any other signature massage (highly expertise skill). She does this without telling us (spa therapists) and she selects therapists to be kicked out based on preference (rather than skills). This form of resistance from the spa therapists has caused the spa manager to leave the company because she could not tolerate being ignored and getting the silent treatment from us. I think she dug her own grave.” (Patty, Therapist)

One of the spa therapists showed her overt resistance to nonsensical behaviour from the management team towards the practices, including the administration, decision-making, and working process from the management team which require a lot of steps. For instance, the

report of any problems or situations starts with the lowest status person (therapist) and must be passed on to the spa supervisor, the spa manager, and finally the spa director who will make a decision or solve the problem. Just like a coin, there are two sides to this. Even though the various organizational levels make things complicated, cause delay, and waste time, it is one way to guard against possible mistakes. Having a standard to follow when performing a task and engaging in a process helps to ensure the spa employees follow spa service standards and provide good quality of services.

The majority of the spa employees claimed that not having job autonomy made their work less effective. Similar to the findings from Hebson *et al.* (2007), teachers no longer felt confident enough to use their 'instinct' in managing and coping with problems that arose in the classroom with students. That is why this has given way to 'pecuniary' form of emotion management. One of the spa managers gave an example where she thinks not having discretion lessens good customer service:

“Whenever the customers are demanding and it’s out of my power, I have to contact the country spa manager and ask her to help me make a decision and solve the problem. Sometimes, and in some emergency situations, I cannot wait for her response. I consider this a quandary, I feel annoyed and angry whenever I have to wait for the response from someone above me.” (Nanci, Manager)

This quote supports Bolton (2005) in a way that employees and employers will not always be able to agree because employees generally want to have a nice life while employers generally want more work to be done for less pay. Moreover, the spas still use management systems that are based on not trusting the employees to work properly and try to directly control their employees (adapted from Bolton, 2005). Similar to what the previous researchers (Deetz, 1992; Willmott, 1993; Townley, 1994) describe working in a modern company like living in a 'velvet cage'. Life is comfortable, but there is no freedom.

One of the spa receptionists highlighted that she does not have independence or her own power to make decisions when customers ask for discounts. However, she has to comply with the spa rules and show imposed identity where she cannot decide whether to give discount to customers:

“It is idiotic, really, when a customer walks in, sees the treatment menu, and immediately asks for a discount. It is their habit and I think they learned to bargain from the internet and they bargain for every single thing in Thailand. I feel like I am a clown whom customers make fun of when they ask for a big discount. However, I do not have authority to give them a discount because I have to ask for approval from the spa manager.” (Meg, Receptionist)

Another interviewee shared her bad experience with her colleague when she needs support, but she never gets it. This means the lack of teamwork in the spa industry, resulting in selfish performance by working independently and not communicating to each other. Thus, these two employees show surface acting between themselves because they have to meet and work together every day. However, they may choose deep acting during customer interaction because they comply with the core value to make customers happy and they deliver good service as they need money. The interviewee noted that:

“Whenever I face a difficult situation and I consult with the senior spa manager, he says, ‘If you are smart, you must know how to overcome the problem without asking me’. Well, it is something that is above my pay grade and I do not want to step over him. His answer makes me think that I shouldn’t put up with working with him anymore. Another problem is that I have lost a lot of weight since I started working here because we are not allowed to eat behind the lobby area so I have to walk too far to the kitchen, which is where I can eat. During the busy hours, I cannot leave the reception area and go for a meal because I have to be here supporting the spa receptionists. I just feel that the senior spa manager and spa owner treat us unequally; they both sympathize with the male spa receptionist and treat him like a king while they treat me like a drudge.” (Ima, Manager)

The contradictions that take place in the spa industry constitute the feeling of powerless, which influence customer service. This was a general finding across 48 interviews and concurs with Bolton’s ‘pecuniary’ emotion management which demand habitual compliance and surface acting by simply complying with the display rules, rather than using their own

initiative to cope with the situations. This can lead to the detrimental effect on spa employees' emotional health and the sense of self (Hebson *et al.*, 2007) where they cannot be themselves to deliver good service. However, Taylor and Tyler's (2000) research findings show that when the telephone sales agents (TSA) are not under supervision, they deviated (when opportunity is given) from managerial prescription, especially when encountering with rude or insulting customers. Such deviate behaviour (i.e. disconnecting calls from rude or ignorant customers) allows them to surface act, rather than deep act. In this way, the TSA limits the information given to a rude caller and deliberately withhold relevant service information from customers who show anger or irritation to the TSA. This leads to a distant and disinterested manner. The spa employees have similar behaviour to the call centre workers if they encounter with demanding or rude customers, they will disconnect themselves to customers and ask their colleagues to provide service to that customer for them. The TSA stated that the remote and known monitoring shape their emotional displays during service interactions. Moreover, the managerial control mechanisms shape the feeling behind the performance (Taylor and Tyler, 2000).

The distorted (resistance) behaviour also occurs in the spa industry (whenever chances are given), some of the receptionists explained that when she needs urgent approve from the spa manager but she cannot contact her, she makes a decision and tells the spa manager later on or on the next day. She says:

“Once upon a time, I really need approval from the spa manager because customer is waiting and about to go to the treatment room. Unfortunately, I cannot contact her because the spa manager does not answer my call. I then call the country manager, she does not answer my call as well, so I decided to go beyond my authority by sign the spa manager's name in the approval box. When I meet the spa manager, I just tell her what I have done.” (Sofia, Receptionist)

This research found that the spa employees have their own coping mechanisms when dealing with demanding customers and feel stressful from work. However, the emerging theme is strongly evidenced in 'presentational' emotion management where the spa employees have their own 'space' for emotional and physical comfort to release their stress and prepare themselves at the backstage before presenting their performances in the frontstage. Overall, this research matches with Taylor and Tyler's (2000) that the service employees engage in surface acting when they are controlled by the company to have imposed identity during customer interaction.

Bolton (2005) stated that there is a connection between the work environment, the way work is structured or organized and employee behaviour. This means that a company is a system where every part works together and agrees with other parts of the system to do what they have agreed to do. Hence, if the spa owners organize or structure a company properly it will be easy to manage well and will fall into a profitable routine. However, in reality, not everyone agrees because there is disagreement between employers and employees. The disagreement can be solved by understanding where the disagreement comes from and proper management. Management just needs to clearly state what they want, organize, plan and control how the company works and give employees a way to say what they want.

5.7 CONCLUSION

'Pecuniary' emotion management is characterized as 'Monetary servitude' means the spa employees saw themselves as servants who work long hours for money exchange. This research showed a similarity as in Hochschild's (1983) study where employees (flight attendant and spa employees) are taught and trained to be and act as a servant where customer is the king (see section 5.1: Indoor Labourer, p. 141). In other words, this could be implied that the spa employees do surface acting while they were performing on the frontstage. This

confirmed that the feeling of spa employees belong to the spa industry, not themselves when they engaged in 'pecuniary' category.

From the interview with the spa respondents, two main sub-themes emerged: 'indoor labourer' and 'humiliation'. These themes are different from any other researchers (Bolton, 2005; Lewis, 2008; O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006) conducted using Bolton's typology. Indoor labourer means that the spa employees see themselves as servant who serve good services to customers no matter how they actually feel. The spa employees had to constantly show a smiling face (surface acting) to ensure customers satisfied with their services. Eventually, they felt emotional exhaustion. Humiliation in this research context referred to the disparagement especially when customers looked down on their professions and treated them impolitely. However, the spa employees accepted the idea that 'customer is always right', resulting in they hid their true feelings while showing an organizationally desired emotions and facial expressions.

CHAPTER 6 : PRESCRIPTIVE EMOTION MANAGEMENT

“Showing a Therapeutic Professional Face”

6.1 SPA AS THERAPEUTIC WORK

People live very hectic lives nowadays, there is no wonder that they need some time to rest their bodies and ease their minds. The Spa Finder reports the agents polled in 2006 that when asked respondents to select a popular vacation destination activities and offerings, ‘*Spa facilities*’ is the most important consideration. A therapeutic massage services within Thai spa industry reflect the beauty, spirit, and traditions of Asia unique while also offering therapies. The incredible benefits of a spa massage include well-being which helps establish a harmonious balance among mind, body, and spirit. While the physical benefits of a spa massage include muscle relaxation, greater joint flexibility and motion, relief tension, and reduce blood pressure. Moreover, the mental and emotional benefits of spa massage therapy embrace increased alertness, enhanced capacity for calm thinking and creativity, improved ability to monitor stress signals and respond suitably, more self-esteem, and an increased awareness of the mind-body connection (Caribbean Business, 2009: 44).

The existing ideal image attached to spa occupations is one of pampering customers by offering body treatments to make them feel relaxed and to release stress. Furthermore, spa can classified according to experience such as be relaxed, be pampered, be cleansed, and be invigorated¹⁸. However, based on interviews with the Thai spa employees, there are two emerging themes regarding the purpose of visiting spa (1) relaxation or wellness and (2) holistic medical treatment. Hence, this study contributes to the theme of a ‘showing therapeutic professional face’ as a whole of this chapter. Spa employees, comparing to the

¹⁸<http://www.spafinder.co.uk/>

flight attendants (Hochschild) have to use skills to show or suppress their emotional displays with customers. However, the motivations behind the performance of emotion management for both flight attendants and spa employees are relied upon professional feeling rules. Spa employees manage their emotions according to the occupational drive as to help customers feel better by selecting the appropriate treatments for them. While continuing to produce customer satisfaction and ensure deliver good service. It is more likely that those who perform 'prescriptive' emotion management is inclined to perform 'pecuniary' category too. Some of the interviewees who work in health spas pointed out that:

"I am a professional because I have been massaging for 12 years and I can provide every treatment. I was forced to learn 'karsai' or genital detox therapy a long time ago. At that time, I felt it was challenging and I was curious about it. However, my father didn't like it and didn't want me to learn it because he didn't want me to touch male's thing. I am not scared of doing it, but it is disgusting. Once I learned how to do it, I knew that it is for health therapy but if I had a choice, I would not do it." (Ossie, Therapist)

The feeling of showing therapeutic professional face means that the spa employees engage in deep acting, rather than surface acting because it is the right image for the spa profession. However, the quote from Ossie shows that she sees herself as a professional who has been working in the spa industry for more than ten years. She also performs 'presentational' emotion management according to the Thai social reality where it is considered impolite or unaccepted for women to touch male's body. Finally, she uses 'pecuniary' category when she feels disgusted to see, learn, and provide genital detox therapy to male customer, but she does due to the monetary motivation. In this health spa, there are only five spa therapists who are asked and required to learn 'karsai' or genital detox therapy due to the length of working experiences. These employees are paid higher for providing this signature treatment to customers, for example they get £2 for 'karsai' while the general therapists get £1 for general treatment. As a result, they feel proud of themselves and feel they are special therapists so that they should show sincere professional face while providing service to customers.

Some of the interviewees highlighted that customers come to the spa industry for relaxation:

“I am falling in love with my job because it is people work. Customers come and use our services because they want to look good and feel better. I feel like I am a doctor who makes patients feel better and feel positive. For those who haven’t got any health problems, they come to us for relaxation or to release stress.” (Ozie, Manager)

“Most of the customers come here for relaxation. We are the best five star spa in Chiang Mai. I am very proud to work here and can develop a good reputation.” (Nila, Therapist)

Since the nature of the spa is seen as a therapeutic work, spa employees maintain their professional demenour explicitly. The data presented here shows that they use ‘prescriptive’ emotion management by following the professional feeling rules to continue making a reputation for the spa either for relaxation or healing purposes. According to the management of positive emotions by engaging in deep acting, the spa workers are suitable for female because they have a strong sense of caring for and understanding people. This can lead to the sincere performance, rather than cynical face during the service encounter. Taylor and Tyler (2000) noted that the role of flight attendants is defined as ‘women’s work’ since it involves skills which women have by virtue of being women.

6.2 SPA AS FEMALE’S WORK

Taylor and Tyler (2000) noted that the role of cabin crew is defined as ‘femininity’ and these assumptions shape the selection of flight attendants. Women are best suited to flight attendants as the recruiter said “*they are much more patient and caring than men...of other people’s needs...they are much more thoughtful by nature*” (p.86). This is more or less similar to the spa context where the spa employees’ therapeutic service performances are classed as ‘women’s work’. The work (of both flight attendant and spa employee) is believed to involve “*caring, physically, and emotionally for others*” and women are seen as skilled actors to accomplish this work by virtue of their sexual difference from men (Taylor and Tyler, 2000: 86).

The spa employees have to work on their emotions in order to present the right image of professional spa experts. However, Taylor and Tyler (2000) argued that the skills involved in airline service provision are seen as ‘common-sense ways of being women’ where they have to anticipate customers’ need and exceed the expectations of them. From interviewing the spa employees, it is found that during selection, the right person for a job in the spa industry is female and young (21-25 years old) for spa receptionists, while new recruits for spa therapists are female, with long-term experience (6-10 years), and are often older (over 30 years old). Most of the spa managers are female with some experiences (2-5 years). In the spa profession females predominate because women, by nature, are assumed to be able to do a better emotional job than men. Taylor and Tyler (2000) highlighted this is because women are seen as intrinsically able to present themselves as feminine and aesthetically pleasing by employers, customers, and co-workers. It is suggested that the level of quality service or personal servicing performed by flight attendants can be both surface and deep acting, depending on employee-customer interaction. However, the idea of spa is female’s work is not always true (for some reasons) but it is the general belief of the people the researcher interviewed:

“Spa work is female work, I think. Being a woman by nature is suitable for service jobs. Women are softer than men and women can persuade and solve problems better than men. In controlling emotions and not showing anger to customers, I think women are better than men.” (Abby, Manager)

“In my opinion, I think the spa therapist jobs are for women because the nature of the job is meticulous and careful. Women can understand customers better than men, understand their feelings and everything. Female spa therapists need to be sensitive and delicate in their movements.” (Nelly, Therapist)

“The receptionist job better suits women because we are gentle. However, if we face stupid or tough situations, I think men can better hide and manage their emotions than women. For me, I will change my facial expression and tone of voice in front of customers if they are too stupid and demanding. I sometimes talk to them with an emotional voice.” (Nida, Receptionist)

Nida's quote shows that it sometimes depends on customer types she experiences then she can decide to develop positive or negative emotional labour. Such interactions when organizational directives focus on the exemplary customer service, employees may express feelings or facial expression or body language that is not genuine (Yoo and Arnould, 2014). It can be seen that Nida engaged in surface acting as emotion regulation where she modifies the outward expression of her emotion while suppressing felt emotions (frustration) and faking expressed emotions of neutral facial expression and tone of voice. However, Grandey (2003) argued that surface acting may lead to negative outcomes of emotional exhaustion.

On the other hand, some of the interviewees said that females better show a positive professional face while men are better to suppress negative emotions (i.e. anger). This is consistent with Taylor and Tyler (2000), female are skilled actor who are more emotionally involved for others in order to show positive emotions. Moreover, Thai spa employees feel that men can manage emotions better when they face difficult time or negative emotions from customers and men can quickly solve problems. In other words, men have a fixed intention to come to a conclusion or decision, being determined or decided upon as by an authority:

“For the spa manager position, I think females work better than males because they are gentle and soft. Women are sweet and have caring personalities. However, in dealing with difficult situations, men can control their emotions better than women. I say this because I work with both men and women employees here. Men find better solutions than women, for instance, in the case with shoes that I encountered (see quote in ‘Humiliation’, page 162), if a male faced the same situation, I think he would just ignore it. Men will not be upset by demanding customers because they think the customer is always right and it is male nature to detach from people. But for me, I am too sensitive to hide my feelings, so I cried behind the customer’s back and felt discouraged.” (Ima, Manager)

“Spa work suits women better than men because women are respectful and submissive. The spa concept is to be respectful, tender, and sweet in the northern Lanna style. The spa owner makes this spa unique. Women work better than men as they provide a warm welcome to customers and build a better relationship with customers. However, men can solve problems better than women as they have determination and resolution if the problems are more than anticipated.” (Nanci, Manager)

Another interviewee noted that there might be some cultural reason and society perception and expectation towards jobs that spa work is appropriate for female. In Thailand, a collective belief for spa job is the trait of behaving in ways considered typical for women. Even though there are few male therapists, customers often refuse due to the religious/sexual concern or cultural or societal norms. As Meg explained:

“I think receptionist jobs are appropriate for women. But actually, this position fits both males and females, but men have to look clean and neat. One hundred per cent males will not work in the service industry such as spas, especially for receptionists. However, there are male spa therapists, a hundred per cent male, but customers often refuse to receive treatment from men.” (Meg, Receptionist)

“It is best for spa therapists to be women, rather than men. Sometimes, female customers come and it is the male therapist’s shift but customers refuse them and ask for a female therapist. Some women don’t want men to touch their body because they said it is disgusting and weird. While others have religious concerns, for instance a male customer may request a male therapist because he cannot stay alone in a private treatment room with female therapist. However, I personally feel that women are tender and respectful and do better in spa jobs than men.” (Nicole, Therapist Leader)

The above quotes are confirmed by one of the interviewees who noted that female therapists get more working hours than men:

“I think female spa therapists get more working hours. Most of the customers refuse treatment from male therapists. The majority of the spa users are women; they don’t want men to touch their body. Women can cope with demanding customers better than men as they can hide their feelings inside. Moreover, women are more sensitive and understand customers better than men.” (Nila, Therapist)

When interviewed, some of the spa employees embarked upon a ‘third gender’ (transgender) towards view of spa career, the performance of emotion management, and customer service delivery. In Thailand, third gender refers to lady boy or gay man who obviously presents themselves as a homosexual:

“I thought female therapists were better than men because we had sense of caring and gentle. However, the lady boys were doing things better than women. In managing emotions by hiding negative emotions and presenting positive emotions, I thought women could do better than men and lady boys. More importantly, the northern culture has nurtured us to have caring and sensitivity personality, so I think women and lady boys are better managing their emotions as this is considered as a northern Thai culture. More importantly, society expects us to present positive emotions” (Ocie, Therapist)

“Thai people were more open to female working as a therapist. Male therapists do not progress in their career, except they were gay or lady boys. Women had more sense of caring like a mother care for children. For managing emotion, I thought it depended on family background, educational level, and social status. Sometimes women were better in coping with bad mood better than men and vice versa. Have you ever heard that the higher education you have, the more dangerous you are. Higher education people could hide their evil better than those who had lower education.” (Nyla, Therapist)

The contradictory views from the female employees show that there are inconsistent responses from Thai spa employees about which gender is better suited the spa jobs. However, by looking carefully at the reasons and demographics of the spa employees who say each thing in the above quotes, it was found that their personal characteristics reflect ideas about gender roles in Thai culture. A more general description of femininity, which includes being gentle, soft, sweet, tender, warm, respectful, and submissive, may support saying that feminine people (including women and lady boys) are better than men as spa employees. Based on the demographics data (see Table 3.3: Demographics of Interview Respondents, p.117), the majority of the spa employees from three different job roles (manager, receptionist, and therapist) shared the common belief that women are more appropriate to carry out emotion work than men. While two managers (Ima and Nanci) found that men are better coping with tough or demanding customers than women. One of the reasons may be the less working experiences of these two employees, so they lacked of confidence in dealing with demanding customers. Ima and Nanci are 25 and 30 years old respectively and they have 2 years working experiences at the spa industry.

One of the male employees said:

“In general, women are better qualified and fit for the spa’s work because women have a caring image. I believe that women can give the best service to customers. They are more gentle and polite when providing services to customers. Moreover, most of the customers are too shy to have a male therapist rubbing or touching their body. However, it depends on the customer preferences and sometimes the religious concern. For instance, Muslim customers prefer male therapist, rather than female. For managing emotions, according to my own experience I cannot tell which gender is better, it’s depending on the personality, habit, and ability of each individual.” (Mark, Manager)

The quote above highlights the personal characteristic of femininity that women have caring image, gentle, polite, and better perform spa work. This also links to the customer service performance where women engage in deep acting during service interaction with customers. While men are able to suppress their real emotions in frontstage, resulting in a cynical face while they present authentic selves at the backstage.

The presentation and performance of a femininity of women is perceived as aesthetics where the spa employees are considered to look feminine according to dominant occupational and organizational discourse (Taylor and Tyler, 2000). Key words that emerged from the analysis of interview transcripts regarding spa as women’s work include ‘caring, gentle, soft, and sensitive’. Therefore, the spa employees are expected to regulate their own appearance and emotions to perform a desirable image at frontstage (Goffman, 1959). In other words, the spa employees are expected to ‘keep face’ or ‘Goffman’s face’ by “*maintaining the initial impression that they have made on an audience and live to it*” (Bullingham and Vasconcelos, 2013: 102). To this, the spa employees may choose the mask to wear in a given situation when interacting with different types of customers.

From the summary of the respondents (Table 3.4), the spa occupation is female dominant and it can be argued that this type of work is more likely to be female’s work. It is an orientation towards the publicized idealised image and members of the spa profession to be feminine.

Spa employees have to be trained how to show therapeutic professional face to match the idealized image and to behave in the manner expected of spas before they enter to the spa and during work. The performance of 'prescriptive' emotion management can be performed by both male and female. The comments about whether men or women are better at controlling their emotions show a lack of consensus which is of interest point to discussing the current research. The central argument throughout this theme shows that having cared and been concerned for customers along with being gentle and soft, the spa working is appropriate for women, rather than men. Taylor and Tyler (2000) also highlighted that emotional labour is seen as women's work because the majority of spa employees are women. Therefore, women have abilities that they possess by virtue from being different from masculinity to perform customer service naturally.

This study is found that women have a maternal or subservient personality (or instincts) so that it is easier for them to touch customers' body. In Thailand and Thai society, people accept female therapists more than male. However, there is no evidence to confirm that this is always true in Chiang Mai or all of Thailand; it is just a summary of what the respondents said. The traditional Thai massage requires customers to wear loose clothes while the full body massage and scrub require naked body where customers prefer female therapists, rather than male. In some massage positions, the spa therapists have to touch and rub down around the stomach, thigh, and groin area and this has to be woman-to-woman massage. This is required by Thai culture or perhaps religion as the quotes give the example of male customers refusing female therapists because of religious requirements about gender difference. Whereas some female customers may prefer (customer preference) a male massage therapist because males are likely to be stronger and able to provide stronger pressure (hard massage).

Linking to the gender roles of the spa as a therapeutic and female's work, spa codes of conduct is emerged, especially from the spa therapists when asking about demanding customers they experienced in the spa industry. Most of them feel disgusted, shocked, and humiliated when customers visit spa and ask for sexual (erotic) massage. However, the spa employees have to show and maintain professional face and demeanour and refuse providing this service to abuse customers. This means that they work hard on their emotion to perform 'prescriptive' emotion management. The most important thing always running in their head is to respect the 'spa code of ethics' as part of the spa profession and Thai culture.

6.3 SPA CODE OF ETHICS

It is found that the spa employees do not receive formal training about emotion management, but the spa offers training on customer service. Training within the spa industry takes two forms: orientation and on the job training. All newcomers learn the social knowledge, tasks, required/expected behaviours, values and attitudes necessary for a role in an organization. More importantly, according to the Thai culture and spa as a job title, spa provides training and staff manual regarding the spa code of ethics which analogy to the 'professional feeling rules' (Bolton, 2005) or 'secondary socialization' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Unfortunately, both of them did not mention which types of emotions should be expressed or suppressed during the service encounters. In addition, there are no rules dictate the showing of bad or negative emotions (such as anger, cynical face, or speak in a blunt direct manner means the spa employees are unprofessional). This theme may well be linked to the previous themes: spa as female's work and the belief or perception towards Thai spa employees who can present positive or pleasant emotional environment in the workplace.

According to Bolton (2005), even though the organizational feeling rules are not clearly stated, these rules still require specific performances of the employee and have a significant influence on the employee's personality. Because the organizational feeling rules create a set of on-going expectations or requirements for how an employee should act. This research argues that although few employees know all of the organizational rules, the spa code of ethics for spa professions are not forgotten and ignored. This is because all of the spa employees have to go through training about spa ethics and customer service. Consistent with Bolton (2005), the process of becoming familiar with an organization's feeling rules allows employees to learn how to be an active and productive member of the organization.

In Thai spa, professional feeling rules are rules from both the public sectors (government, hospital, and temple) and from the professions or group of people (Thai Lanna Spa Association). The rules or code of ethics from either the Ministry of Public Health or a group of people (i.e. Thai Lanna Spa Association) who created the rules for the spa businesses. It is also common in Thailand, where massage is being provided in a hospital or a temple. This means that rules reflect Thai culture, norms, and religious considerations because the Thai massage was originated in 'Wat Pho' or 'Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimolmangklararm Rajwaramahaviharn'. "Wat" in Thai language means temple. Wat Pho is the first grade royal monastery, regarded as the most important one during the reign of King Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty. It is also recognized as the first Thai Medical School under the approval of Thai Ministry of Education¹⁹. In addition, 93.6% of Thai people are Buddhist²⁰ and they share, respect, and apply the Buddhist golden rule²¹ in both private and work lives.

¹⁹www.watpomassage.com

²⁰<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/th.html>

²¹http://www.abuddhistlibrary.com/Buddhism/B%20-%20Theravada/Ethics/The%20Five%20Precepts%20-%20The%20Buddhist%20Golden%20Rule/five_precepts_the_buddhist_golde.htm

The spa code of ethics refers to the behaviour that professionals need to conform to in order to maintain and promote the good manner, reputation, and honour of its members. It was discovered from the interviews that the spa codes of ethics apply to all spas in Thailand. Furthermore, the teaching and learning of the 'Buddhist Five Precepts' are gone through Thai people's lives and minds since the early childhood when we start going to the school. It means that at least Thai spa employees realize and recognize these five precepts and apply into their work lives. The Five precepts²¹ is the basic code of moral conducts or rules that prevents Buddhists from sidestepping the wrong or unacceptable behaviours. The five prohibitive trainings include refraining from (1) taking the lives of living beings (human beings or animals), (2) taking that which is not given (thief), (3) sexual misconduct, (4) telling lies/untruths, and (5) drink intoxicants or take drugs. The principles of spa's work is legislated by the Ministry of Public Health, including; compassion, humility, ashamedness to the sin, meticulousness, putting oneself in someone else's shoes, keeping the confidentiality of the customer's treatment and illness, and being enthusiastic in participating any spa trainings. This means that the spa employees do not only rely on their experience to cope with their emotional display (managing their emotions), but also have to abide by a code of spa conduct. This theme emerged from the interviews with the spa employees when they narrated that most and often customers come and ask for 'special massage' (or erotic massage) with beautiful young therapists. The majority of the frontline service workers (spa managers and spa receptionists) explained how they feel when they have to show professional face and keep distance from customers:

"There are a lot of male customers who come and ask for 'special massage'. Some of them ask at the spa lobby while others ask the spa therapists in a private treatment room. If the spa therapists are found to provide special or sexual massage, they will be discharged immediately. I am surprised and frightened when they ask for this, unfortunately I have to refuse them. Sometimes, it is yucky and disgusting. However, the spa therapists have been trained and taught to be aware of spa code of ethics. They have to respect the Great Teacher and spa profession." (Nanci, Manager)

“It is shameful and miserable whenever the (non-Thai) customers come and ask for ‘special massage’. They look down on Thai people and my profession. As a certified spa, we have to remind ourselves and keep telling the spa employees to respect the spa code of ethics. We have to refuse and explain this to customers.” (Mark, Manager)

“A customer came and asked for ‘special massage’, I was shocked, furious with him, and felt so disgusted with him coming and asking for this. I feel sick and I have to refuse him. Sometimes, customers don’t ask at the reception area, but personally ask the spa therapist while they were in the treatment room. If this is the case, the therapist comes out and tells me not to give the feedback form to the customer to fill in because it affects their performance bonuses and income. I feel sympathy for the spa therapists who have to face the mental illness of customers even when the customers are beastly.” (Nida, Receptionist)

Nida’s quote shows that she is able to have multiple selves whilst she is constrained by organizational display rules and feeling rules (Bolton, 2005). The feeling of disgust and refusal to customers to provide sexual massage means that she engages in ‘prescriptive’ emotion management, while she has the feeling of sympathy towards spa therapists means she engages in ‘philanthropic’ emotion management (see section 8.3: Space for Compassion, p.238). This is consistent with Bolton’s typology of emotion workplace, this means that Nida is smart to draw on different sets of feeling rules and sources of motivations to allow her feeling matches with the situation and maintain professional manners. This is to show that she is a skilled employee because she can balance the conflicting demands and to influence polished performances (Bolton, 2005).

Nonetheless, the spa managers and receptionists cannot control what happens in the treatment room because it is a frontstage of spa therapists where they have private performance. To ensure the spa therapists enact professional feeling rules and obey spa code of ethics, the spa therapists have to use their professional knowledge to talk with customers and refuse to provide sexual activity in the spa. Although one of the spa rules requires the spa owners to have no lock in each treatment room’s door. This means that in emergency or unusual case, people can open the door and enter treatment room. This is one way to ensure that the spa

employees follow the spa service standards and not provide sexual massage in the Thai spa. AsStrauss (2002) noted, in social interactions it is just as important to be sure of your own identity inside your own thoughts as to be able to communicate who you are and your identity to the other person. For instance, they have to find their own coping mechanisms to reject customers if they ask for something beyond the standard spa services and treatments, even though customers incite them with a huge amount of money in front of them. As supported by some of the interviewees who explained:

“I am not angry with them when they come and ask for ‘special massage’. They scratch my palm and I have a sense that they want a little ‘something something’. It is not disgusting because I have heard the senior therapists talk about it among themselves. So I learned how to refuse that kind of customer. When providing full body massages or body scrub, the customers need to be naked and I am sure they have sexual arousal, especially when I touch a man’s body. I am not angry though because I used to take care of my grandfather by cleaning his ass. So I imagine that the male customer is my grandfather and I have to ignore whatever he does in front of me in the private treatment room; what I did was pretend that I did not see anything. Some of them offer me a tip but I say no because I respect the spa code of ethics.” (Nila, Therapist)

It was discovered that Nila learns from her colleagues the coping strategy as she goes through secondary socialization, later learning during adulthood to adjust the initial patterns of accepted and expected behaviours (Watne *et al.*, 2011). As mentioned in Chapter 2 that to help understand how emotion management is done in customer service work, it is necessary to think about workers, employers, and customers (Bolton, 2005).

“When the same male customers come to the spa again, they never ask for ‘special or sexual massage’. I think because they had the wrong idea about the Thai spas, but when I told them that we did not provide sexual massage for fun, they all accepted it and felt embarrassed. Most massage therapists are required to follow the spa code of ethics as part of training and work. The spa ethics are concerned with the boundary between therapists and customers and respecting the massage teachers. Hence, we (therapists) agree to conduct massage in a manner which commands respect for our ‘Great Teacher of Thai Massage’. Apart from feeling nauseous about the customers who ask for special massage, I feel that he is not my husband and I cannot touch his sexual organ even if he puts a huge amount of money in front of my face.” (Nicole, Therapist Leader)

Nicole strongly respects the spa code of ethics while abiding by the professional rules to maintain professional face, rather than being greedy for money and uses 'pecuniary' category. Again, the Thai cultural and societal norms are hanging on her neck while she should refrain from sexually misconduct with those who are not her husband (according to the Five precepts of Buddhist Golden rules).

However, the spa owner at one spa notes that she attaches spa code of ethics rule regarding 'sexual massage' clearly on the wall in each treatment room to communicate to customers. Once customers read the notice, they would never ask for more than what the spa provides. She considers that the certified spa industry should strictly follow the rules enacted by the Ministry of Public Health. Sexual massage definitely cannot be seen and obtained from her spa and she will not get angry if this notice hurts customers or lessens customers or customers never return to her spa:

“The iron rule that I always tell and teach my employees is that not to provide sexual massage because it brings bad image and reputation to our spa, Chiang Mai province, and finally a country of Thailand. So I place a notice paper, both in Thai and English language, in each treatment room saying that ‘This business does not offer sexual services. There are no exceptions. Please kindly respect our staff. Thank you’. If customers get angry or embarrassed with me refusing this service, I accept that. However, I will talk to them politely and professionally and will not let customers feel embarrassed” (Neva, Manager)

In relation to customer service perspective, she has her own coping mechanism to ensure her staff provide good service and meet spa standards. Niva further explains that she sometimes asks her friend to be a *'mystery shopper'* to visit her spa and ask for *'sexual massage'* from both receptionists and therapists. She employs her friends to pretend to be customers and report back if the customer service workers follow the spa rules. Wilson (1998) noted that mystery shopping is a form of participant observation to act as customers or potential customers to monitor the quality of service delivery. This idea stems from the service managers or owners are increasing an emphasis on the service performance and this

deception aims to check the consistency of processes in the delivery of a service (Wilson, 2001). This term is consistent with the evidence of flight attendant research conducted by Taylor and Tyler (2000) that the form of mystery shopping is used randomly on selected flights to supervise and appraise the grooming of flight attendants by senior management who are not part of the cabin crew. The monitoring of appearance is carried out through spot checks and pre-flight grooming checks which include company's uniform, make-up, hairdressing, and behaviour in a certain way whilst in uniform.

The interviews across the spa therapists demonstrate that even though customers ask for sexual massage, they cannot and will not do it because they respect the spa code of ethics. The spa employees say that they are frightened, surprised, and shocked when customers ask for 'sexual massage'. Some of them feel insulted just because customers have wrong or negative perceptions about the Thai spa service. Again, through their working lives (secondary socialization) they found their own coping strategies. However, they learn how to be patient to undergo their pains without murmuring and some of her quotes show that she engages in 'pecuniary' emotion management to satisfy customers since they paid for the treatment.

"I felt horrible and was shocked when customers asked me to provide 'special massage'. They should learn the difference between spa therapy from 'pretty spa' and a massage joint before them walking into the spa and looking down on my profession. However, I do not provide sexual massage because it is disgusting and illegal. When male customers ask me personally in a private treatment room, I want to walk away from them and from the treatment room. But I can't do that because they have already paid for the treatment. Some of the customers keep asking me to do that and tell me that it is between him and me, 'if you don't say and I don't say, no one knows'. This makes me feel really bad and afraid of him doing something bad to me. But I tried hard to explain my refusal to him and finally he accepted it. Once upon a time when I first started working as a spa therapist, one Thai male customer came and asked for special massage. This situation has always been in my mind since then until now. It is disgusting to see his face and provide him a massage. I had to close my eyes when I saw his erection during the body massage I provided. I wanted time to move fast and so I could finish the treatment.

However, I couldn't stop the treatment, so I moved to massaging his hands instead for the rest of hour."
(Ocie, Therapist)

Another interviewee says she deeply respect the Buddhist basic moral rule: abstain from sexual misbehaviour and this is also considered as a resistance to spa's rule:

"I feel and I know that some of the spa therapists provide sexual massage to the male customers. Knowing the face cannot tell the heart (Thai metaphor). For me, I will never do it because I can never forget it if I do something wrong. We all have to respect the spa code of ethics. No one can check up on me or open the treatment room while I provide massage. It is difficult to control too, but we have to keep in mind that we are professional spa therapists." (Tammy, Therapist)

The above quotes show that the spa employees have their own coping strategies and autonomy to behave in a private treatment rooms, such as close their eyes and focus on some other areas of customers' body even though they are away from the management control. In this case, they can ensure that they follow professional feeling rules and still can provide good customer service. However, one of the health spa managers said that customers need to know the types of the spa and the core values the spa delivers to customers (i.e. day spa for relaxation and healthy spa for therapeutic modalities). At health spas, the caring doctors and practitioners will diagnose and screen each customer as a whole being: mind, body, and spirit before sending customers to the spa therapists. The health spa offers an array of diagnostics, ranging from bioenergetics modalities to more traditional medical assessment and Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) to determine the root cause of disease. Whereas at day spa, customers come and choose an individual treatment that is perfect for them.

"I think customers should know their purposes of visiting or using spa services: relaxing, pampering, or therapeutic. A spa is not the place where you can just walk in and have fun. The spa therapists have been trained to be and look professional. In here, it was less than 0.5 per cent of spa customers who came and asked for sexual massage. It hardly happens in this spa. We all have to respect spa rules and refuse them. Moreover, the spa therapists here were professional at organ massage because the spa owner who trained the spa therapist was an expert. Just only five old female therapists (above 50 years old) could provide our signature massages (Karsai Nei Tsang genital detox therapy and Chi Nei Tsang abdominal detox therapy). I felt we were different from any other spa because all of the customers

started with a health consultation and diagnostics by the expert doctors. Other day spas are not professional like us because they just provide massage for relaxation.” (Daisy, Manager)

Hochschild (1983) called the process where the TCM masseuses use their professional skills to diagnose customers’ health by using hand movements along customer’s body with caring voice in an attempt to produce an emotional state of reassurance and trust within the customer as ‘surface acting’. Such surface act allows masseuses to display feelings that are not genuinely felt and the repeated surface acting can lead to burnout (Wharton, 2009). The research findings of this study show the negative harms (such as burnout and psychological problems) on employees who engage in surface acting as some employees argued they are suffering from following display rule all the time and everyday.

6.4 S.M.I.L.E CULTURE AND C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L COMPANY

Apart from learning the professional feeling rules as spa code of ethics, the spa employees are required to internalize and follow organizational feeling rules. The majority of the spa employees confirm the underlying theme of their rules of spa. Organizational feeling rules are important to understand if one wants to be a successful member of an organization (Bolton, 2005). Employees and members of organizations learn the organization’s feeling rules over time. So organizations try to minimize the difficulty of teaching people new feeling rules by choosing new employees that show that they already understand some of the organization’s feeling rules and by using training and orientations.

Each and every organization includes various different people; hence, they have different attitudes and opinions. Working with others is not easy. However, if these people have to work together for the same purpose, a spiritual anchor which is ‘organizational culture’ is required. Organizational culture within the spa industry guides the spa employees to walk and

work in the same direction. It is discovered that corporate culture is acted as organizational feeling rules which set by the particular spa for its spa employees to follow:

“Corporate culture within a spa industry really influences the way people work and think. I can compare between our spa (wellness spa) and day spa, the spa policies affect the attitudes of employees. For us, our employees have ‘a giving mind’ or ‘a volunteer-mindedness’ to care for customers. We are eager to help our customers and we love them as if they were our family member. This corporate culture is absorbing day by day and as long as we work here it’s in our blood. We instil with this culture because of our boss and we learn from our senior employees as the majority of them have been working in this spa more than ten years.” (Daisy, Manager)

This quote shows that Daisy plays a role of *‘friend’* as value added service when she engages in emotional labour and provides a higher value exchange. Friendship also helps to create a company culture. Hochschild’s (1983) conceptualization sees emotional labour as a commodity that has ‘exchange value’ (as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.1). Such value means that employees enter an organization with an agreement to perform service in exchange for a salary (Chan, 2011). For Hochschild (1983), the value created through customer exchange benefits only employers and their profit margins for an organization at the expense of the psychological health and well-being of the employees. The researcher of this study agrees to this point, however, this research also found that the performance of emotion management brings job satisfaction among the spa employees.

The spa industry uses a corporate culture which has explicit feeling rules to guide to action that are holistic. This theme is emerged when the spa employees talk about the display rules of the spa industry which influences their performances during customer interaction. The spa employees seemed to notice the C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L and S.M.I.L.L.E rules at work a lot and this is noticeable to members of the organization. These display rules are being applied across several spas while they are at work. The spa managers insist that it is good for everybody to internalise the organizational culture so that they can provide the same level of standards and it is also easy to control. One of the interviewees explains the acronym of S.M.I.L.L.E culture

and how she feels when this is a display rule she has to carry out when interacting with customers:

“I have to carry out the SMILE culture of service where S is spirit, M is empathy for colleagues and customers, I is inspiration, L is loving the job, and E is empowerment. It is just something I have to remind myself of all the time and I felt it was too much for me during the busy hours with loads of customers. It makes me grumpy to do it during the busy hours. Following this SMILE culture makes customers happy and brings good customer feedback. However, at first I felt it was challenging and I was not sure whether I could follow this corporate culture. Now I know it depends on the number of customers, for instance, during the busy hours or peak period. I can't follow all of SMILE culture due to the limited time to welcome customers. I cannot explain each spa treatment in detail to each and every customer.” (Pamela, Manager)

Pamela also highlighted the corporate culture of a ‘C.O.L.O.F.U.L Company’:

“I have been trained and taught to follow COLORFUL Company guidelines as the spa culture. C is cheerful, O is open-minded, L is love and loyalty, O is optimistic, R is respect, F is function and flexibility, U is unique, and L is life is beautiful. The boss wanted us to have both SMILE and COLORFUL company cultures. However, in reality, I cannot follow and internalize all of them. It is distressing and wearisome to obey this culture because I cannot memorize it all and do it everyday.” (Pamela, Manager)

It appears that Pamela is pessimistic about the display rules because she expresses her stress and displeasure with following the rules. This supports Hochschild's (1983) finding that engaging in emotional labour benefits employers and organizations, but leads to negative outcomes for employees. Pamela noted that she had just been promoted to be the assistant manager after having worked as a spa receptionist for one year. A demographic analysis of her background shows that she was a 28-year-old, single woman with 1 year and 3 months work experience. Her relative lack of work experience could be one of the issues contributing to her pessimism, if she lacks confidence and feels nervous about being a role model to her subordinates for enacting the spa's S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L. company rules. On the other hand, Pamela would like to engage in deep acting if there is a chance where she

can spend more time with each customer ('prescriptive' emotion management by having time to be professional) and explain each spa treatment slowly (personalized service).

Stoddard and Wyckoff (2009) and Silzer and Dowell (2010 as cited in Yap and Webber, 2015) highlighted that leadership is a key person in influencing the corporate culture and developing a positive corporate culture in working environment. Corporate culture is considered as service scripts or display rules that the spa employees use to ensure they provide standard performance and enhance customer experiences (Giardini and Frese, 2008; Groth *et al.*, 2009). While Bolton (2005) noted that feeling rules can be imposed via different integrating mechanisms such as team working and quality initiatives to allow workers to internalize company values. It could be implied that the spa employees have a sense of involvement with an organization where they commit to the demands made by the spa (Bolton, 2005). Strauss (1990: 42) refers to commitment of self-involvement as "*to be deeply involved in a course of action*". However, during the peak hours, they may switch to display surface acting because the customer service interaction does not allow them to build close relationships with customers. One of the interviewees noted that the building of trust and a relationship with customer and colleague is important and it helps to smooth the service transaction. Consistent with Lewis (2008) where she noted that social relations such as friendships provide support for individuals and that the spa employees provide support among themselves and to customers. This is also reported by one of the spa managers:

"We always help each other to solve the problems or to create a new spa promotion. I need to build our own culture which consisting of trust, accountability, and credibility. All of these aspects must come from everybody in the organization because I cannot walk alone and reach the success. In my absence, if everybody has to wait for my decision and orders, it shows the weakness of a company." (Jenni, Manager)

The spa industry uses a corporate culture which does not have feeling rules but only guides to action that are holistic (corporate culture is recognized as display rules). The spa managers are positive, optimistic, and believe that it is good for everybody to internalize the organizational culture to ensure the provision of customer service shows the same standards. The above quotes reveal that the strength of friendship is influenced by a number of factors. For instance, the hotel spa employees consider themselves as part of a team and they commit to the organizational display rules. In line with Lewis (2008), the strength community of coping on the night shift nurses root from they work as a team and always work together. In addition, the night nurses have similar personal background (i.e. married and have children) and they have worked on the unit together for over ten years which allow them to know each other very well and strengthen the relationship between them.

It can be confirmed that the organizational (display rule) factors influence the management of emotion and customer service performances. Those who follow and apply display rule as corporate culture into their working lives indicate that they are committed to the organization (show sincere performance or deep acting) and feel a sense of belonging. To this, they are more inclined to perform sincere or deep acting while they are showing a professional face and demeanours ('prescriptive' emotion management).

6.5 PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

In the spa setting, 'prescriptive' emotion management involves the professional feeling rules of spa rules of conduct and the organizational cultures (S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company) which support the service provision performed by the spa employees. However, the spa receptionists and therapists report dissonance or sense of conflict when they have to enact corporate culture. One explanation is that they feel distressed and wearisome to obey this culture and do it everyday (frontstage). Hence, her

performance is more likely to be cynical (in some situations) when they correspond with display rules in providing service. While some of the spa employees deeply internalize and committed to the spa display rules and this is a reflection of deep acting or sincere performance. This research has contrary result to Jenkins *et al.* (2010) where the call centre receptionists did not report dissonance or sense of conflict and they are more likely to show sincere performance in corresponding with their identities.

Lewis (2005) noted that the 'prescriptive' emotion management is categorized when employees obey the rules according to the ideas of professional behaviour in the workplace. As professional spa workers, individuals must respect spa code of ethics, provide correct massage therapy and emotional care, and work according to certain spa standards. From interviewing the spa employees in Thailand, it is found that they show both sincere (deep act) and cynical (surface act) performances to the customers in frontstage when performing this type of emotion. Engaging in deep acting means that employees develop subjective commitment to organization and attempt to provide good service quality and customer satisfaction (Taylor and Tyler, 2000). One of the reasons is that female employees have superior personality of femininity than men by nature to show positive professional face and behaviours (see Daisy's quote in section Spa Code of Ethics, p.188).

In summary, the characteristic of 'prescriptive' emotion management in the Thai spa context identifies the need to present therapeutic professional face because customers expect to feel relaxed (day and hotel spas) and receive medical treatment (health spas) from the spa services. The data here in this chapter demonstrates that the spa employees have to work hard on their emotions to maintain professional face or remain detached or emotionally uninvolved to customers. However, they are really professional spa workers at this point.

6.6 CONCLUSION

'Prescriptive' emotion management within the Thai spa industry referred to the nature of the spa as a therapeutic work. The majority of the spa employees highlighted that their roles better fit women, which was in line with Taylor and Tyler (2000) who described the role of cabin crew as femininity (see section 6.2). Spa codes of ethics are seen as professional feeling rules or spa code of ethics while S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company are recognized as organizational display rules. Spa employees are required to understand and follow these rules if they wanted to be a successful member of an organization (Bolton, 2005).

CHAPTER 7 : PRESENTATIONAL EMOTION MANAGEMENT

“Thai Social Reality”

This chapter discusses the ‘presentational’ emotion management where Bolton (2005: 133) noted that this type of workplace emotion is not controlled by an organization’s feeling rules, but follow feeling rules of social interaction. Social actors can manage their emotions to fit the accepted and appropriate manners of the situation. This idea uses Goffman’s (1967) theory that actors are responsive to the rules of social interaction and become self-regulating. Self-regulating involves the skills where the actors are conforming to rules required for the performance of other types of emotion management to help organizations run smoothly. Bolton (2005) highlighted that in ‘presentational’ emotion management the social group can help to create stability and conformity by the social feeling rule. This chapter presents the social feeling rules of the day and hotel spa industry in Thailand. The interview data shows that the day and hotel spa employees versus health spa employees perform different types of emotion. Hence, this chapter talks at ‘presentational’ emotion management.

Asked what skills and qualities were important for their work, all health spa employees framed their responses in therapeutic role and this was considered a vital aspect of their work. While day and hotel spa employees framed their responses in relaxant and pampered role. In the spa industry, each and every employee assumes and perceives what the job role is like. However, before entering to the spa industry, they receive on the job training (OJT) about how to behave and perform in the spa and what is considered to be accepted behaviour by the Thai society. Social reality within the spa organization refers to the positive collective identity among the workforce as the spa employees, resulting in the acceptance of behaving in the same way. More importantly, this chapter aims to create a whole picture while

interpreting data and serves to contribute to the theme of the ‘presentational’ emotion management, *‘Social Reality of Thailand’*.

7.1 THAI PEOPLE AND THAI SPA INDUSTRY

In Thai culture, a hierarchical structure is very important (Ingersoll *et al.*, 2001). Within the hierarchical structure, Thais work hard to always maintain peace and harmony. Thais are very conscious of face, or status, for both themselves and others. In addition, Thai people try to minimize criticism and have ambition to build and maintain harmonious relationships within their group. The investigation of this empirical study found that the most important cultural characteristic of Thai people is ‘face-saving’. The performances of ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ emotion management demonstrate a person’s basic social identity because these two forms are done by following social feeling rules. For instance, saving face is regarded as the cultural norms that keep Thai people in the Thai spa industry thinking and behaving in a similar direction. Direct criticism or evaluation is seen as an insult and social affront which results in loss of face. *‘Kreng Jai’* (Thai language), to be considerate, to feel reluctant to impose upon another person, to take another person’s feelings into account, or to look up with great respect are normally seen and observed in all social interaction and relationship (superior/inferior or between employees and customers).

The actual existence of Thai collectivist culture impacts the delivery of customer service and management of emotion among Thai respondents. Feeling rules are the part of social theory that addresses emotions and feelings (Hochschild, 1979), while emotion management is the work a person must do to follow the feeling rules. This study finds significant links emerge among social reality, feeling rules, emotion management, and customer service quality. Therefore, this chapter tells a whole picture regarding how Thai spa employees (especially day and hotel spas) actually engage in ‘presentational’ emotion management according to the

societal norms. This is to say that the social feeling rules in Thailand affect what Thai spa employees think, do, and feel.

In traditional Thai society, people know their place in the hierarchy and most social interactions are hierarchical. Power is divided among different groups, or cliques, and maintained and shared within the patron-client relationships (the hierarchy here is ‘customer is the King’) of the patronage system. Most social interactions also involve ‘*bunkun*’ (Thai language), a deep gratitude, which younger people almost always express towards older people. The hierarchy is based on age, occupation, wealth and residence. For example, peasant farmers have traditionally been at the bottom of the hierarchy. Merchants and artisans had a higher status than the farmers, while above them were the government officials. Within each occupation, age and wealth also determine one’s position in the hierarchy. Thais determine how to interact socially based on age and social status within the hierarchy. The oldest and/or highest ranking person will almost always be shown the most deference in greetings and all other social interactions. Many gestures and other details of social interactions depend on the age and relative social status of the people involved. This is true of social interactions among family and friends as well as in the workplace. These gestures of respect are part of Thai culture’s emphasis on keeping strong and peaceful relationships between people. Thais work very hard to nurture and maintain relationships that might be important in the future.

The reputation of Thai spa industry brings a lot of visitors into a country. The social reality of Thailand means that spa professions are expert/professional services and this is seen as the social expectations. Spa therapists’ identity principally derives from the role of expressive specialist with particular (massage) skills, knowledge, and understanding of therapeutic

techniques. Spa receptionists' identity derives from the knowledge and understanding of spa products and treatments (only on spa packages and service standard steps).

7.2 CORE VALUE OF DAY SPA (RELAXATION)

The interview data showed that employees who worked in day spas and hotel spas performed 'presentational' emotion management, while those in health spas are more likely to perform 'philanthropic' emotion management (Chapter 8). The researcher found that the social reality within the health spa context is different from day and hotel spa. Social reality is constructed from the social facts that people learn throughout their lifetimes, for instance, people should eat three meals a day. The spa employees learn which feelings are and are not appropriate to a given social setting. We all learn social rules from the time we are born, through our family, experiences, and societal environment. The social reality or social expectation of day spa (relaxation) and health spas (healing) are different in many ways.

The socially developed norms among spa professionals, rather than prescribing organizational or professional feeling rules ('prescriptive' emotion management), also emerged during the interview as they refer to as the core value the spa delivers to its customer. One of the interviewees explained the core values of day spa deliver to customers. She notes that the spa she works for presents the authentic Lanna (ancient Northern Thailand) style spa and the spa provides notably herbal drinks to customers where the main ingredient is lemongrass. Customers use spa for relaxation as she says:

"Most of customers come to us for relaxation purpose. According to this, we encourage customers to drink our healthy drink to help them relax. We have Arctica, sense of refreshment, good to remove phlegm, refreshment, remedy eyes problem. Second, Tropica, sense of warmth, remove gas inside intestines, reduce abdominal pain, good for fire element and warmth, and stimulate blood circulation. Finally, Serene, sense of calmness, nourishing body, relieves coughs, and calmness." (Gigi, Manager)

Gigi emphasizes the unique herbal drink the spa makes for its customer and she feels this drink makes the customer return to the spa, apart from the service itself. Moreover, she says that she devotes her time and effort to this spa since the owner (father-in-law) gives her an opportunity to be a spa manager (patronage system). This means that she performs deep acting or sincere performance during customer interaction.

One of the interviewees from hotel spas also noted that they proudly present their signature or unique products to customers in helping the customer to feel a sense of relaxation and calmness:

“Most of customers use spa for relaxation and spa is seen as an alternative place to look after their health. I wish to work in the spa industry since I was young because it makes me feel like I am a doctor, but not work in the hospital. To make customer feel relaxed, I always ask if they feel comfortable with my weight of massage, the area to focus, room temperature, or light.” (Maya, Receptionist)

The interviewee also emphasizes on ‘customer is always right’ and she always puts this sentence on her shoulder and ensures she provides good service to every customer. This is consistent with Mann’s (1999: 1) “*overcoat theory of emotion at work*”. When people go to work, they take their coat off and leave them in lockers and pick them up at the end of the day. Maya says she leaves her bad mood at home or at the front door of the spa, when she steps into the spa she has to be professional (‘prescriptive’ emotion management). At the end of the day, she grabs her grumpy coat from the spa’s door to go back home.

The spa receptionists from both day spa and hotel spa share the same opinion regarding their profession and social expectation. Some of the interviewees prided themselves on their sociability in the spa industry where they form a positive collective identity. The spa receptionists are proud of being young and beautiful working in the frontstage. In line with Stevens (2012), that women are suitable for service roles that are affective, less strategic and of lower prestige in the interaction between organizations and customers (Knights and

Thanem, 2005; Moore, 2009), rather than management positions. However, the employment of women in service roles can be split into two types of labour: aesthetic labour and emotional labour. Aesthetic labour recruits young women whereas older women are hired in regard to the performance of emotion management or in certain frontline positions (Stevens, 2012). One of the interviewees talked about aesthetic labour and the spa employees at the day spa have the collective societal beliefs among the spa professionals:

“To be a spa receptionist was to be young, female, and pretty. We had to create a good first impression for our customers. So I thought the spa owners and customers would like to see these kinds of characteristics.” (Yanira, Receptionist)

“Personality is important for receptionists. During the recruitment process, I can feel that the hotel managers want young, female, and beautiful receptionist.” (Mazie, Receptionist)

Social and cultural processes of gendering for customer-service work in Thailand are highly feminine. Pettinger (2005) argued that aesthetic labour skills or attributes, performed by spa employees, are reflections of certain forms of social and cultural aspects and are structured through gender, age, class and ethnicity. Because of the amount of emotion management required to do customer service, it is largely understood to be women’s work. In particular, customer service requires many social interactions and a lot of emotion management to influence the customer’s emotions. Many researchers see these social interactions as the most significant characteristic of customer service work (Pettinger, 2005). Therefore, in the context of spa, employees are aestheticized in a distinctive way because the work not only involves face-to-face customer interaction, but also involves them in a relationship with the products (spa packages or treatments) they are selling or touching (by spa therapists) (adapted from Pettinger, 2005).

In Thailand, the social reality and the shared cultural norms consider the manner or word of ‘face saving’ is important. This is part of the professional socialization and collective norms among Thai people in a country. Professional socialization is the way that people can learn

the most important parts of the spa profession, including knowing in their hearts what the profession thinks and treats as important and how the profession thinks about things, learning the fundamental skills and information for the profession, and learning the way the profession thinks about the world (Richardson, 1999).

7.3 SAVING FACE

The spa employees draw upon social feeling rules (social reality), rather than organizational or professional feeling rules, to engage in face-saving activity that entail to maintain customer's dignity. Saving a customer's face is done to lessen embarrassment and to make customer look better in a situation where a customer is embarrassed or made to look bad. This theme comes when customers ask for a 'special massage' and the spa employees have various different strategies to cope with the feeling of embarrassment they have. Not only do the spa employees cope with their embarrassment, but also they have strategies (coping mechanisms) to protect or save customers' face during the service interactions. For instance, they distract the customer's attention to other conversational topics or indirectly and politely refuse customers for this service.

The proximity and duration of spa employees' interaction with customers are a significant factor in understanding their role. Spa therapists have more proximity and longer hour interaction with customers than spa managers and spa receptionists because the spa treatment lasts at least 30 minutes to the maximum of 4 hours. There is a high level of consistency in the responses of spa therapists regarding being asked for 'special massage' in the private treatment room. However, on the orientation day (normally on the first day when they start working at the spa industry), the spa employees receive explicitly clear instructions that the spa does not provide sexual massage or special massage to customers. All of the spa employees have to acknowledge this reality and they have to refuse customers in a polite

manner (this is part of the organizational rules). This theme emerged when the interviewees narrated their experiences when they feel upset, shock, and disgusted. However, they have to save face and protect the customer's dignity because Thai people have consideration for others' feelings and afraid of offending other people to feel bad. This is also a customer service requirement. Saving face also means the spa employees keep providing good customer service because customer may appreciate or pleased if they do not loss face in public and they may return to the spa in the future. To save face, they have to hide their feelings and facial expressions even when they feel disgusted, this is where the spa employees use 'prescriptive' emotion management in an attempt to maintain their professional face and follow organizational display rules, while they carry out 'presentational' emotion management to aware of Thailand's social feeling rules.

Some of the spa receptionists experienced challenging customers who ask for beautiful young therapists and 'special massage'. The coping strategy they use to protect the customer's face is to use the neutral body language and tone of voice. The neutral expression is believed to be the best technique where the customer cannot detect her embarrassment while she is saving the customer's face. Moreover, it shows that the spa receptionists pay respect to customers according to the social feeling rules:

"I was silent for a while when the male customer asked for special or sexual massage. I thought 'didn't he know that this is a spa and we didn't provide special massage?' However, I told him that we provided massage for relaxation, not for fun such as erotic massage with a neutral facial expression and tone of voice." (Meg, Receptionist)

"I have the iron rule attached to every single treatment room (both in Thai and English languages) stating that 'This business does not offer sexual services. There are no exceptions. Please kindly respect our staff. Thank you'. I accept all customer responses or feedback, for example if they are not going to visit my spa anymore. I am happy to accept this, but I will try my best to refuse customers politely and not let them feel embarrassed." (Neva, Manager)

The above quotes from the spa receptionists confirm the spa employees follow the rules of social interaction of the Thai context where they are aware of other people's losing face in public and pay respect to a customer who is placed in a higher hierarchical social structure. In addition, it reveals a depth of gratitude (*'Bunkun'*) since the customer comes and pays for the spa treatment, making the spa industry receive money. Without customers, the spa employees will never get money. However, it might be a case that the reason why the spa receptionist (Meg) was shocked and kept silent for few seconds is because she does not know how to deal with customer, she has never experienced this kind of situation before, she felt embarrassed, or she was angry. But she eventually performs her work well as a skilled emotion manager (Bolton, 2005) where she can maintain her professional manner and save customer's face.

The spa therapists also highlighted that they use neutral facial expressions to refuse customers to have sexual massage in the spa. While one of the spa therapists uses sense of humour to create a pleasant environment in a private treatment room when she faces an abusive customer. These reflect the coping strategies the interviewees use to save customers' and their own face and to show their professionalism. Again, the spa employees engage in both 'prescriptive' and 'presentational' emotion management at the same time. For some Thai people, a smile is often used for many different emotions such as apology, thank you, greeting, or to show embarrassment. Similar to the word 'Yes' above mentioned does not always mean yes for Thai people, this is the social reality about people in a country where Thais are likely to avoid uncertainty or confrontation, especially with customers. However, the spa employees use neutral tone of voice, facial expression, or body language, they hide their sarcastic smile in their hearts when customers make them embarrassed but they do not show:

“While I was in the treatment room with the male customer, he said that ‘I liked you, did you like me?’. I thought he was joking, so I replied ‘how could I like you if I just met you no more than five minutes ago’. While I was massaging him, he molested me by touching my hands and I told him that we did not provide sexual massage. Actually I was shocked, but I tried to use a normal tone of voice and neutral facial expression. I detached myself from him immediately, but he didn’t stop. Until the third time, when I was angry and told him ‘sorry, I was patient with you molesting me for 45 minutes, I won’t provide you with a massage and I have to stop now’. I thought that he was embarrassed because he then told me ‘ok, I want to stop now too’. He changed his clothes and came out to the lobby area and walked away from the spa without looking left or right.” (Mona, Therapist)

Mona performs ‘presentational’ emotion management where she is concerned about the societal norms to save a customer’s face. She also engages in ‘prescriptive’ emotion management and works hard on her emotion to be patient and keeps quiet (keep professional mask) when the customer attempts to sexually provoke her. However, her patience has a limit, once it is over her limit (more than three times); her anger is intense where her emotional expression cannot be controlled. Her quote also shows that she pays respect to a customer by not saying bad things to him directly making him lose control, eventually when she feels that customer does not pay respect to her job and herself, she stops providing a service to him. This is a common-sense approach many people in this world do, especially Thai culture to avoid confrontation because of fear of losing job. This also means that ‘customer is always right’ and ‘customer is a king’ are existing in Thai culture.

Another interviewee, who has been working for the spa industry more than ten years and she is now 55 years old, uses a sense of humour as a joke to customer when he asks for erotic massage. She is the only one interviewee of this research that uses gallows humour (as stated by her term) as a coping mechanism. This may be because she has experienced a lot of abusive (male) customers where she has tried several ways to cope with them, and sense of humour seems to work for her to get the job done and customers do not lose their dignity and faces. Furthermore, her age might make her more confident:

“There is one male customer, who is the Prince of one country, who came and used hydrotherapy. I had to be in the pool with him and teach him to exercise. He asked me to come closer to him but I refused because I knew what he would do to me. I’m not disgusted with him, but my job is not selling sex and I am too old to have sexual arousal. I tried to create a humorous environment for him and told him that I have never slept with a male in my whole life. I wanted to protect his dignity actually by refusing to be closer to him and let him step backward himself. For me, dealing with this type of customer does not require me to talk to him badly or impolitely. To escape a male customer doesn’t require talk I think, just showing disinterest with my behaviour and focusing on my job. Then he will detach himself from me. Some of the customers respect my profession and come back to me while some of them feel embarrassed and never come back.” (Nyla, Therapist)

Some of the interviewees highlighted that they avoid a customer, rather than confronting him in a critical situation. It is considered as Thai culture and Thais’ characteristic that the spa employees want to refrain from hurting customer feeling. It is a standard practice for Thai people. The examples below show the way the interviewees deal with disgusting situations by avoiding or pretending to ignore what customers do in front of them (not let customer losing face). Moreover, Thais focus on the non-verbal indicators of the ‘*wai*²²’ (Thai greeting) and the linguistic status to call older (‘*phi*’) and younger (‘*nong*’) people. These are seen as the determiners and symbols of power distance.

In the workplace, the spa employees have to (and are trained to) pay high respect to customers as customers’ given names are preceded by ‘*Khun*’ (Mr., Mrs., or Miss). This is obviously seen throughout a country when people go to services contexts and they are called ‘*Khun*’ before the name, for instance, ‘*Khun Apple*’. This shows the power relationship between workers and customers where customer is in the higher position than worker. It is believed (in Thailand) that to extol a word to call customer with ‘*Khun*’ makes customers feel

²²Wai (why) - a person places the palm of his or her hands together, with their fingers extended at chest level close to their body and bows slightly. The higher the hands are placed, the more respect is shown. Subordinates might raise their fingers as high as their nose. However, the tips of their fingers should never be above eye level. A ‘wai’ can mean “Hello”, “Thank you”, “I’m sorry”, or “Goodbye”. A ‘wai’ is not used to greet children, servants, street vendors or labourers. Never return a ‘wai’ to a child, waiter, clerk, etc. Simply nod and smile in response.

like they are someone special (not no one) in the spa industry, resulting in customer contentment and repeat purchase.

Therefore, it is common for Thais to be polite to customers and save their face when they ask for sexual massage in the spa industry. This can also be interpreted that the behaviour and manner the spa employees have are all part of being professional ('prescriptive' emotion management). Besides, men perceive women as subservient; resulting in customer has more power relation over female spa employees. Body language such as touching between people of the same sex is more common in Thailand than in many other Asian countries. However, touching someone of the opposite sex is taboo. Below are some examples of avoidance to save customers' face:

“There was a case when a male customer asked me to give him a special massage and I said no. I had to massage around his legs and groin for the full body massage. I heard his noise kind of masturbation, I felt something went wrong but I couldn't do anything or even leave the treatment room. It was disgusting and I was scared of him raping me. What I did was to avoid that area and keep massaging. I just ignored what I have seen and heard because I wanted to save his face. At that time, I wished time could run faster so that I could finish my job. Another example was when an Indian male customer always using his hands touching and rubbing his penis. I felt bitter to see it and lucky me because the spa treatment was almost finished, so I decided not to massaging his head. I just asked him to sit, he suddenly opened a towel that covered his penis and masturbated. I then just walked away from the room because I felt so disgusted.” (Nicole, Therapist Leader)

In one time, Nicole performs two categories of emotion, 'prescriptive' emotion management to present correct face, get through the difficult (evil) situation, and create distance from customer to get her job done. She also engages in 'presentational' emotion management by following the social feeling rules to be considerate another person's feeling and being professional. From what she says, it means that her quality service performance to this customer is lessened and she lost her true self, instead she uses surface acting. She wishes she could leave the room and time runs faster, so that she does not have to tolerate with her feeling of nasty. Unfortunately, customer pays for the treatment and she has to responsible for

and carry on this to complete her job to satisfy customer and she gets paid, this means she uses 'prescriptive' emotion management to being professional.

Another spa therapist highlights that foreign customers should be aware of Thai culture and the appropriate manners to Thai people in a public place, especially between men and women. The spa employees might feel comfortable if two parties understand and respect each other's culture and accepted behaviours because this could make her get her work done easily and perform a better quality service. Moreover, Thai people constantly emphasize on the importance of accepting life as a way of remaining calm and non-violent. The belief in Karma (the belief that one's previous actions impact the outcomes in the present and future) is another way to help Thai spa employees accept difficult situations that take place in their lives within the spa industry or elsewhere (Ingersoll, 2001).

“Once I was massaging him he touched my hands. I felt nervous because Thai people didn't do this to women. I was considered about Thai culture and customers had to accept it. However, I had to flap my hands from his hands. I didn't want to tell him directly because I didn't want him to lose his face. He might have felt embarrassed in front of me if I told him to stop. So I found my way to refuse him nicely and politely.” (Nelly, Therapist)

Dahl *et al.* (2001) said that embarrassment is an emotion that influences a lot of aspects in social behaviour. People can experience this emotion across a wide range of situations in consumer behaviour contexts. The feeling of embarrassment results from a public behaviour that audiences would consider foolish or inappropriate. This feeling threatens the positive public image that people try to deliver and can damage the value of their social interactions. However, people have different coping strategies to overcome embarrassment, such as avoiding social contact by hiding one's face, avoiding eye contact, distancing one's self from others. This is evidenced in the spa industry according to the above quotes.

The researcher of this study agrees with Dong *et al.* (2013) that although the metaphorical concept of hiding one's face is well-known, the concepts of losing face and saving face are more pervasive in Asian than in Western cultures. Consistent with the current research findings that the spa employees use their own coping mechanisms (e.g. use normal action, facial expression and tone of voice) to overcome the feeling of embarrassment so that to save their own faces and customers' dignity. Moreover, they do not want the professional mask to slip because it shows that they lose their faces in the public.

In summary, the spa industry provides massage for both relaxation and medical treatment. The spa managers and spa receptionists have to maintain their professional faces when introducing, explaining spa treatment to the customers, and refusing customers when they ask for sexual massage. The spa therapists also have to hide their own true feelings and save customers' dignity when they touch the customer's naked body around sexual organs, so that they can accomplish their tasks and customers satisfy with the service. They all do not want customers to feel bad, that is why they behave professionally by following the social feeling rules and shared societal norms.

7.4 PRIVATE SPACE FOR EMOTIONAL AND PHYSICAL COMFORT

The feeling rules of society are not stated directly and clearly but are understood by people who live in society. However, employees are able to act in a proper way that even follows feeling rules that usually are not stated clearly and directly for every particular situation. Employees would not be able to follow organizational feeling rules or perform 'pecuniary' and 'prescriptive' emotion management if they did not already know basic social feeling rules from their life outside of the organization. To this, organizations need employees who already know how to follow social feeling rules so that they operate efficiently (Bolton, 2005). Sometimes when the 'prescriptive' feeling rules required by the company and the

organizational feeling rules are not forced as strictly as normal, people make an ‘unmanaged space’.

This is to say that if the organizational feeling rules are not in control for some reason people will use the space or freedom to be not controlled by the rules. People are able to make their own areas for emotion, or ‘back regions’ (Goffman, 1959). These types of unmanaged spaces are places where people feel comfortable, relaxed and protected. People use these parts of the organization to do all kinds of things without others watching or controlling them and without planning (Bolton, 2005). These unmanaged moments show how workers can be both ‘at work following the rules’ and free to act as they want in some situations. In other words, even when a worker is following all the rules exactly in how (s)he presents him/herself, (s)he may be able to communicate many things the organization might not like, including disrespect for the organization, all without saying anything against the rules.

Many of the examples above show how the spa employees manage their emotions to save their own face and customers’ faces. The performances are likely belong to the organization’s and job title’s benefit (be and look professional). The majority of the interviewees note that they feel shocked, angry, embarrassed, disgusted, and scared when customers visit spas and ask for special massage. According to the social reality regarding Thai spa service, sexual or erotic massage is not given in the certified spa industry (by the Ministry of Public Health) and Thai people consider asking for this is unaccepted behaviour. To refuse customer, to protect customer’s dignity and face, and the ways the spa employees maintain professional mask and demeanour (‘prescriptive’ emotion management) and to satisfy customers (‘pecuniary’ emotion management) can lead to stress and emotional exhaustion. Of course, they find some spaces to release their emotional drain, to present their authentic selves, to feel comfortable where spontaneous reactions are taken placed. The majority of the data show that the spa employees use back region as a private space within the spa industry where they can relieve

their stress from having to maintain the face prescribed by ‘pecuniary’ or ‘prescriptive’ emotion management. The performance of ‘presentational’ emotion management is likely to occur where the spa employees can be relaxed from prescribed organizational display and feeling rules.

A range of activities take place in their private spaces and the spa employees use these spaces to create emotional or physical comfort as coping strategies. The spa employees are self-concern or have self-interest to create these spaces within the spa organization. Emotional or physical comfort is described in the interviews with the spa employees as occurring where they have created their own spaces to engage in certain activities to release stress. In other words, the spa employees have created their own coping mechanisms to release anxiety and present the right face.

Within the Thai spa, physical comfort refers to the physical mobility from one place to another, especially the spa managers and receptionists because they are always in the frontstage. For the spa therapists, the private treatment room is the frontstage where they perform duties and deliver service to customers. So, they are finding some spaces within the spa to relieve stress and exchange smiles or conversation with their colleagues. Spaces can be anywhere such as kitchen or outside spa where these are regarded as backstage. Behaviour at the backstage are used to call their friends and family, practice meditation, riding a bicycle within the spa garden, or stay still at the pond, watching fishes and listen to the water sound. Some respondents provide an example of private back spaces they use:

“Whenever I was stressed and bored from work, I walked away from the reception area, sought out quiet space where nobody was around and called my friends (who didn’t work in the spa industry) and recounted my tale of woe.” (Ima, Manager)

“I always went to the back office and practiced meditation so that I felt relaxed and released stress. On my days off, I usually went to the temple to pray and practice meditation. This made me feel better and I could come back to work refreshed, with more energy.” (Gigi, Manager)

“The only way to release my stress or anger was to eat. I will eat everything and that makes me feel better.” (Ozie, Manager)

“I always ride a bicycle within the spa area. Sometimes I go to the waterfalls or the pool to watch and listen to the sound of water which makes me feel relaxed and comforts me.” (Edie, Manager)

“I have my notebook, books, and music to help me release stress. These things just help to distract my attention to something else, but I still stay with my other colleagues in the same area. Sometimes, I go to the tree and sit down under it, take a deep breath and relax.” (Lidia, Therapist)

All of the quotes from the spa employees above show that the spaces are undertaken on their own (alone). Unlike Bolton’s space where workers use unmanaged space to exchange smile, congregate around the coffee area, or smoke at the toilet, this distinction comes (partly) from the Thai culture where this thesis contributes to the practical implications. The above quotes confirm that in the spa industry, spa employees create their own spaces (rather than having a backstage space provided for them) which they use to feel comfortable and for emotional or physical relaxation. The majority of the interviewees noted that they have used these spaces to escape organizationally prescribed feeling rules (when given the opportunity to do so) and allow them to be themselves. As Jenkins *et al.* (2010) said, these spaces enable them to be themselves and people’s duties in these places are usually much closer to normal life where they can create a sense of individual self-identity. Most of the interviewees highlighted that they felt better, refreshed, and relaxed while they are in the backstage. This means that they can prepare themselves and get ready to work after they release their bad mood, resulting in a better performance of customer service by engaging in deep acting (rather than surface acting²³).

Another spa manager has recounted that after her bad and hectic day, she has discovered a way to cope with such a difficult situation. Not only does this spa manager perform

²³Hochschild (1983) defined surface acting as to change the outward appearance through one’s body language; the expression is ‘put on’. In deep acting, the performer works to modify the actual feeling by expressing a true feeling that has been self-induced.

‘pecuniary’ emotion management, she also performs ‘presentational’ category to copes with her emotional drain at the backstage to calm down:

“I felt sorry for myself, I felt like I was a worthless person and imagined that if I were rich like her one day I would never treat any other person as rudely as she had. I was hurt by her because I had spoken to her nicely and behaved politely. Why wasn’t she kind to me? For a fleeting moment, I got angry with her but then I felt it was a challenge to see if I could keep everything in control so I would do it better next time. I felt happy later on because I had been able to maintain a professional face by not losing my temper or showing a grumpy face to customers. Not even a bad tone of voice or a disagreeable facial expression. I felt like I had won the game even though I felt deeply depressed during that moment, but I did not show my bad reaction.” (Ima, Manager)

It can be seen that in order to manage our own emotions and present the right face to customers, sometimes it is depending on the emotional ability²⁴ of the individual. It is assumed that by not showing bad mood or bad manners in front of customers, Ima has high emotional ability because she can recognize, understand, identify, and manage her own emotions to perform good customer service. Kidwell *et al.* (2015) noted that higher emotional ability is related to increased performance and people may make quality choices.

On the other hand, some of the spa employees explained how they use backstage to misbehave such as gossip or ask for a break. In the Thai spa context, bad-mouthing means saying bad things about other people or places:

“I gossiped with my colleagues and we exchanged smiles and laughter so we would feel better and to express our own feelings.” (Yanira, Receptionist)

“I didn’t have my own space within the spa to release my stress, but I usually chat and share my bad experiences with other receptionists. I call this bad-mouthing. It makes me feel better actually.” (Fiona, Receptionist)

²⁴Emotional Ability (also known as “emotional intelligence”) is the ability to cleverly use emotional information to achieve a desired outcome (Kidwell, Hardesty, and Childers, 2008).

Employees are doing exactly what managers want them to do, however, customers have become more demanding has allowed the spa employees to create their own spaces for their emotional and physical comfort according to the environment around them. Some spa employees use spaces for gossip or bad-mouthing about colleagues or the spa industry itself. Misbehaviour can occur in many ways depending on each person's personality and commitment to the job. For example, if spa employees found themselves unhappy working in the spa industry, but they keep on working, they might just surface act by performing 'pecuniary' emotion management as they work for money. For those who work and ensure they present professional face as it makes them look good, they perform 'prescriptive' emotion management.

However, most behaviours such as chitchat in front of customers or having snacks in the lobby area are prohibited, but most of the interviewees say they keep doing it. Some of the interviewees say that they learn from secondary socialization (from seeing the senior workers) break the spa rules (form of resistance in 'pecuniary' emotion management) whenever there is a chance. One of the spa managers argued that the closer relationship between the spa manager and spa receptionists creates more difficulty with asserting organizational control:

"Once I worked as a spa receptionist, we always get along well with each other among receptionists. However, when I got promoted as a spa manager, I felt like I am isolated and no one listens to me as before. Sometimes I saw my inferior (receptionists) misbehave or do something against the spa's rules, I warned them but they kind of resisted what I am saying. They just didn't listen to me and I felt we were not close friends anymore."(Nanci, Manager)

It is evidenced by Bolton (2005) as discussed in Chapter 2 that some rules are ignored, some are forgotten, and some are never brought up or required. Analoui and Kakabadse (1993: 58) suggested that the spa employer should allow "*the creation of the appropriate workplace culture*". In this sense, the employer should support ways of acting at work that give

employees ways to say they are unhappy without causing problems for the company. Then when employees are unhappy they will see that it is logical and natural to only show their unhappiness in ways that do not hurt the company. Some of the spa receptionists noted that:

“We have created our own culture as receptionists. We are always busy and we face demanding and difficult customers every day. We don’t have time to have a proper break, so I eat in the spa lobby even though I know we are not allowed to do so. I eat and chitchat with other receptionists because I feel hungry. And I don’t think it is wrong because the senior receptionist used to do that too. Sometimes I feel the spa rules are thoughtless and enforced too loosely to be followed or control us. If we are not found guilty of doing the wrong thing, I will keep doing it. I think as we become closer friends, it makes it difficult to control us or for us to be disciplined.” (Nida, Receptionist)

“During the low season when there are few customers, I always chitchat with other receptionists at the back of the spa. We eat and chat because there is nothing to do in the spa. If the spa manager comes, we separate ourselves (sometimes the manager separates us) and go back to our own position such as the reception area or the front office.” (Sindy, Manager)

Apart from the illustration above demonstrates a person’s basic social identity or the way the spa employees be themselves and use space to do what they actually do while they are not at work (reading, listening to music, eating, etc.). This means they use space to do some activities as their hobbies. The statements below show the way most of the spa therapists cope with their hunger while they do not have time for a proper break, even for a drink. Their actions to avoid organizational feeling rules are done every day and are frequently not noticed. The procedure for providing a spa package normally includes doing a body scrub, body wrap, and aroma oil traditional Thai massage. The majority of the spa therapists highlighted that they have to work all day without any proper break for drink and eat. They are starving and need to eat; hence they create their own coping mechanism and their own way to get physical comfort. This occurs when the therapists just leave customers for a time while they go to eat. Most of the spa therapists have a similar way to deal with their hunger during the stressful and fatiguing treatment time. Many of the therapists narrated how they cope with the hunger and exhaustion where they escape to their own spaces to serve their

own self-interest or self-concern. It is to refresh themselves and put more energy (from eating and drinking) so that they can come back to the treatment room and provide stronger massage and show smiley faces:

“I know we are tired because there are a lot of customers here. I just want some time to rest, but I cannot because once I finish two hours or sometimes four hours of body massage and body wrap, another customer is waiting for me in another treatment room. I have to quickly go there. I am hungry and they do not allow me even a five-minute break. I have to continually work all day and all night, non-stop. Sometimes, I felt fatigued and furious because I was so hungry. I don't know why the spa receptionists gave me customers hour after hour, I need some time for myself to eat and drink. I sneak away from the treatment room after putting oil or cream on a customer's body and go to the kitchen to eat two portions of sticky rice when the customer's body is covered with oil or cream and I have to let it soak into the body for ten minutes. I am irritated when there are so many customers and I am hungry. I am not a machine, I cannot work non-stop, and I need my break. Some other time, I just left the customer in the room and came out to eat and drink. I feel the spa owners force me to skip breaks and exploit me, they are selfish, just concerned about making money.” (Vicki, Therapist)

“I enjoy working in the spa industry as a spa therapist, but I feel sorry for myself and exhausted when the spa manager or the spa receptionists arrange my shifts consecutively without me having time to eat. If this is the case, I will sneak to the back of the spa and eat my meal for five minutes. I just put cream or oil on customer's body and leave. The oil or cream will penetrate into customer's skin perfectly if we leave it for a while.” (Yasmine, Therapist)

As Ackroyd and Thompson (1999) noted that employee misbehaviour includes all the different types of things that employees do and employees have always responded to prescribed feeling rules in many different ways such as not coming to work and acting like a robot at work. However, the spa employees do things different from any other Western contexts because the social feeling rules or societal norms for accepted behaviour are different. For instance, it is considered impolite and unaccepted for female workers to smoke in a public place where other people can see. Some spas do not allow their workers to smoke or have tattoo on their body because it is the cultural norms and attitudes of Thai people.

All quotes above mentioned illustrate the dramaturgical perspective (Goffman, 1959) where an individual envisages and prepares for her performance in her personal space (Tumbat,

2011). Goffman (1959) noted that backstage allows individuals to stay away from customers' gaze to get ready for the frontstage where the actual performance (customer interaction) occurs. The creation of symbolic personal space or backstage helps the service employees to relax, prepare, and get ready for the performance in frontstage. Such space, they can enjoy listening to music, reading books, writing emails, and talking to a loved one on a mobile phone (Tumbat, 2011).

In the spa industry, the interviewees noted that having an escape from the organizationally prescribed roles, faces, and behaviour allow them to refresh their body and mind. Within this space, the spa employees can be themselves or perform 'self-identity' which allows them to get ready to perform deep acting. The majority of the spa employees feel that after they use their own space, they are more ready to provide better customer service and their smiles are more likely to appear sincere. Backstage as a private space is, therefore, good for the spa employees because we all have and need our own space and everyone's preferred private space is different from others.

7.5 CONCLUSION

'Presentational' emotion management referred to as face-saving activity that involves maintaining customers' dignity (see section 7.3). The spa employees engaged in this kind of activity when customer asked for 'special massage' and they did not want customers to feel embarrassed or lose their faces in a public. Socialization helped them learning through the difficult situations and creating their own coping mechanisms for various different customers. Within this category, the spa employees sought their own spaces where they could feel comfortable, relaxed, and protected (Bolton, 2005) (see section 7.4: Private Space for Emotional and Physical Comfort, p.220). The majority of the spa employees used their own

individual space to release stress at the back (kitchen) of the spa office or the front (parking, lobby area).

CHAPTER 8 : PHILANTHROPIC EMOTION MANEGEMENT

“Emotion as a Gift at Health Spa”

8.1 SOCIAL REALITY OF HEALTH SPA (HEALING)

At the health spas, the societal norms are different from any other spas in Chiang Mai, Thailand. However, the core value the spa delivers to customers is to improve health and well-being with various methods including yoga, fasting, acupuncture, healing therapies, detox programs, cancer treatments, and many more²⁵. Hence, they are more likely to perform ‘philanthropic’ emotion management since they may become involved in customers’ feelings. The interviewees from the health spas described how they perform ‘philanthropic’ emotion management. The spa employees acknowledge that society has expectations for their emotional feelings. This means that they understand the cultural meaning of expressing their emotions.

One interviewee says she gives love to customer:

“This spa has a healing purpose, so first and foremost I have to make customers feel relaxed. This is a place for ill customers. I have to give love to my customers before giving them treatment. I have been working as a therapist for more than forty years, but I have worked here for twelve years. I have good wishes towards all my customers and the people around here. For those of us working in a wellness spa, we not only give treatment, but we teach our customers how to look after themselves at home in the future. We try to give them new ideas and change their attitudes. Customers here are physically or mentally weak. All I can do was to help them overcome that weakness.” (Ossie, Therapist)

The social reality under ‘philanthropic’ emotion management (see quote from Ossie) means that the spa workers had a sense of caring as a baseline in the wellness spa. However, they behaved in different ways while managing their feelings. They were more emotionally involved with customers by presenting their sympathy and love to (ill) customers. On the

²⁵<http://tao-garden.com/pakua-clinic/>

other hand, the social reality in 'presentational' emotion management takes place when spa employees respect general social rules (O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006). Spa employees in health spas see themselves as having 'expert identity' to perform their role, resulting in a performance of 'philanthropic' emotion management. This is because they see themselves (among the large amount of spa employees in day and hotel spas) as having special knowledge and expertise skills to provide to customers (who see themselves as patients) at the health spas. This means that the health spa employees feel proud to work in the only one and the most famous health spas in Chiang Mai. Therefore, they engage in deep acting or sincere performance when they interact with customers in the frontstage.

The social reality is the shared belief among the spa workers that influences how they feel in a given social interaction and how society feels about them. In general, the spa interviewees feel a sense of belonging to their professions. Social reality is the learning process once the spa employees enter into the spa social group. Vollmer and Mills (1966) noted that people learning to be professionals also learn to be committed or loyal to the profession. The learning process happens in a web of social interactions within the situations that are common to the profession. Spa employees learn the automatic values of spa professionals by observing what the professionals around them treat as acceptable professional actions. Professional socialisation is not just the way that spa employees learn to do the things required by their profession. Instead, professional socialisation is an important part of the way that people become professionals. Socialization, therefore, plays an important role in how the spa employees express their emotions in certain situations. For Thai people, it is a shared culture that we should care for or have consideration for other's feelings. This comes to the theme illustrates the way Thai people give thoughtful attention to cope with the feeling to save customers' face for their own sake (see Chapter 7: Presentational emotion management).

8.2 SPACE FOR A GIFT

The creation and use of private spaces for physical and emotional comfort obviously helps the spa employees feel better and release tension. However, on some occasions they want to offer 'philanthropic' emotion as a gift to customers or colleagues. The spa employees have a gift motivation to create space to engage in 'philanthropic' emotion management when they perform their roles above and beyond those required by organizational rules. As noted in social reality about Thailand and Thai culture, the social interaction is hierarchically structured where Thai people are concerned about other people's feelings, and pay great respect to other people or '*Kreng Jai*'. This can be done by not letting people lose face, especially in public. Moreover, according to '*Bunkun*', or a depth of gratitude, is often prominent in business life between employer and employee or between employee and customer. For instance, the patronage system²⁶ takes place in the spa business when employees see themselves as a servant or service provider who has to perform the best service and deliver good care to customers as they pay for the service. This is the link between two specific people to support each other in return for satisfaction. An employee who has a connection to the business owner will get a job more easily (social capital), than those who know nobody. It is agreed that the patron-client relationship is pervasive in Thai society even though between people at other levels of the social, political, and economic orders.

Nonetheless, '*Kreng Jai*' or '*Bunkun*' in this context does not mean that it is hanging on the spa employees' neck when satisfying customers or treating them like a King or Queen with a high power distance. The data in this research shows that the spa employee does extra emotion work (as a gift) to make her emotions match what is expected to the person she is

²⁶Patronage is a system of help or protection given to people in return for their support (<http://www.bangkokpost.com/learning/learning-from-news/198379/patronage-politics-in-thailand>)

interacting with. This is the performance of 'deep acting' (Hochschild, 1983) or 'philanthropic' emotion management (Bolton, 2005) as the spa employees said that through gifts we can create good feelings among people around us such as family, friends, colleagues, bosses, and customers. Gifts take many forms, either monetary presents or non-monetary items. Giving a gift reflects the positive attitude of the giver towards the recipient. Space for a gift within the spa industry is found between colleagues and customers and among colleagues themselves. They perform 'philanthropic' emotion management by offering customers and colleagues a gift by 'giving love' with no expectation of a return on their effort. However, some spa employees do expect something such as tips in return ('pecuniary' emotion management).

Space for a gift is dominated in health spas, rather than day spa because the spa employees have more time to build a rapport with customers and provide services beyond the standard required by the spa. Moreover, they have been working together for long time (10 years). The work environment at health spas is different from day (perhaps hotel spa) where the numbers of customers are smaller (average 3 customers per day) which means there is different emotion management with customers. However, this is not necessarily true for all situations, depending on the customers. Second, customers normally stay at health spas for a longer period of time, comparing to day and hotel spa. The spa treatment courses usually take at least three days to a maximum of a month, allowing the spa employees to build a rapport with customers. Some of the interviewees highlighted that they give customers extra services such as going over time limits (adding an extra five to ten minutes of massage) as a special gift to customers or teaching them how to do self-massage at home while other spa therapists in the same spa do not offer these things or charge for them. As they noted:

“I have a sense of caring, so I teach all of my customers how to do self-massage so that they don’t have to come here and pay for an expensive treatment. I am concerned about customers’ health and I am proud to share all my knowledge with them. I consider this a souvenir from me to the customers. Self-massage is good for health, you don’t have to come here, wait, and pay the spa.” (Ossie, Therapist)

“I like to teach my customers how to look after themselves and how to release stress. I feel like they are my friends for whom I have sympathy. I give love to all of my customers and treat them as my patients so I am definitely concerned about them.” (Yasmine, Therapist)

However, while performing ‘philanthropic’ emotion management, there seems to be some reciprocation when one of the interviewees says:

“I like talking to the customers while we are in a treatment room about everything, especially how to eat good food and live a healthy life. I sometimes add extra massage time if I like talking to the customer or we have the same attitudes so that we can share ideas and I can learn new things from her. It is wonderful to have this kind of customer here and I am happy to share my knowledge.” (Nyla, Therapist)

The above quotes reveal how the spa employees engage in ‘philanthropic’ category, again these link to the term ‘*Bunkun*’ where it sticks in their minds that customers pay for the best spa services and they deserve spa knowledge back. While some spa employees expect to learn something (i.e. business, politics, and economics) from customers who are more literate than them.

Another interviewee says that she engages in ‘philanthropic’ emotion management because she has pleasant and relaxed working atmosphere at the health spas. She supports her colleagues in anything she can do to get the job done.

“Whenever the reception area is busy, I will go and help my colleagues. I am happy to help my colleagues because customer satisfaction is our success. I am happy and willing to do this because we work as a team. We love each other and I am pleased to help everyone here if I can.” (Patty, Therapist)

Some of the interviewees decide to go beyond both the professional feeling rules (‘prescriptive’ category) attached to their profession, which require that they make customers feel relaxed and pampered, and the commercial feeling rules (‘pecuniary’ category) where the

spa employees get paid for a presentation of a smiling face. They do this because they are committed to the customers and have honest motives for doing so. A sense of commitment emerges from the account of emotion work that the spa employees do during service interaction with customer. As a result, they intend to provide sincere performance and support customers.

“When I see a customer coming to our spa with a severe skin disease, I quickly run to her, reinvigorate her arms, and help her to walk to the spa reception desk. I don’t mind and have no fear when I see ulcerations all over her arms, but I want to help her.” (Abby, Manager)

“As soon as I realized that the customer had HIV, I was a bit shocked but I talked to him and treated him as normal customer. I feel empathy with him and his pain, so I decided to give additional care to him and look after him during his stay. I don’t want anything back in return, I just want him to feel better and receive good care from our spa.” (Edie, Manager)

These spa employees did not only conform to professional feeling rules in maintaining a professional face (‘prescriptive’ emotion management); but they also perform only ‘pecuniary’ emotion management just to produce customer satisfaction and protect their monetary compensation. They offer proper care for ill customers just like they treat other people in society. The quotes from Abby and Edie sound like they did not feel disgust with customers because disgust might be a normal reaction to people with these diseases but Abby and Edie did not have the normal reaction. Even though Edie was surprised he felt empathy with customers. This is to show that they are able to manage their emotions efficiently and ensure they deliver good service to customers.

As mentioned above, the interview data showed that the spa employees sincerely provide service to customers when they engage in the performance of ‘philanthropic’ emotion management as a gift to customers and colleagues. They also describe the ‘power of love’ where they refer to this as the way they make customers trust them and feel relaxed before receiving the treatment. This is another emerging theme found from the spa employees.

However, the spa employees need to give ‘reciprocal emotions’ (Lewis, 2008) to customers and give rise to feelings of love and affectionate closeness. Reciprocal emotions in Lewis’s (2008) study means the emotions that are directed to other colleagues and give rise to feelings of friendship, togetherness and loyalty. These are important because they can maintain involvement in an organization and bring the sense of satisfaction when spa employees do emotion work. This is also evidenced in this study where the spa employees feel that the power of love helps to increase emotional involvement and therapeutic benefit:

“I have to give love and sincerity to customers. It is an unconditional love. This is my technique and I always do it before giving a spa treatment. If customers trust me and feel relaxed, it is easy to do my job. Giving love to each other allows me to diagnose the customer’s symptom clearly.” (Ossie, Therapist)

“I provided hydrotherapy to a male customer and it’s funny that all male customers think they can hug me in the pool. Well, I told them to respect me and my job as a therapist first so that I could work easily. First of all, I ask him to come and sit down with me in the pool. Then, I try to balance the temperature of the bodies and the water, to keep the customer from feeling hot. After a little while, we can feel that both water and body temperature is balanced. Then I slowly ask him to clasp my hands so that I can feel whether he is relaxed. He can feel me sending the power of love to him by touching my hands. If he feels relaxed, it means that he trusts me, he allows me to work on him and it makes my job easier. I then move closer to him to work properly.” (Nyla, Therapist)

The researcher had a chance to receive ‘Chi Nei Tsang’ or abdominal detox therapy with Ossie. The researcher asked her whether customers can feel the ‘giving love’ from her. She said, “*Let me touch your hand and work on your body for a while and you will feel it.*” Remarkably, the researcher feels it from the two-hand touch of the therapist and the way she massage the body, or even the way they move the researcher’s arms and legs. This is a good experience to sense the power of love from the spa therapist. Love is an energy circulation that can be transferred from a spa therapist to the customer. Hence, customers can detect love, sincerity, and good wishes from a spa therapist. The interviewee stated that:

“Even if they are the Prime Minister, President, or whoever, I don’t care. They come here because they have health problems and they are all my patients whom I have to give love and best wishes before giving them treatment. Love is surrounded by us; customers can feel how much I love them, how much I am well-intentioned to them, and how sincere I am to them. It is the love circulation between me and customer.” (Ossie, Therapist)

Moreover, during the conversation while massaging, this spa therapist diagnoses the researcher’s health and finds that the health problems include poor blood circulation, low white blood cell count, and an abnormal uterus and ovary (lower position than usual). The unusual position of the uterus and ovary is related to the menstruation cycle and excessively painful during this period of the month. The researcher always has cold hands and feet, resulting from low blood and poor diet. It is suggested that the researcher should avoid or stop eating cold food and cold drinks and keep the body warm. This belief comes from the most famous Taoism or ‘Yin-Yang’, the Chinese philosophy where the spa therapists are being taught from the spa owner at health spas²⁷. The researcher of this study considers this information from the spa therapist as a ‘gift’ she gives to customer (researcher) and it confirms that she performs ‘philanthropic’ emotion management because she refuses to receive a money tip from the researcher. In addition, she tells the researcher that she feels like she helps people with health problems and she wishes her patients (customers) to feel better or recover. Her diagnosis of the researcher’s health problems is true because the researcher has regular health checks at the hospital with the medical practitioner. The results of health check are similar to what the therapist says according her work experiences, love giving, and understanding customers from her heart.

Space for a gift is found when the spa employees give love and build trust with their customers as well as support co-workers. They ‘go the extra mile’ or go beyond what is expected by the organization and customer in order to give additional value and satisfy

²⁷<http://www.iep.utm.edu/yinyang/>

customers. Such love giving does not seem to be at the behest of spa owners or managers ('pecuniary' emotion management) or to arise from a sense of being professional ('prescriptive' emotion management), but rather 'human thing' (O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006) happening from socially embedded interactions when spa employees deal with customers on a person-to-person basis (not an employee-customer basis) (Korczynski, 2002). In this sense, the spa employees engage in a 'philanthropic' form of emotion work where Bolton (2000a: 163) highlighted that "*as social beings, emotion management is a way of paying respect with feeling and offer a personal gift without counting of costs*". This may also be interpreted as the performance of deep acting (Hochschild, 1983).

Once again the spa employees use spaces to be themselves, relieve tension, feel better (relaxation), and refreshing due to the demands made on them to perform and manage their emotions according to organizationally prescribed display rules. Most of the examples show the way spa employees use spaces to offer extra emotion work as a gift as 'philanthropic' category. It is also found that the spa employees create and use spaces to feel compassionate to customers and do sincere performance or deep acting.

8.3 SPACE FOR COMPASSION

As mentioned in Chapter 6 (Prescriptive emotion management) compassion is in the spa codes of ethics that the spa workers have to respect and strictly follow and it is also seen as one of the emotional dimensions of spa service encounters (Frost *et al.*, 2006). In this section, the researcher will present sincere performances of compassion when the spa workers have to deal with ill customers. When spa employees encounter sick customers or customers who come to the spa and ask for sexual massage they feel compassionate. A strong sense of empathy was evident in the way the spa employees deal with customers who were physically and mentally ill. The spa employees have experienced customers who are distressed, isolated,

and frustrated when they come to the spa and consult with doctors, receptionists, and therapists regarding the proper treatments. This means that in offering 'philanthropic' emotion management, the spa employees are deeply involved in the customers' pain as if they feel that pain and desires, so they have to experience emotional and stressful situations.

Feeling empathy and sympathy for the customers is a central part of their work. Understanding what customers feel (empathy) is important because the spa employees can put themselves in customers' shoes and recommend proper treatment for them to relieve their pain. Spa employees also have to acknowledge customers' emotional hardships (sympathy) and provide comfort and relaxation for customers (compassionate behaviour).The majority of the spa employees at health spas response to empathy differently:

"Most of the time I meet ill customers, recently, I met a customer in a wheelchair, and I had compassion for him. Even though I cannot feel their pain, I want them to recover and release their pain.I thought that I could help him in some ways such as physical therapy because he couldn't walk at all. His first and second visit he still could walk (at this point he was not in a wheelchair). However, this was the third time he came here and he couldn't walk (now he is in wheelchair). I have to support them and encourage him. He was a returning customer and I knew him quite well. He also had a stroke that caused paralysis. He had all these symptoms because his wife asked to break up with him and he was shocked. I encouraged him by saying that he could recover and feel better after the treatment."
(Nyla, Therapist)

Nyla had to support this particular customer because if she was in that position, she would need someone to encourage her to live her life and live with hope to be recovered. To get well and to feel better, Ossie says she needs to mirror and tell customers the truth:

"I often see customers with mental or physical disorders. I have compassion for them and want them to recover. I feel pity to those who have mental illness because they are self-centred for everything. They want to be number one, but they ignore the need to look after themselves. I tell them to first love themselves and they cry in front of me. I feel I hurt them and I cry too, but I am happy to help them."
(Ossie, Therapist)

Another interviewee says the way he deals with ill customers is to try to put himself in the customer's skin, and understand the customer's position because it might help him in some way to understand the customer's feeling. Hence he offers extra care during customer's stay at the health spas and tries his best intention to feel his/her discomfort:

“I experienced a lot of ill customers, for instance, they have HIV, a wheelchair, are disabled, or have a mental disorder. I feel sorry for them and want them to recover and feel better. I helped them with every single thing to make them feel relaxed while they stay at the spa. I tried to put myself in their shoes, so that I can feel their pain. I sympathize with them all, especially those who have HIV.” (Edie, Manager)

Some or most of the customers do not know there is a health spa where they can receive proper health treatment and this place offers alternative medical therapy for them. Customers usually go to the hospital and seek for medical practitioner (GP) and take medicines for some time. When the customer hears about health spas, they come to us and expect us to make them feel better from internal parts of the body:

“The majority of the customers went to the hospital before they came to us. They knew we were an alternative medical spa and they believe we can heal them. I felt pity for them when they came with different health problems. I am willing to help them to make them feel better because we are a detox centre where we support their immune system. It is said that if the immune system is good, physical and mental health will be good. There was one customer who had skin disease and his skin was so soft and decayed, however, I didn't have a feeling of disgust because I knew it was not contagious by touch or from contact with him. I helped him by touching and carrying him to the spa, then he asked me 'weren't you scared and disgusted by me?'. I said no, even though it was so awful, but I wanted him to be recovered.” (Abby, Manager)

Some of the interviewees at day and hotel spas empathize with ill customers and they engage in deep acting and perform 'philanthropic' emotion management. As a consequence, the sense of care to customer involves in the fulfilment additional duties beyond the services actually provided by spa employees. For instance, the interviewee provides extra care to a customer who uses a wheelchair (than the normal spa customer) while she has a feeling of sympathy:

“I feel sympathy when I see the ill customers such as a customer in a wheelchair or a handicapped customer coming to the spa. The massage bed is too high for them to climb onto and it is difficult to change position, take a shower or get dressed. But I think they must feel really fatigued and want to feel relaxed, so that’s why they came to the spa.” (Nida, Receptionist)

The quote below from Nida shows that she engages in both ‘prescriptive’ emotion management and ‘philanthropic’ emotion management at the same time. She performs the first type of emotion to put on a professional mask and be professional to reject customer when he asks for special sex massage. Moreover, she performs the latter category when she considers and understands the feeling of customers who ask for this kind of activity in the spa industry:

“A customer came and asked for ‘special massage’, I was shocked, furious with him, and felt so disgusted with him coming and asking for this...the therapist comes out and tells me not to give the feedback form to the customer to fill in because it affects their performance bonuses and income. I feel sympathy for the spa therapists who have to face the mental illness of customers even when the customers are beastly.” (Nida, Receptionist)

Nida’s quote shows that she is able to have multiple selves whilst she is constrained by organizational display rules and feeling rules. The feeling of disgust and refusing customers to provide sexual massage means that she engages in ‘prescriptive’ emotion management, while she has the feeling of sympathy towards spa therapists means she engages in ‘philanthropic’ emotion management when she does not give customer feedback form to customer in order to help the spa therapist. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 5 (‘pecuniary’ emotion management), this form influences the performance assessment of the spa employees, especially therapists. Therefore, she wants to save their lives and help them if they encounter the horrible situation.

The researcher of this study agrees with Bolton (2005) that organizational feeling rules can be changed by individual employees and by groups. Individuals may follow feeling rules without any sincere emotion. Groups in the workplace can decide not to follow the rules and

use group power to avoid punishment. Furthermore, groups can translate prescribed feeling rules by making enough unmanaged space at work so that they can make feeling rules especially for their own group and act more like themselves. Nida's act can be understood as misbehaviour as she avoids the organization's rules by not giving a feedback form to a customer once the spa therapists beg for it. However, if the manager is around the lobby area, who will notice her behaviour and service standard, she will have to give this form out.

Similar to Nida, Nelly has sympathy for ill customers who want to have massage for relaxation. She tries hard to work on her emotion in performing 'prescriptive' emotion management and engaging in professional feeling rule in explaining the prohibition and side effects of having massage. In the meantime, she performs 'philanthropic' emotion management as she concerns for the customer's health, rather than monetary motivation to provide massage ('pecuniary' emotion management). She says:

"I had sympathy for one customer who has cancer. She had no hair and wore a hat because she just received chemotherapy. I thought she felt uncomfortable, so she came to us and asked for massage. However, it is prohibited to provide massage to her because it will stimulate the cells to grow. I felt pity for her since I knew she really wanted to relax, so I had to explain and refuse her. She insisted that she used to have massage from other spas and she wanted to have it now. I was anxious about her health, so I could not massage her even though I wanted her money. Another case where I had compassion toward a customer was when a male customer came and asked for special massage. I thought that if he had no sexual problem with his wife; he would never come and ask for sex from the spa industry. I felt pity for him and his family really. It was not easy for him to speak out and ask me this." (Nelly, Therapist)

One of the interviewees performs three types of emotion work at the same time. She performs 'prescriptive' professional manner when she asks and tells a customer to change spa treatment because Thai massage fits customer better while she performs 'pecuniary' emotion management as she still can earn some money ('pecuniary' emotion management). Finally, she performs 'philanthropic' emotion management when she shows sympathy to a customer even though she realizes customer has skin disease. For instance:

“I used to meet a customer with skin disease but I didn’t have a feeling of disgust. However, I showed sympathy toward her once I knew that she had gangrene around her legs. This customer concealed this information because she wrote no disease on the customer information form. Nonetheless, when the spa therapist was about to provide an aroma hot oil massage and uncovered the customer’s leg, she was shocked and came out of the treatment room to report to me. I then went to the room with the therapist and asked her to do traditional Thai massage instead of aroma massage. I was concerned about my employee who had to directly touch the customer’s skin so the bacteria may spread to the therapist. With Thai massage, the customer wears loose clothes while the aroma hot oil massage requires the customer to be naked.” (Ozie, Manager)

Another interviewee sympathizes to her colleagues when she has to provide service to an abusive customer:

“I feel deepest sympathy for one of the female spa therapists who have to provide massage for male customers. She is a lesbian and she recounts her experience when a male customer masturbates in front of her in a private treatment room. If I were her, I would just walk away from the treatment room and stop massaging him as it is too disgusting to watch him fondle himself.” (Sofia, Receptionist)

Not only were the spa employees compassionate to the spa customers, but also they did something good for their colleagues, with compassion. The responsibilities of the spa receptionists include welcoming the customers, explaining the spa menu, and asking customers to fill out customer information and customer comments in the customer satisfaction index form (CSI). For the spa workers, this form really impacts their lives as it is seen as the most important piece of paper for performance evaluation. Therefore, the spa therapists will speak to the spa receptionists and ask them to help and save their livelihoods when they are confronted with demanding, self-centred, and challenging customers in a private treatment room. The spa receptionists can help the spa therapists by not giving customers a feedback form so that they cannot comment about services and personnel. Some of the interviewees stated that:

“The customer satisfaction index form is really important to our working lives here because the spa owners could see this as our performance assessment. However, it has meant more to therapists than receptionists as that paper is seen as morale to therapists. The bosses relied on this paper in order to decide whether or not to raise hourly payments for massage. So I understood and I felt sympathy for the therapists and I always helped them whenever I could.” (Nanci, Manager)

“I felt really thankful to the spa receptionists who have helped me with compassion. I knew and they knew we always met unexpected tough customers and that piece of paper really meant our working lives here.” (Lidia, Therapist)

“Once upon a time, I experienced a rude customer and I had a sense that she wasn’t satisfied with my service. After the treatment, I ran to the reception area and asked one of the receptionists to help me by not giving the feedback form to the customer. I was really scared about what would happen if customer wrote something bad about me. Once the receptionist helped me, I felt safe and relaxed.” (Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader)

Most of the spa therapists at one health spa narrated another story where they feel empathy with each other. Due to the economic crisis, the spa owner would like to lay off more than half of the spa employees. Hence, the spa manager has to nominate the names to the spa owner. There are nine therapists (out of twelve) who are nominated and asked to leave the spa. The spa therapists hug and cry together because they do not want to lose anyone. They have been working together within the spa industry for a long time (5 to 10 years), so they feel a sense of belonging and commitment to the organization and to each other. If they have to lose someone, it will influence their feelings at work and (perhaps) perform poor customer service. Some of the spa therapists highlighted that:

“The spa manager is required by the spa owner to nominate nine spa therapists to be fired due to the spa crisis. I realized that I was one of the nine names out of the twelve the spa manager nominated. I was so upset because I have been working here for twelve years. Everybody was sad because we had worked together for such a long time. We didn’t want to lose anyone; we hugged and cried together.” (Patty, Therapist)

“The spa owner wants to lay off spa employees which means more than half of us have to leave. We don’t want anybody to go; we love each other because we have been together for almost ten years. I feel downcast and don’t want to work, even I work, and it’s not the best work I ever perform. It affects my feelings a lot. Eventually, we all help to solve the problem by lessen our working days from 6 days to 4 days per week and we can keep everybody here. I feel sorry for those who have to be responsible for family and utility and debt bills and work only 4 days a week, but this is the best solution for all of us.” (Nyla, Therapist)

The analysis through the lenses of compassion within the spa context shows that the relationship between spa employees and customers is open where they motivate self-revelation (authentic presentation). Spa employees disclose themselves as friends or family members of the customers and among themselves because customers have a lengthy period of stay at spa and spa employees have been working with each other for such a long time. This may reflect Bolton’s (2005) ‘philanthropic’ category of emotion management that is driven primarily by the presentations of self and a sense of empathy to customers. However, this research has different interpretations from O’Donohoe and Turley (2006) due to different service context. In O’Donohoe and Turley (2006), the ‘*In Memoriam*’ service encounter involves a high affective content in which there is an unequal emotional relationship between newspaper’s employee and bereaved customer. In this sense, the employee does not position themselves or self-disclosure as friends of the customer as in commercial encounters. Therefore, newspaper staff needs to give time to IM customers to tell stories of loss, outbursts for the mistakes place in newspapers, create a space for pain and empathetically listen to them and seek an appropriate emotional balance.

8.4 SPACE FOR TRUE SELF

Chapter 7 (section7.4) presented how the spa employees use spaces for emotional and physical comfort, offer emotion as an extra gift to customers and colleagues, and a space to feel compassionate to ill customers. This section deals with Goffman’s concept concerning

the presentation of self where the researcher of this study draws upon to see the way spa employees present socially acceptable faces such as 'sincere face' whereby feeling matches face or 'cynical face' to mask feelings they should not display during customer interaction (Bolton, 2001). This section provides the presentation of true self of the spa employees among managers, receptionists, and therapists according to the type of the spas (health and day/hotel spa).

Utilising Goffman's (1959) concept offers insight and depth understanding that spa employees are skilled emotional actors who are able to match face and feeling with situation (a sincere face). Therefore, it is assumed that the spa employees are highly flexible because they are able to carry out the performances required by the spa industry whilst also holding onto their own identities (adapted from Bolton, 2001). The performance of 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management means the true self where people present their true selves in sincere act or deep acting. The 'self' in these two categories is the authentic self of the person performing it. In other words, the spa employees' performance is not dictated by the spa industry ('pecuniary') or spa profession ('prescriptive'). Bolton (2005) noted that workers take very little emotion work in performing 'presentational' and 'philanthropic', resulting in the natural reactions in which employees then feel comfortable in the organization where the action takes place.

In Chapter 7, the researcher presented the social reality and social expectation concerning health and day spa. This relates to the core values each spa type provides to its customer, such as relaxation in day and hotel spa and healing in health spas. First, the core values of the health spas are to enhance health and improve quality of life (through exercises and nutrition). The spa employees working in this spa, therefore, concern about customers' health and well-being. Second, the core values of day and hotel spas emphasize on beauty and

pleasure as well as exceeding customers' expectation with each and every experience. Based on these differences, the spa employees tend to perform different roles according to the purposes of visit of customers. The following examples illustrate the presentation of true self of the health spas employees:

“The prominent feature of our spa is healing and this includes exercise, yoga, and bodywork. I am falling in love with this spa because I can learn many things about spa knowledge and healthy eating and I can use this information to teach my customers and even my family members. I wish them (customers and family) to have better life and enjoy healthy life. Customers come here because they have health problems and they want us to cure them (not relaxation). Most of them stay here at least one week up to few months. So I have to make sure they get what they want and they feel better after receiving treatment because this makes me feel proud and success in my job.” (Daisy, Manager)

“We are expert in medical and health spas, everyone knows about us. We always have to learn the signature massage skills (abdominal and genital detox therapy) so that we can give the right information to customers who are seen as patients and recommend them how to look after themselves. I am proud and happy to work in this spa.” (Neomi, Manager)

“I love my job and I like to learn about our body such as anatomy and chiropractic. Most of the customers here come to the spa for healing or learn some classes from the spa owner (Master Mantak Chia). Hence, I am also the consultant for customers who are unsure which treatment or programs suit them.” (Janet, Receptionist)

Working in health spas means that the spa employees have to learn and understand the particular knowledge regarding health. From the conversations above, it shows that those who work in health spas loves their job and they see themselves as expert (‘prescriptive’ emotion management) because they act as a mentor who introduces the appropriate spa treatment to each customer. This show that they deep act or offer sincere performance to show their authentic identity, resulting in providing good customer service and give a unique service experience. This is confirmed by health spas often having returning or loyal customers visiting the spa. Moreover, having thorough knowledge about spa and being able to help customers make the best choice when selecting spa packages also means good customer service.

On the other hand, the day and hotel spa employees show their identities different from those who work in health spas. This means that the job roles are different depending on the types of the spa. For instance, spa employees in health spas use skills they received from training more than just to sell the spa package or make customers feel relaxed as in day or hotel spas do:

“Our vision is to be the preferred Asian hospitality brand for customers, employees, and stakeholders. I internalize this value whenever I work and I am happy to deliver an experience that enlivens the individual spirit as the hotel brand promises. Whenever customers come I can introduce the spa menu according to their needs and relaxing purpose.” (Debbi, Manager)

“This spa has got a good reputation long time ago and now I belong to this well-known organization. Most customers are the (very) important persons or high social class in Chiang Mai who seek for relaxation and pamper their body, mind, and soul. They want us to feed luxuriously experiences. My job as a receptionist is to welcome customers, introduce the spa menu and packages, and convince them to use spa services. I am happy to do this and do it with smile.” (Nida, Receptionist)

“My job is just to provide good massage to customers, wash and clean customers’ feet, wear shoes for them, and serve welcome drinks after the treatment. Customers come here for relaxation so I have to ensure I make them feel relaxed.” (Vita, Therapist)

Some of the spa employees also shared the advantage of the spa professions is that they meet variety of customers every day. To this, they can talk and learn new things from customers, such as things about business, live healthy life, tourist attractions, and so on. Moreover, the working schedule is varied where they can meet different colleagues and they work various times during the day (day and night shifts):

“In my opinion, working as a therapist brought me happiness. It is a profession that I agreed to do. I loved this job and I didn’t see it as a job, but I saw it as one kind of activity that I got to do every day with different people. It was not a chore like working in an office where I would always meet the same people, either colleagues or customers, every day. I always learn various things from different customers and I know how to deal with them differently.” (Nelly, Therapist)

The above quotes illustrate the provision of good customer service where the spa employees treat customer with a friendly and helpful attitude. As a result, they engage in deep acting while they perform ‘presentational’ emotion management because they have commitment to the spa industry to get the job done while satisfying customers. This type of emotion work is different from ‘pecuniary’ emotion management where the spa employees present their own identities while performing their tasks (natural reactions). They do not put a mask on their acting or show cynical performance to customers (‘pecuniary’ emotion management). In addition, they feel comfortable when engaging in service interaction just because they can be who they are in the frontstage and backstage.

However, some of the interviewees explain the family working environment in Thailand as a collective culture because they have been working together in the spa industry for such a long time (at least five years). This allows them to build close relationships among themselves and support each other during the difficult times. The closer the relationship among the spa employees leads to teamwork and better service provision to customers. This again means that Thai people have long-term relationships and this is true and evidenced in hotel spas.

Two spa therapists from hotel spa note that:

“I have to do hard work because I have to massage customers. Sometimes I feel stressed because customers have different needs. However, the work environment here is like a family because we have been working together for a long time. We support each other and we share experiences.” (Mona, Therapist)

“I just started working here, so I see myself as a newcomer. When I face difficult times either with the colleagues or customers, I will talk to the senior therapists and they always support me. The spa manager also told me that to make the spa improve we have to work as a team.” (Onita, Therapist)

Using ‘presentational’ emotion management, spa employees can express their identity (true self), build rapport among colleagues, and create a supportive work environment. This is again rooted from the collective culture of Thailand where people rely on each other and

work together to get the job done. The feeling of warmth and togetherness helps them to have warm and comfortable working environment which eventually encourage them to offer good service to customers. Asian perspectives on identity are very different from Western perspectives. One major difference arises from the Eastern religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, and Confucianism, which do not treat an individual as separate from other members of a group (Markus and Kitayama 1994). In contrast, Asians understand the concept of self in relationships with and interdependent on others (Markus and Kitayam 1998). An individual's awareness of their interdependence leads to very different goals, which include placing a high priority on fitting in and belonging to a group. Unlike the Western emphasis on individuality and independence, collectivist Asian cultures such as Thailand emphasize connection and harmony with other people (Ingersoll, 2001). This reflects the term '*Kreng Jai*' as Thai people in Thai society concern another person's feelings, respect other people, and save their faces in all social relationship.

8.5 THE SKILLED SPA EMOTION PERFORMER

Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 showed how the spa employees perform 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management according to the social feeling rules. The contextualization of social reality of Thailand and cultural dimension provides the overall picture of the characteristic of Thai spa industry. Saving face is regarded as the prominent Thai culture where the spa employees pay great respect to customers. This chapter also illustrate how the spa employees create and use spaces to escape professional and organizational prescribed display and feeling rules. The data shows that the spa employees use spaces (backstage) to release tension, feel relax, and get ready to perform a performance in frontstage.

Consistent with Bolton (2005), the spa employees are multi-skilled emotion performers or actors in the way that they use a variety of workplace emotion (pecuniary, prescriptive, presentational, and philanthropic) in one time. For instance, they maintain a professional face and demeanour ('prescriptive' emotion management) while they offer an extra emotion work as a gift ('philanthropic' emotion management) to the person the spa employee is interacting with. The performance of these two categories can result in satisfaction and stability in the workplace, especially when giving 'philanthropic' emotion management to customers the spa workers are likely to benefit from a feeling of satisfaction because they 'made a difference' or improved the customer's life. However, it can be argued that these two types are not only happening in the emotional labour process of caring professionals such as nurses, but also in the commercial service context such as spa industry where autonomy is restricted and workers do not just work for benefit or money ('pecuniary' category).

The majority of the interviewees noted that even though they encountered demanding customers and challenging colleagues, they still wanted to work in the spa industry. The most common two reasons were that they have 'friends' and feel 'a sense of belonging' to the spa industry. Although the spa employees receive poor or unequal treatment from the spa owners, they are happy to work for them. One of the reasons is that they want to keep their jobs or the quality of being stable because they have a resistance to changing jobs. For instance:

"I liked this job and I was happy to work here. I worked here the longest period since I started working life. I felt under pressure and stressed because the spa manager had a lot of duties and we always encountered unexpected situations. I loved all my colleagues here the most and I also liked the spa customers. The nature of this job was challenging. However, during the last few months, the extra money from service charges was decreased and a lot of receptionists have resigned. I sometimes felt like leaving this spa because I needed more private time for myself. But I didn't want to find a new job and I was happy with the base income for the manager position. I have been working here for such a long time and I had a sense of stability with this company." (Nanci, Manager)

“If you asked me whether I liked this job, I would definitely say yes. I was not unwilling to work here even though I felt in some situations I couldn’t do anything or solve the problem just because I didn’t have job autonomy. At first, I felt hesitant about whether to leave or to continue working. But then, I thought that I still had friends here who always supported and helped me.” (Ocie, Therapist)

The quotes here show that within the spa industry in Thai society, ‘friends’ and ‘belonging needs’ are important for them to keep working in the spa. This is linked to Hofstede cultural dimension: collectivism which deeply pervades Thai culture where people emphasize on family and work group goals above individual needs or desires. As the spa employees highlight even though some of the interviewees noted that they have to work hard and get paid less, friendship is the main reason for them to be at the spa. However, the failing of collective culture is that a strong fear of rejection or to change or lose a job.

For organizations to operate efficiently, they need employees who already know how to follow social feeling rules. Usually feeling rules for ‘presentational’ emotion management are used for teamwork. Whenever organizational feeling rules are not in control for some reason, people will use the freedom and act following social feeling rules. Emotion must still be managed even in these free spaces. Even though we are using words like ‘space’, it is not necessarily talking about real physical areas where people may get together; space can be created for emotional comfort. The moment of a social interaction can be an ‘unmanaged space.’ Employees sometimes skip work, by not acting/behaving in a way their employer requires even when the employee is physically present at work and is doing the task that the employer requires. Workers do many things in ‘unmanaged spaces’ for many different reasons while following social feeling rules.

8.6 CONCLUSION

The performance of 'philanthropic' emotion management is undertaken according to the social feeling rules. This category explained emotion as a gift, particularly at health spas. In addition, they saw themselves as having expert identity to perform their role, resulting in sincere performance or deep acting. They thought they had special skills (Karsai, Chi Nei Tsang) and they worked in the only health spas in Chiang Mai context. To this, they have spaces for compassion, for gift, and for true self. The findings of this research showed that the performance of this typology was less likely to be done by the spa employees at day spas where they were always busy and the spa employees had less freedom to leave their service scripts during service encounters. This confirmed with Bolton's (2005) explanation of 'philanthropic' emotion management (as discussed in Chapter 2). At health spas, employees could feel customers' pain (a sense of compassion) and had a strong desire to help them. This is also in line with Hochschild (1983) where these performances are seen as sincere and trustworthy moral people (see section 2.6.5: Spaces in Organization).

CHAPTER 9 : CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the overall conclusions of this study and summarizes the contribution of this research to existing knowledge. It reflects on the original research aim and objectives, identifies areas for future research, and offers practical recommendations to spa owners. Overall, this research aimed to explore the range of emotions in the Thai spa and how they impact the spa employees and customer service. The performance of emotion management was being studied by using a phenomenological research strategy discovering the lived experience of the spa employees through semi-structured interviews. This thesis extends the understanding of emotion management by applying it to Thailand, a developing country. This thesis also provides some plausible explanations of the positive consequences of emotion management – the performance of customer service delivery – that can favourably affect spa employees' job satisfaction through increased customer satisfaction.

The literature (Chapter 2) was reviewed and organized around three main perspectives on workplace emotion: Goffman's (1959) 'the presentation of self', Hochschild's (1983) 'emotional labour', and Bolton's (2005) 'four typology of workplace emotion'. Each perspective offered a valuable insight into the phenomenon of emotion management. The thesis placed emphasis on different viewpoints is taken together, because it helped to offer a more comprehensive view of the emotion management process. Therefore, the conclusion of this chapter is organized along these perspectives and includes four sections. Section 9.1 introduces the overall aim of this chapter. Section 9.2 provides the overall research conclusions from this study. The contributions of this thesis are detailed in section 9.3 while section 9.4 provides the research implications.

9.2 CONCLUSION: RESEARCH FINDINGS

This thesis addressed the overall research aim “*to investigate the range of emotions in the Thai spas and how they impact employees and customer service*” focusing on three research objectives: (1) to understand the different types of emotion management undertaken by employees in the Thai spa industry, (2) to identify how emotion is performed and managed within the Thai spa industry, and (3) to explore how employees feel about, deal with, and experience their emotions in emotionally difficult situations.

Research Objective 1 showed that, according to Bolton’s typology, the spa employees (in all three types of spa: day, hotel, and health spas) performed ‘pecuniary’ emotion management category the most, followed by ‘prescriptive’ category, ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ category. However, when looking at the spa types individually, at health spas, employees engaged in ‘philanthropic’ emotion management more than employees at day spas and hotel spas because they have more time to build a rapport with the customer and provide a personalized and caring and sincere service. The main characteristics of the spa industry in performing a wide range of emotions were: ‘*monetary servitude*’ for ‘pecuniary’ emotion management (Chapter 5), ‘*showing a therapeutic professional face*’ for ‘prescriptive’ emotion management (Chapter 6), ‘*Thai social reality*’ for ‘presentational’ emotion management (Chapter 7), and ‘*emotion as a gift*’ for ‘philanthropic’ emotion management (Chapter 8).

Research Objective 2 showed that spa employees performed ‘pecuniary’ emotion management as part of their jobs where they had imposed identity, resulting in not being able to show their authentic self. The performance of ‘prescriptive’ emotion management was according to the organizational and professional feeling rules where the spa employees wanted to show they were professional and portray an ideal image of the spa occupations.

'Presentational' emotion management is used when the spa employees felt emotionally drained during service encounters where they sought their own spaces to 'let off steam' and relax backstage. The presentation of 'philanthropic' existed at health spas and the spa employees had a sense of caring as a baseline. Employees were emotionally involved with customers by showing their sympathy and love to ill customers.

The compliance performance and imposed organizational identity led to cynical behaviour and a robotic face where the spa employees had an empty feeling during customer service interaction. As a consequence, they felt alienated when performing emotional labour. The presentation of a therapeutic professional face meant that the spa employees saw themselves as professional and important people in an organization. Besides the idea that spa works suited female better than male, their performances and emotion management are carried out according to the Buddhist golden rules. The core value of the Thai spa (social reality) requires the spa employees to satisfy and make customers feel relaxed. This was because the spa is used for the purpose of relaxation. Within the collectivist culture of Thai people, spa employees showed sincere performance or deep acting. Emotion as a gift was performed through 'philanthropic' category within health spa industry in Thailand. This was because they had more time to build a good relationship with customers (customers stayed from a week to a month) and provided personalized and closer service. This meant that they often engaged in sincere performance or deep acting during service encounters.

Research Objective 3 showed that employees felt emotional exhaustion when performing 'pecuniary' emotion management; felt humiliated when customers treated them impolitely and badly, felt like an indoor labourer who had to use energy to massage customers while managing their emotions and facial expressions in front of customers. This is for the monetary purposes (tips and an increased income from performance evaluations from customers). The spa employees had a feeling of showing therapeutic professional face in

'prescriptive' emotion management when introducing the spa menu (receptionists) and massaging customers' body (therapists). They felt relaxed and comfortable using their own spaces for physical and emotional comfort while engaging in 'presentational' category while recognizing the Thai social reality of saving customers' face when they asked for sexual massage in the spa. Finally, they felt satisfied with their job and giving a sincere performance in 'philanthropic' emotion management as a gift to both customers and colleagues. The spa employees had multiple selves while performing emotional labour at work. The performance of emotion management could shift to another depending on the situation.

9.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY

This thesis has made three main contributions to knowledge: theory, methodology, and practice. **First**, it recognizes the importance of a multi-perspective approach of emotion management as a means to comprehending the complexities of emotion management at work. Table 9.1(Summary of Emotion Management in the Thai Spa Industry) shows the themes that emerged from interviewing the employees within the Thai spa industry. This table incorporates the three major theories used in this thesis and can be compared with the existing model presented in Chapter 2 (Table 2.2: A Typology of Emotion Management, p.58). The researcher of this study makes an important theoretical contribution by adding new elements to Bolton's framework (highlighted in blue text) and to the existing knowledge on emotion management.

Table 9.1: Summary of Emotion Management in the Thai Spa Industry

ELEMENTS	AUTHOR	PECUNIARY EMOTION MANAGEMENT	PRESCRIPTIVE EMOTION MANAGEMENT	PRESENTATIONAL EMOTION MANAGEMENT	PHILANTHROPIC EMOTION MANAGEMENT
CHARACTERISTICS	Researcher	“Monetary Servitude”	“Showing a Therapeutic Professional Face”	“Thai Social Reality	“Emotion as a Gift”
FEELING RULES	Bolton	Commercial	Professional/Organizational	Social	Social
DISPLAY RULES	Researcher	S.M.I.L.E C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L	S.M.I.L.E C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L	S.M.I.L.E C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L	S.M.I.L.E C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L
MOTIVATIONS	Bolton	Money	Professional Status	Societal Norms	Societal Norms
PERFORMANCE	Bolton Hochschild	Cynical/Compliance Surface acting	Cynical/Sincere Surface/Deep acting	Commitment/Sincere Surface/Deep/ Genuine acting	Commitment/ Sincere Deep/Genuine acting
IDENTITY	Bolton	Imposed/Self	Professional/Self	Self	Self
LOCALE	Goffman	Frontstage (Day, Hotel, Health spas)	Frontstage (Day, Hotel, Health spas)	Frontstage & Backstage (Day, Hotel, Health spas)	Frontstage & Backstage (Day, Hotel, Health spas)
OUTCOMES: POSITIVE	Researcher	Customer Satisfaction Repeat Purchase	Customer Satisfaction Repeat Purchase	Job Satisfaction Customer Satisfaction Repeat Purchase	Job Satisfaction Customer Satisfaction Repeat Purchase
NEGATIVE		Humiliation/ Emotional exhaustion	Emotional exhaustion	Conflict	Conflict
	Bolton	Alienation Contradiction Conflict Resistance	Professional identity Contradiction	Stability	Stability Satisfaction

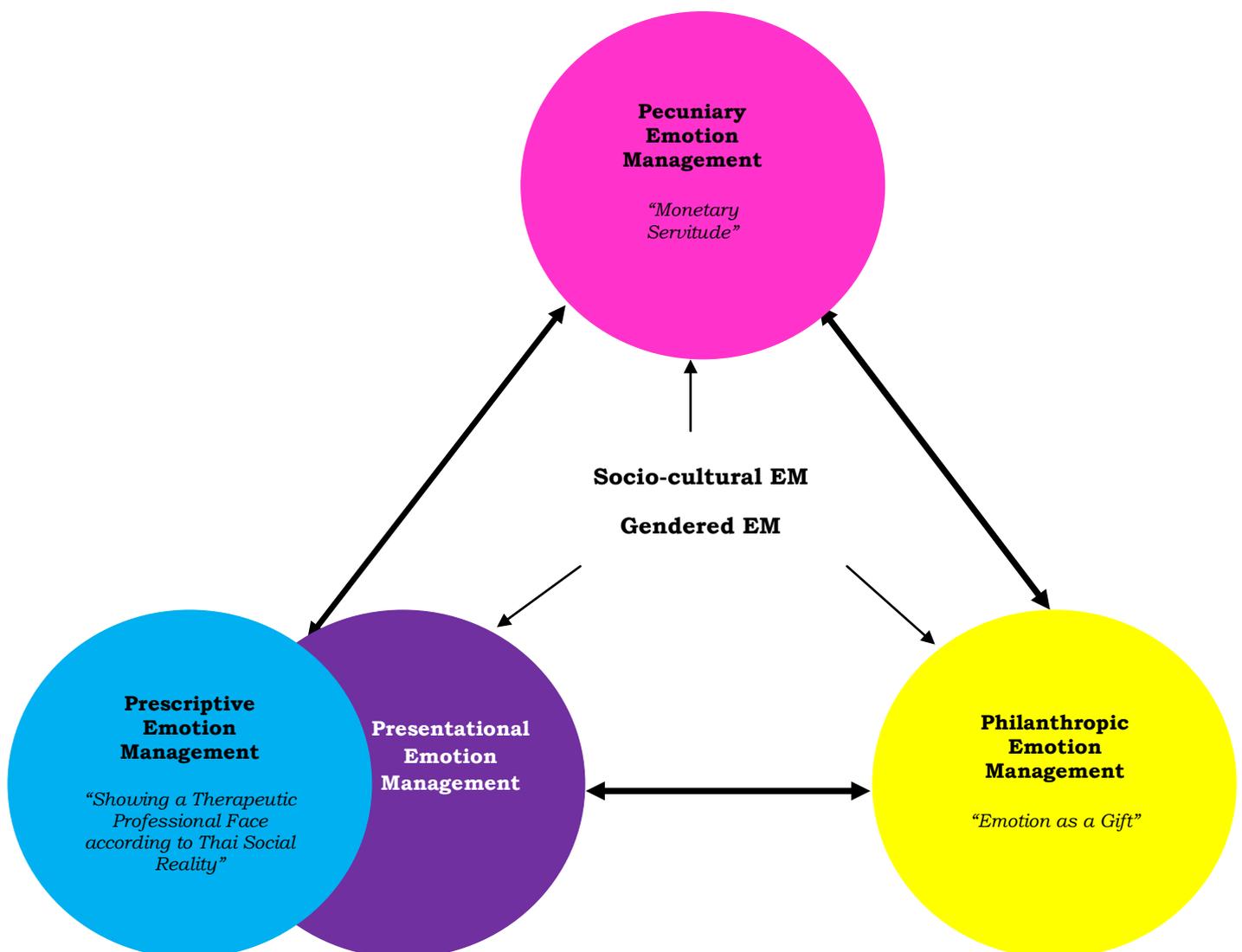
Source: adapted from Bolton (2005)

Table 9.1 summarizes and highlights the performance of emotion management that exists in the Thai spa industry. The thesis developed a conceptual framework (Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework, p.86) based on three theoretical perspectives: stage performance, acting strategy, and workplace emotion. Each perspective had explanatory power which allowed a more comprehensive understanding on emotion management performance in Thailand. A multi-perspective approach also provided a more inclusive approach to explore and explain the wide range of emotions of individual experiences within the Thai spa. However, the context embedded in this conceptual framework is relevant to the Thai spa industry. While the embedded context was developed from findings in the Thai spa industry, the conceptual

framework could be applied to other service industries in Thailand and possibly throughout Asia or the world. In other contexts, the elements in the framework might change but still follow the same logic. But the changed elements may have different impact on job satisfaction, customer service, and service quality.

9.3.1 Theoretical Contribution

Figure 9.1: The Characteristics of Emotion Management in the Thai Spa Context



Source: Bhrammanachote

This thesis conceived the performance of emotion management as something fluid, unstable, and reliant on social and cultural contexts. It is dependent upon social interactions, customer types, and spa types and is socially accomplished through the communication of culture. Hence, the proposed model (Figure 9.1) is reflecting only the particular context of Thailand which is shaped by the social and cultural aspects to create the performance of emotion management and customer service delivery.

Figure 9.1 illustrates the characteristics of different types of emotion management in the Thai spa context. Following Bolton (2005), in the literature review chapter (Chapter 2) ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ emotion management were explained together because these two categories share the common characteristics (see Table 2.2: A Typology of Emotion Management). However, in the Thai spa context, and in contrast to Bolton’s typology, ‘prescriptive’ and ‘presentational’ emotion management can be seen as overlapping to some extent while ‘philanthropic’ category is classified as a category in its own right. The reason why ‘prescriptive’ and ‘presentational’ emotion management overlap in the Thai spa context is that Thailand is a more collectivist culture and people identify more closely with their social group and do not separate their individual identity so far from their social group. This means that everybody (the spa employees) agreed to follow professional rules or the Buddhist golden rules. Moreover, the spa code of ethics and the presentation of professional (‘prescriptive’ emotion management) are produced to save customers’ face and dignity (‘presentational’ emotion management).

Building on this, the model highlights the role of context or the ‘*socio-cultural*’ factor, including different types of employees (spa managers, spa receptionists, and spa therapists) and different level of settings (day, hotel, and health spas), that influences the performance of emotion management. The interplay between tourists and local customers influences the ‘*gendered emotion management*’. For instance, some local customers (high society

customers) treat the spa employees as if they were not human beings, while the tourist customers treat the spa employees as a servant (or prostitute) when they ask for sexual massage. This implied that both local and tourist customers looked down on females working in the spa industry.

The main characteristics of the spa industry in performing/experiencing a wide range of emotions were: **'monetary servitude'** (pecuniary), **'showing a therapeutic professional face'** (prescriptive), **'Thai social reality'** (presentational), and **'emotion as a gift'** (philanthropic). The requirement for money in performing **'pecuniary'** emotion management was the transaction motive. The spa employees need money to live their lives and for four basic requisites (food, clothes, medicines, and shelter). They also have the precautionary motive where they need money for their health (illness) and any other dangers or injuries. The performance of this category varies across three groups of spa employees. However, they all managed their emotions to satisfy customers because of monetary motives. For instance, the spa managers and spa receptionists engaged and convinced customers to buy and use spa treatments in order to get commissions; they are always trying to book large numbers of customers to get maximum commission. This is why they gave the spa therapists no time in between customers and the spa therapists felt they worked hard every day, without having proper breaks, like an indoor labourer who had to use their effort and energy to massage customers. This leads to the tension between these employees.

The willingness of spa employees to continue to keep jobs with a base pay below minimum wage²⁸ and on-going humiliation and 'monetary servitude', may seem surprising, several structural economic factors make spa jobs attractive economically (see Table 4.9: Additional Money for Spa Employees, p.138). First, unemployment in Thailand is extremely low, at 0.7

²⁸The Ministry of Labour announced the minimum wage of 300 THB or £6 per day to effect since January 1st 2013 onwards. The spa employees work 6 days/week which means they work 24 days/month where they could get 7,200 THB but the spa therapists get 5,500 THB as a base income which is lower than the minimum wage.

per cent in 2013 (the latest data available by Thailand Labour Market Update in March 2014). In addition, the majority of jobs in Thailand are in the low-paid agricultural sector, so workers who decide to leave a job at a spa may be unable to find a comparable or better job, particularly, since spa workers usually make more than double the minimum wage with tips and other incentive pay (see Table 4.10: Monthly Income for Spa Employees, p.139). Secondly, Thai (Buddhist) culture generally encourages people to accept their situation, even when it is very unpleasant or uncomfortable, and make the best of the situation rather than change it. So, while some spa employees will leave a job if it becomes intolerable, generally spa employment is considered lucrative and preferable to other readily available options.

The spa employees showed a therapeutic professional face when performing ‘**prescriptive**’ emotion management because this helped to build trust with customers and satisfy customers. This also means that customers would feel relaxed and get good customer service, which is related to the subservient role of women in the spa. According to the Thai spa industry, spa is seen as female’s work or gender segregated and the spa employees have to follow the spa code of ethics in order to show the professional identity (‘prescriptive’ category). Drawing on women’s work, the spa profession is recognized as a therapeutic work where the spa employees have a sense of caring and nurturing. Even though the spa employees (managers, receptionists, and therapists) did not receive formal training on emotion management, they all knew and followed the ‘spa code of ethics’ or the ‘Buddhist principles’ and considered this as professional feeling rules.

Indeed, the teaching and learning of the ‘spa code of ethics’ are part of Thai people’s lives and minds since their early childhood. The spa employees applied the five precepts (see section 6.3, p.183) under Buddhism into practice of their work lives. This means that the spa employees are concerned about other people’s face and feeling of embarrassment (Thai

cultural context). This is evident in cases when customers asked for ‘special massage’ at day and hotel spas. This confirmed that the spa employees had to work hard on their emotions to suppress the feeling of humiliation and disgust where customers looked down on their profession and act as they really care about customers and save customers’ face by politely refusing them.

Display rules in the spa industry: **S.M.I.L.L.E culture** and **C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company** (see Table 9.1) implied that the performance of emotion management in the Thai spa industries required all types of workplace emotion (pecuniary, prescriptive, presentational, and philanthropic) to follow. This means that service scripts were provided to employees and they are asked to follow them. In some situations, the scripts are quite flexible and give directions like ‘greet the customer and make sure they understand the spa menu’. However, in other situations the scripts can be very rigid identifying precise language and actions. “*Sawadee Kha! (smile) Welcome to the spa. May I invite you to indulge in relaxation today? (smile)*”. This means that the scripted dialogues have some flexibility that empowers the employees, and allows employees to be autonomous.

The performance of ‘**presentational**’ category in relation to the Thai social reality reflects the core values of the day and hotel spas where customers seek the feeling of relaxation and being pampered. The spa employees find the emotion work difficult and are exhausted and stress at the end of the day. This implies that working at the spas is hard; especially when they have to comply with the company display rules and feeling rules. Having to habitually comply with the display rules of the Thai spa industry (S.M.I.L.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company) led them to have cynical performance and empty feeling when providing service to the customer in some spas. Encountering impolite and demanding

customers made spa employees felt humiliated, where they lost face and dignity in the public. Therefore, they seek their own spaces to release stress individually.

At the health spa, showing a therapeutic professional face was significant because it offered specific treatments (e.g. genital organs, abdominal detox therapy, and five element aromatherapy). The spa employees were engaged in **'philanthropic'** emotion management where they had a sense of compassion to customers (patients). The performance of this category at the health spas showed that the three types of employees (managers, receptionists, and therapists) were engaged in deep acting and showing their true selves in front of customers who were mentally and physically ill. This happened where the employees put themselves in someone else's shoes in order to allow themselves to see or experience feelings from the patients' point of view, which might be different as they do not experience the illness. Even if the spa employees do not experience illness themselves, they show caring to customers. It can be inferred that based on the spa types, employees engaged in different types of emotions in one time. The spa therapists especially had close contact with customers and they had space to feel compassionate and to give love to customers. Within the health spa, customers had lengthy period of stay where the spa employees could build a rapport or create family working environment with customers. That is why this type of workplace emotion is considered as 'emotion as a gift'.

This thesis confirmed that the spa employees were engaged in Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour strategies (surface acting, deep acting, and genuine acting) and managed their stage performances (Goffman's service acting paradigm). The research findings showed that the spa employees were skilled actors who performed/managed their positive facial and emotional expressions towards customers frontstage while they released any stress backstage. Surface acting is employed when the spa employees had to present a smiling face on a hectic

day or with demanding customers during service encounters ('pecuniary' category). Deep acting is performed when they wanted to show a professional face, they loved their job roles and had more time with each customer to provide personalized service, and were committed to an organization ('prescriptive' and 'presentational' categories). Naturally felt emotional expression is shown when the spa employees at the health spa performed 'philanthropic' category. In this type, they had a feeling of compassion to (ill) customers (patients) and this was their true feeling towards customers.

This study extended Bolton's four typologies of workplace emotion by adding more elements to emotion management strategies: '**locale of the performance**'. The researcher found that 'locale' explained the context of observed behaviour or emotion management strategy within all three types of spa (day, hotel, and health). This helped to fully understand the emotion management process and the regions where the spa employees present themselves in the workplace. The 'locale' is added in the model to explain the context where the performance takes place. This linked to Goffman's theoretical perspective on dramaturgy where the human interaction in the social context takes place either frontstage or backstage depending on whom they were interacting with and what motivation drives behind their performances. This element is added to fully understand the performance of emotion management within the Thai spa industry. As in the analysis chapters (Chapter 5, p.140; Chapter 6, p.183; Chapter 7, p.207; Chapter 8, p.230), the findings have suggested the role of different contexts on spa workers and how it affects their emotion management and job satisfaction.

The positive outcomes of emotion management with regards to the business were: customer satisfaction, repeat purchase, and job satisfaction of employees. This means that the spa employees complied with the display rules (S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company) to show their professional face which resulted in positive outcomes of the

performance of emotion management. On the other hand, the tight working schedules of the spa employees did not allow the spa employees to have sufficient resting/relaxing time, which could result in stress and emotional exhaustion. The complexity of the management system (e.g. long chain of communication which could be shortened in real working life) led to conflicts within the organization requiring more difficult emotion management and delayed the progress of work. For instance, the spa therapists have to report spa equipment faults to the spa receptionist, the spa receptionists then report the spa manager, the spa manager then reports the maintenance division, and this division then reports the spa director. The delay of work occurs when there is the problems such as customers ask to change spa package during the treatment. Conflicts between the spa receptionists and the spa therapists also lead to tension where the spa receptionists always book customers in and the spa therapists do not have time to take a break (monetary motivation for getting commissions and reaching sale targets).

Providing excellent service and satisfying customers means that the service employees meet various types of customers, hence the spa employees had to manage their emotions and deal with different situations (see analysis section: Chapter 5, Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and Chapter 8). This research based on its research findings contributes towards proposing an emotion management model (Figure 9.1), which is culturally-bound within an Asian context (high context culture)²⁹ and can be seen as an alternative complementary approach to the existing

²⁹High-context cultures (including the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and South America) are relational, collectivist, intuitive, and contemplative. This means that people in these cultures emphasize interpersonal relationships. Developing trust is an important first step to any business transaction. According to Edward T. Hall, these cultures are collectivist, preferring group harmony and consensus to individual achievement. People in these cultures are less governed by reason than by intuition or feelings. Words are not as important as context, which might include the speaker's tone of voice, facial expression, gestures, posture - and even the person's family history and status. High-context communication tends to be more indirect and more formal. Flowery language, humility, and elaborate apologies are typical.

(Source: http://www.marin.edu/buscom/index_files/Page605.htm).

model (Bolton's 2005). In addition, the proposed model constitutes a theoretical contribution to the field of emotion management in the socio-cultural context of Thailand.

9.3.2 Methodological Contribution

It assigns the importance to the phenomenological research approach for a more holistic insight to inform and guide the research process. Some emotional labour research (i.e. Grandey *et al.*, 2005; Mikolajczak *et al.*, 2007; Austin *et al.*, 2008; Kim, 2008) used quantitative techniques to collect data and used statistical analysis to study the relationship between quantitative variables. However, quantitative approach limits the type of data that can be collected and how it can be studied. The researcher of this study acknowledges the qualitative research that has already been done (e.g. Tyler and Taylor, 2001; Bolton, 2005; O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006; Lewis, 2008). Qualitative data collection techniques allow a researcher to access a deeper understanding of the meaning of the data. Thus, the researcher chose a qualitative, phenomenological research approach to understand the complex phenomenon of emotional labour in the Thai spa industry. The use of phenomenological research strategy was unique in the sense that it allowed the researcher to understand the essence of human experiences through exploring the lives of individual. This can be confirmed when the interviewees shared a story about customer demanding and sexual massage to the researcher. It also required the researcher to build a rapport and good relationship with the respondents to gain rich insight about their true feelings. In other words, the researcher had skills to gain respondents' trust and manage conversation on sensitive issues.

A phenomenological study was helpful and enabled the researcher to get insight sensitive area which female usually did not discuss (sexual massage). In a way, it provided a gender perspective in emotion management of Eastern cultural context. Within the gendered context

of work being women (both researcher of this study and the spa respondents) has added richness to the data. In keeping with the phenomenological philosophy that reality is socially constructed from lived experience, the researcher was fully engaged with the spa respondents, monitoring and interrogating her own emotion management practices, especially the expression of empathy and compassion, throughout the research process. The use of interviews in a phenomenological approach helped to understand the individual's lived experiences of a phenomenon. ,

9.3.3 Practical Contribution

Finally, this thesis offers managerial implications on the actual emotion management process in the Thai spa setting. First, the spa owners or managers should improve the working system to be more flexible and provide more job autonomy. This helps the spa employees to work smoothly during the service encounter and customers will not complain or have bad impression from the service. Second, if all the managerial levels have to attend meeting or workshop at the same time, the spa industry should assign the one who can make a decision immediately when confronting unexpected situations without the delay. The working system already gives spa managers some flexibility and job autonomy, but it should be increased in some situations.

Third, the spa should provide training in relation to the Ministry of Public Health on the principles of spa work(see section 6.3, p.183) because this could enhance the performance of emotion management. Training on emotion management is difficult, therefore the spa industry should provide the training on dealing with and effect of emotion management and coping strategies, which make the spa employees have more job satisfaction. These all help to make the service encounter run efficiently, customers satisfied, and employees have good

working environment which resulting in the performance of good customer service and expression of positive emotions to customers and colleagues.

9.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study had several implications for the emotional labour literature, such as the investigation of emotion management experiences beyond the traditional Western context, and provides opportunities that might be taken into account in future research. This study provided a context specific account of how spa employees in Chiang Mai, Thailand cope with their emotions during customer service interactions. Since this study focused on the northern part of Thailand (Chiang Mai province), one recommendation for future research is to extend the number of spas studied across other regions of Thailand. This is because different areas of Thailand have unique and different societal norms and culture, which are reflected in people's behaviour and presentation. It would be interesting to contrast the performance of each type of emotion management in other regions of Thailand and see to what extent they have similar perceptions, coping mechanisms, and experiences. In addition, this study specifically concentrated on the service providers (managers, receptionists, therapists), future research would benefit by looking at customers' perspectives on how they experience service employees' emotion management performances and how such emotions influence the overall quality of the service they receive (emotion contagion). Following from this perspective, future research might combine quantitative (survey) and qualitative (interview) data collection techniques to understand the whole picture of service performances. This also helps to triangulate the data collection by using the survey responses to support interview data.

Another recommendation is to conduct the research on emotion management performance in other service industries in Thailand where the employees have high contact with customers,

such as hairdresser, manicurist, or personal trainer in the fitness. This enables the researcher to see different perspectives from different persons from different contexts.

FOOTNOTES

¹ <http://www.thaitherapist.com/index.php?lay=show&ac=article&Id=200065>

² http://www.thaiwaysmagazine.com/health/thai_spa_types.html

³ <https://docs.moodle.org/en/Philosophy>

⁴ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/th.html>

⁵ https://www.bot.or.th/thai/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx

⁶ <http://www.bangkokbiznews.com/> by Samniang posted on December 2011

⁷ http://www.chiangmaihealth.com/cmpho_web53/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3071:-30-2557&catid=59:2014-01-16-09-08-40

⁸ http://www.mol.go.th/en/employee/interesting_information/6319

⁹ https://www.bot.or.th/thai/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx

¹⁰ <http://www.mol.go.th/en/content/skill-standard-wages-22-types-jobs-go-force-april-1>

¹¹ <http://www.mol.go.th/en/content/ministry-labour-opens-national-skill-standard-test-thai-chefs-and-thai-massage-therapists>

¹² http://www.mol.go.th/en/employee/interesting_information/6389

¹³ <http://www.oasisspa.net/philosophy/beginning/>

¹⁴ http://www.mol.go.th/en/employee/interesting_information/6389

¹⁵

[https://www.bot.or.th/english/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=feed:+bankofthailanddailyforeignexchangerates+\(bank+of+thailand:+daily+foreign+exchange+rates\)](https://www.bot.or.th/english/statistics/financialmarkets/exchangerate/_layouts/application/exchangerate/exchangerate.aspx?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=feed:+bankofthailanddailyforeignexchangerates+(bank+of+thailand:+daily+foreign+exchange+rates))

¹⁶ S.M.I.L.E culture refers to Spirit, Empathy, Inspiration, Loving, and Empowerment while C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L company refers to Cheerful, Open-minded, Love and Loyalty, Optimistic, Respect, Function and Flexibility, Unique, and Life is beautiful

¹⁷ http://www.thailand-holidays-tips.com/The_Best_Time_to_Visit_Thailand.html

¹⁸ <http://www.spafinder.co.uk/>

¹⁹ www.watpomassage.com

²⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/th.html>

²¹ http://www.abuddhistlibrary.com/Buddhism/B%20-%20Theravada/Ethics/The%20Five%20Precepts%20-%20The%20Buddhist%20Golden%20Rule/five_precepts_the_buddhist_golde.htm

²² Wai (why) - a person places the palm of his or her hands together, with their fingers extended at chest level close to their body and bows slightly. The higher the hands are placed, the more respect is shown. Subordinates might raise their fingers as high as their nose. However, the tips of their fingers should never be above eye level. A 'wai' can mean "Hello", "Thank you", "I'm sorry", or "Goodbye". A 'wai' is not used to greet children, servants, street vendors or labourers. Never return a 'wai' to a child, waiter, clerk, etc. Simply nod and smile in response.

²³ Hochschild (1983) defined surface acting as to change the outward appearance through one's body language; the expression is 'put on'. In deep acting, the performer works to modify the actual feeling by expressing a true feeling that has been self-induced.

²⁴ Emotional Ability (also known as "emotional intelligence") is the ability to cleverly use emotional information to achieve a desired outcome (Kidwell, Hardesty, and Childers, 2008).

²⁵ <http://tao-garden.com/pakua-clinic/>

²⁶ Patronage is a system of help or protection given to people in return for their support (<http://www.bangkokpost.com/learning/learning-from-news/198379/patronage-politics-in-thailand>)

²⁷ <http://www.iep.utm.edu/yinyang/>

²⁸ High-context cultures (including the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and South America) are relational, collectivist, intuitive, and contemplative. This means that people in these cultures emphasize interpersonal relationships. Developing trust is an important first step to any business transaction. According to Edward T. Hall, these cultures are collectivist, preferring group harmony and consensus to individual achievement. People in these cultures are less governed by reason than by intuition or feelings. Words are not as important as context, which might include the speaker's tone of voice, facial expression, gestures, posture - and even the person's family history and status. High-context communication tends to be more indirect and more formal. Flowery language, humility, and elaborate apologies are typical. (Source: http://www.marin.edu/buscom/index_files/Page605.htm).

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APPENDIX

Table 0.1 : Illustration of Multiple Selves of Spa Managers

No	NAMES	POSITION	PECUNIARY	PRESCRIPTIVE	PRESENTATIONAL	PHILANTHROPIC
1.	Abby	MGR	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	Daisy	MGR	✓	✓		✓
3.	Debbi	MGR	✓	✓		✓
4.	Edie	MGR	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.	Gigi	MGR	✓		✓	
6.	Ima	MGR	✓	✓	✓	
7.	Jenni	MGR	✓	✓		
8.	Mark	MGR	✓	✓		
9.	Sindy	MGR	✓		✓	
10.	Nanci	MGR	✓	✓	✓	✓
11.	Neva	MGR	✓	✓	✓	
12.	Neomi	MGR	✓			✓
13.	Ozie	MGR	✓	✓	✓	✓
14.	Pamela	MGR	✓	✓		

Table 0.2: Illustration of Multiple Selves of Spa Receptionists

No	NAMES	POSITION	PECUNIARY	PRESCRIPTIVE	PRESENTATIONAL	PHILANTHROPIC
1.	Fiona	RE	✓	✓	✓	
2.	Janet	RE	✓			✓
3.	Mazie	RE	✓		✓	
4.	Meg	RE	✓	✓	✓	
5.	Nida	RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
6.	Maya	RE	✓		✓	
7.	Sofia	RE	✓	✓		✓
8.	Yanira	RE	✓		✓	
9.	Bella	RE	✓	✓		
10.	Mara	RE	✓	✓		
11.	Tina	RE	✓			
12.	Olevia	RE	✓			

Table 0.3: Illustration of Multiple Selves of Spa Therapists

No	NAMES	POSITION	PECUNIARY	PRESCRIPTIVE	PRESENTATIONAL	PHILANTHROPIC
1.	Bunny	PIST	✓			✓
2.	Carly	PIST	✓			
3.	Lily	PIST	✓			
4.	Lidia	PIST	✓		✓	
5.	Mona	PIST	✓		✓	✓
6.	Nila	PIST	✓	✓		
7.	Nyla	PIST	✓	✓	✓	✓
8.	Nikki	PIST	✓			
9.	Nicole	PIST	✓	✓	✓	
10.	Nelly	PIST	✓	✓	✓	✓
11.	Ossie	PIST	✓	✓		✓
12.	Onita	PIST	✓			✓
13.	Tu	PIST	✓			
14.	Ocie	PIST	✓	✓		✓
15.	Paris	PIST	✓			
16.	Patty	PIST	✓			✓
17.	Tammy	PIST	✓	✓		
18.	Tiffani	PIST	✓			
19.	Vita	PIST	✓			✓
20.	Vicki	PIST	✓		✓	
21.	Yasmine	PIST	✓		✓	
22.	Good	PIST	✓			

The researcher selects a few spa employees as a case study to further explain how they are skilled emotion managers when performing various types of emotion management. In addition, their performances are seen as having ‘multiple selves’ when interacting with customers and co-workers at work.

“Multiple Selves”

The previous chapters showed that this thesis met the research objectives and further developed the theories of emotion in work life. In addition, this thesis extended Bolton’s typology by adding more elements for emotion management in the Thai spa workplace based on detailed interviews of spa employees (see Table 9.1: Summary of Emotion Management in the Thai Spa Industry, p.258). These interviews reveal a picture of spa employees as skilled performers of emotional labour both on the frontstage and backstage of the spa. Spa employees engage in multiple types of emotion work using different masks (i.e. professional mask or cynical/sincere mask) to display ‘multiple selves’. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the study of humans as human actors playing a part on the stage, is linked with Goffman’s theatre metaphor. This thesis matched the literature of multiple selves where people as actors in a play act (or play) according to their role in the play, but the role only gives the spa employees written scripts with dialogue and simple stage directions (e.g. enter, leave, or etc.). So the actors have to create their own ideas about what their character (or part) is thinking or how they should hold their body or express themselves. This is what sometimes makes a play seem more real than reading a book.

The aim of this section is to provide a summary of how spa employees perform several types of emotion management, at the same time, during one customer service interaction. While spa employees are at work, they perform emotion management to show their customers, co-workers, and managers multiple masks and a variety of ‘faces’. This matches with Bolton’s

workplace emotion and Goffman's stage performance. By analysing the different types of emotion management performed by spa employees, the researcher highlights the multi-faceted nature of spa work. Spa employees' professional skills include both technical skills and the ability to use a wide range of emotional skills to create the desired emotional setting.

Spa workers have a wide range of emotional skills, as becomes clear as they are increasingly asked to follow commercial feeling rules under an increased workload, even while spa professionals feel this is incompatible with their genuine desire to provide a skilled service. Many spa employees express a sense of 'monetary servitude' with their job, but more importantly they work for money even when they express dissatisfaction that they are underpaid. As a result, they perform 'pecuniary' emotion management in an attempt to maintain customer satisfaction in the face of customers' unmet expectations also means that they perform surface acting (in line with Hochschild's acting strategy) because the time available to offer their authentic selves and deep acting to the customers has been limited. Nevertheless, spa employees are concerned about their professional reputation and ability to offer what they see as a quality service to customers. This is true especially with the spa therapists who think of themselves like doctors who treat patients. When this is so, they perform 'prescriptive' emotion management during the service encounter. The spa employees also seek and create their own 'protected space' (where there are no customers in this space) to express forms of 'presentational' and 'philanthropic' emotion management where they offer their genuine self to customers. Table 0.1: Illustration of Multiple Selves and Matrix Analysis of Emotion Management show the 'multiple selves' of the spa employees whose emotion management crosses the boundary from one type to another almost simultaneously. The examples below illustrate the performance of different types of emotion management by a few spa employees.

Ima, the outstanding actress described in this thesis, performs four different types of emotion while delivering service to her customers. First, she feels humiliated while providing service to rude customers who say their shoes are worth more than Ima's life. During these customers' visit to the spa, they demand and complain about every single thing with loud and aggressive voices. Even though Ima is frustrated and annoyed with these customers, she cannot do anything to stop providing service (because 'the customer is always right'). The only thing Ima can do is to satisfy these customers according to their needs (performing 'pecuniary' emotion management). This means that she shows and maintains a professional face (performing 'prescriptive' emotion management) with these customers with her cheerful facial expression and pleasant tone of voice (via surface acting). Ima was stressed after she performed all these services for the demanding customers, so she then sought her own space (backstage) to release her stress and anger (performing 'presentational' emotion management) where she could be herself. However, Ima is satisfied with her job because she likes talking to and being friends with the people around her (both customers and co-workers). This leads to sincere performance or deep acting (performing 'philanthropic' emotion management).

Nanci does her best to provide good quality service to customers. However, her job autonomy sometimes limits her performance and decision making, which makes her feel annoyed (when performing 'pecuniary' emotion management). In addition, she has been surprised and frightened by customers who come to the spa and ask for sexual massage. However, she shows her professional face and follows the professional and organizational feeling rules (Buddhist Golden Rules and the Spa Code of ethics) by politely and gently refusing customers (performing 'prescriptive' emotion management). Whenever she feels miserable from her work, her customers, or her colleagues, she finds her space to relax and do the things she wants ('presentational' emotion management). Nanci started working as a

spa receptionist and a few years later she was promoted to be spa manager. At the time when she was a spa receptionist, the spa manager had to evaluate her performance along with customer assessments of her services. The Customer Satisfaction Index (CSI) form really meant life to her because it identified how good or how poor her service performance was, which in turn influenced her monthly income. At the time she became a spa manager, she had to give the CSI form to customers to evaluate receptionists and therapists and she has to evaluate their service performances. In this situation, she sometimes has space to feel compassionate toward her colleagues, especially when spa therapists meet abusive customers. She helps those colleagues by not giving the CSI form to the abusive customers (performing ‘philanthropic’ emotion management).

Meg, a spa receptionist, also shows multiple selves while performing emotion management and delivering customer service. She narrates her story by focusing on the importance of money which inspires her robotic face, acquiescent to an unwanted, imposed identity, and cynical performances (performing ‘pecuniary’ emotion management). She wants tips from customers so she has to provide good service and make the customers satisfied with that service. Acting as a good customer service worker everyday with every customer has made her feel accustomed to her job routine. Her feelings and facial expressions have now become second nature whenever she steps into the spa. Her smiles sometimes are not genuine because she thinks it is crazy and ridiculous to smile all the time. However, she can maintain a professional face (performing ‘prescriptive’ emotion management) when customers ask for sexual massage at the spa. She acts professionally to control her facial expression and tone of voice in front of the customer while she follows and respects the Great Teacher of the spa profession by not providing sexual services in the spa. Meg tries her best to politely refuse these customers and save the customers’ face, by not letting them feel embarrassed (performing ‘presentational’ emotion management).

Nicole engages in three different types of emotion while interacting with customers: pecuniary, prescriptive, and presentational emotion management. She feels humiliated when customers look down on her job and perceive her job as a part of the sex trade. She was scared and horrified when customers asked for sexual massage either directly from her or from the spa receptionists. On the other hand, she has self-esteem and is proud of her job that brings money into her life and to her family (performing ‘pecuniary’ emotion management). She maintains her professional face and respects the spa code of ethics as part of her work (performing ‘prescriptive’ emotion management) when she refuses her customers sexual requests and saves the customers’ face. When she is fatigued, she has her own space for emotional comfort – her office (backstage). In this back region, she is alone and is herself. It is backstage where she feels better and gets ready to come back and perform on the frontstage (‘presentational’ emotion management’).

Nyla, a spa therapist, performs different types of emotion work. Due to the economic crisis, the spa had to lay off some of the staff, and the spa manager had to nominate those who had the least ability or who were least important to the company. Nyla was one of the employees that the manager nominated, and she was angry and discouraged. The final solution for the spa was to keep everyone but provide less work for each person (four days per week) and no pay on non-working days during the week (3 days). Her story reflects conflict between and among colleagues and the organization, which in turn leads to a lower quality of service that she provides to the customers. But, she keeps working in the spa because of the money she earns for herself and her family (performing ‘pecuniary’ emotion management). Whenever she feels stressed, she always goes to the dining hall (distancing herself from people) and practices meditation (backstage) (performing ‘presentational’ emotion management). Nyla also has space for a gift and space for compassion (‘philanthropic’ emotion management). Even though the spa employees perform ‘philanthropic’ emotion management, there is still a

difference in terms of each person's actions and philanthropic self-expression. Nyla feels compassionate towards her ill customers while Nanci feels sympathy for her colleagues (other therapists).

Nyla also manages and gives her positive emotions to customers as a gift when she has conversations with her customers about healthy lifestyles and how to look after themselves. Whenever there is a chance, or no customers are waiting for her, she adds extra massage time for her customers. She believes that good or even better treatment can be accomplished based on customer's trust and respect for her skills and her knowledge. The power of love then passes from her hands to the customer's body. Space for compassion occurs when she feels the pain of a returning customer who uses a wheelchair. She does whatever she can to help ill customers without feeling disgust or feeling weird because the customer is not part of her family. It is the deep acting or genuinely felt emotion she delivers to her customers. On the other hand, she feels sympathetic toward her colleagues whom she has been working with for such a long time (5 to 10 years). Due to the layoff process, she feels a sense of belonging to an organization and wants to keep everyone in the spa.

The above statement illustrates the multiple selves of the spa employees. Their skilled emotion management and performances are confirmed in this thesis. By combining the dramaturgical and workplace emotion perspectives in the conceptual model developed to describe the emotional work-life of Thai spa employees, the researcher contributes to the understanding of organizational life. All human interaction requires emotion management, and these interactions may be framed according to the dramaturgical and workplace emotion perspectives. Goffman's dramaturgical perspective explains how employees gain the skills required to perform emotion management required by the organization (Hochschild, 1983; Bolton, 2005), and Bolton's typology reveals the 'multi-dimensional nature of organizational life' (Bolton, 2004: 154) since employees perform different types of emotion management at

different times. The social view of emotion reveals that emotion work reflects the society in which it is performed (Bolton, 2005). Since society is unequal, the normal social interactions that are the context for emotion management, both at work and in other contexts, are reinforcing these social inequalities constantly. The status of each person involved in a social interaction is extremely important to how emotion management will be carried out in that interaction. For example, each person's gender, class, nationality, occupation, and wealth will be considered by the people interacting as they decide how to manage their emotions and whose status must be protected. For example, a social interaction between a man and a woman will be very different from a social interaction between two women. People often expect women to do more emotion work and to protect the status of men rather than asking for the same respect that men with the same social status normally require.

The researcher found that even though there is an increasing amount of academic literature on emotion work, little of it addresses emotion work in Thailand and skilled emotional labourers may not be treated like skilled workers by the organizations they work for. Instead, management described skilled emotional labourers as having a desirable personality, character traits or "service mind" (Bolton, 2005). Of course, normal life requires emotion work, both at work and all of the other activities people engage in. Also, all emotion workers are not the same. Some emotion workers also use complex technical skills or produce material goods, while others, like customer service workers, perform almost entirely emotional labour to present the human face of a corporation and create the intangible product of customer satisfaction. Customer service jobs, like spa work, require a lot of emotional labour and use the emotional skills of the worker to produce the desired result. Therefore, spa employees must be skilled performers to manage their emotions to create customer satisfaction as in line with Bolton.

By analyzing the interview data in view of Bolton's four types of emotion management with Goffman's social perspective, the researcher highlights the complexity of social interaction and the different contexts of the different types of emotion management. While some spa employees accept their work role, others reject it and perform only according to 'pecuniary' or 'prescriptive' display rules (Goffman, 1959). In these cases, the spa employees meet the demands of the job, but do not accept the prescribed identities that correspond to the spa's commercial feeling rules (Bolton, 2005). This contrasts with Bolton's theory of workplace emotion in terms of the rejection to have prescribed or imposed identity. However, the similarity to Bolton is that in the Thai spa industry, emotion work is always crossing the boundaries between different parts of life. Spa employees may present different masks when performing different types of emotion management in different situations. Workplace emotion is complex. There are multiple types of feeling rules and multiple types of emotion management. All of these categories show that organizations cannot truly control emotion without relying on and reflecting society and individuals. Multiple feeling rules and types of emotion management allow us to reflect the complexity of work life and the inconsistencies and contradictions that spa employees experience in their normal work life. So, the complexity of the conceptual model shows how spa employees are always working to manage a variety of feelings to allow them to survive and thrive throughout the difficult requirements of spa work.

Comparison of these stories

Table 0.1, Table 0.2, Table 0.3 and Matrix Analysis of Emotion Management showed how the spa employees manage their emotions during customer service interaction. Every person performed different types of emotion at the same time. Self-identity is created based on their personal motivation (instrumental, professional, or societal norms) and committed to job and organization. The enactment to display rules (S.M.I.L.E culture and C.O.L.O.R.F.U.L.

company) and feeling rules (commercial, professional/organizational, and social) also influenced their emotional expressions. Hence, it was difficult to distinguish each category because these were fluid categories. This confirmed that multiple selves can be created at the same time.

There were similarities and differences of how different people experienced emotional situations and how they coped with it. Similarly, the spa employees felt ‘the customer is king’ and ‘the customer is always right’ when they performed ‘pecuniary’ emotion management. The service experience was subservient especially when customers looked down on their job and the fact they were Thai people. However, they needed to work for money and to live their life. They all expected tips from customers and when they received them prior to providing the service, they would engage in deep acting. Most of the spa employees felt they did not have the job autonomy to make a quick or straightforward decision upon a customer request or in a tough situation. Some of the spa employees decided to go beyond their authority to make a decision because they wanted to satisfy the customers’ need.

In the ‘prescriptive’ category, the majority of the spa employees had professional face to show customers they were skilled employees. In doing this, they abided by the spa code of conduct or Buddhist Golden Rules and politely refused to provide sexual massage to male customers. After experiencing emotional situations, they sought space in an organization to release stress and present their true self. Space is used for emotional and physical comfort and within the Thai spa context, they used space individually. For instance, practicing meditation, reading books, and walking around the spa to breathe fresh air. All of these referred to the performance of ‘presentational’ emotion management. The spa employees at the health spa had an opportunity to perform ‘philanthropic’ emotion management as a gift to customers. At the health spa, they have been working together for a long time, so they felt close to each other and helped each other during busy times. Customers had a lengthy stay in the spa for

their medical treatment and this allowed spa employees to build rapport with customers and perform deep acting or genuinely felt emotional expressions.

Matrix Analysis of Emotion Management

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
<p>Ima, Manager</p>	<p><i>'Humiliation'</i> "There were two wealthy customers. Upon their arrival they said in a loud and aggressive voice, 'You! You! Come here! Come here now!.' Once she had selected her treatment, I asked her to wait five minutes (which is only a short wait time) because the therapist had to prepare the room and products. She said 'I don't want to wait; I need to have my massage now! Now! DO you hear me? (in a high and hysterical tone of voice). Once I had served her welcome drink, she said, 'Come on, why didn't you clean up all those used cups on this table so that I would know which one was a new cup for me?' I had to hide my frustration, turn my face down, and take those used cups to the kitchen. Actually there were plenty of vacant seats so I felt annoyed with her and wondered why she had sat here. I started to feel that she was a demanding and annoying customer, but I had to go through with the treatment. Once the treatment room was ready for her, I took her to the treatment room and asked her to take off her shoes before lying down on the mattress. She said, 'Do you know how much my shoes cost? They were</p>	<p><i>'Professional face'</i> "I feel that I am worthless and was very upset when the spa driver threw money in my face. Without me, he (a driver) would never get that money, but I have to stand there listening to his swearing and putting up with his rude behaviour towards me. I cannot do anything apart from trying to control my temper. After he left, I tore up that money and threw it in the bin because I lost my temper." (page 163)</p>	<p><i>'Space for emotional comfort'</i> "Whenever I was stressed and bored from work, I walked away from the reception area, sought out quiet space where nobody was around and called my friends (who didn't work in the spa industry) and recounted my tale of woe." (page 212)</p> <p>"I felt sorry for myself, I felt like I was a worthless person and imagined that if I were rich like her one day I would never treat any other person as rudely as she had. I was hurt by her because I had spoken to her nicely and behaved politely. Why wasn't she kind to me? For a fleeting moment, I got angry with her but then I felt it was a challenge to see if I could keep everything in control so I would do it better next time. I felt happy later on because I had been able to maintain a professional face by not losing my temper or showing a grumpy face to customers. Not even a bad tone of voice or a disagreeable facial expression. I felt like I had won the game even though I felt deeply depressed during that moment, but I did not show my bad reaction." (page 214)</p>	<p><i>'Job satisfaction'</i> "I like talking to people, I like servicing, and I aim to provide good customer service to all customers." (page 160)</p> <p><i>'Job dissatisfaction'</i> "I am not happy to work in this spa, I do not have friends, and I do not love the spa or the spa owner. I cannot trust anybody here; they just want to take advantage of me. However, I like talking and providing service to customers. The spa owner sets a monthly target and we have to reach that amount. I always reach it and this makes the owner happy. But I do not understand why my colleagues are always keeping me down, oppressing me, just because I am smarter than them. They found me negligent, just a little careless, because I was five minutes late to work one day, but they deducted money from my salary and put pressure on me to leave this job." (page 163)</p> <p><i>'Deep acting/Genuine self'</i> "Performance evaluation for me is based on achieving the monthly target. This proves that I work effectively. I have to do it even though I feel it is</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p>so expensive that I would never take them off'. At that moment, I felt downtrodden and imagined that her shoes must be really worth more than my life. That's why she did all these things to me. She made my day so depressing and she broke my heart.”(page 159)</p> <p><i>‘Customer is always right’</i> “I have to tolerate and provide service to rude customers. They talk to me and treat me like, let’s say, a dog, especially when I ask them to take off their shoes before lying down on the mattress. One customer said her shoes were worth more than my life and she would never take her shoes off. I was shocked when I heard this, but I could not say anything, just listen and lower my head because she is my customer and she is more important than me. I feel like I am not a human being, I lose my sense of self and even lose my confidence in being a spa manager.” (page 159)</p> <p><i>‘Conflict’</i> “Whenever I face a difficult situation and I consult with the senior spa manager, he says, ‘If you are smart, you must know how to overcome the problem without asking me’. Well, it is something that is above my pay</p>			<p>quite difficult. However, I think achieving the target only proves work efficiency. The spa operators have to pay attention to the quality of service they provide to the customers so that they will return. I have my own customers and they always remember me even when we meet outside the spa and I am sure that they are our returning customers because they like my service.” (page 166)</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p>grade and I do not want to step over him. His answer makes me think that I shouldn't put up with working with him anymore. Another problem is that I have lost a lot of weight since I started working here because we are not allowed to eat behind the lobby area so I have to walk too far to the kitchen, which is where I can eat. During the busy hours, I cannot leave the reception area and go for a meal because I have to be here supporting the spa receptionists. I just feel that the senior spa manager and spa owner treat us unequally; they both sympathize with the male spa receptionist and treat him like a king while they treat me like a drudge.”(page 169)</p>			
<p>Nanci, Manager</p>	<p>‘Conflict’ “Whenever the customers are demanding and it's out of my power, I have to contact the country spa manager and ask her to help me make a decision and solve the problem. Sometimes, and in some emergency situations, I cannot wait for her response. I consider this a quandary, I feel annoyed and angry whenever I have to wait for the response from someone above me.” (page 168)</p>	<p>‘Professional face’ (Buddhist Golden Rules or Spa code of ethics) “‘There are a lot of male customers who come and ask for ‘special massage’. Some of them ask at the spa lobby while others ask the spa therapists in a private treatment room. If the spa therapists are found to provide special or sexual massage, they will be discharged immediately. I am surprised and frightened when they ask for this, unfortunately I have to refuse them Sometimes, it is yucky and disgusting. However, the spa therapists have been trained and</p>	<p>‘Space for emotional comfort’ “‘There were some therapists who spoke or behaved sarcastically to me whenever I ordered them to do something but they didn't feel like doing it. I became angry and miserable, so I just walked away from their place and went to the lobby area or the housekeeping area and talked. The people there made me calm down and feel better.’”(page 215)</p>	<p>‘Space for compassion’ “‘The customer satisfaction index form is really important to our working lives here because the spa owners could see this as our performance assessment. However, it has meant more to therapists than receptionists as that paper is seen as morale to therapists. The bosses relied on this paper in order to decide whether or not to raise hourly payments for massage. So I understood and I felt sympathy for the therapists and I always helped them whenever I could.’” (page 233)</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
		<p>taught to be aware of spa code of ethics. They have to respect the Great Teacher and spa profession.” (page 184)</p>	<p><i>‘Space for misbehaviour’</i> “Once I worked as a spa receptionist, we always get along well with each other among receptionists. However, when I got promoted as a spa manager, I felt like I am isolated and no one listen to me as before. Sometimes I saw my inferior (receptionists) misbehaved or did something against the spa’s rules, I warned them but they kind of resisted on what I am saying. They just didn’t listen to me and I felt we were not close friend anymore.” (page 218)</p>	<p><i>‘Job satisfaction’</i> “I liked this job and I was happy to work here. I worked here the longest period since I started working life. I felt under pressure and stressed because the spa manager had a lot of duties and we always encountered unexpected situations. I loved all my colleagues here the most and I also liked the spa customers. The nature of this job was challenging. However, during the last few months, the extra money from service charges was decreased and a lot of receptionists have resigned. I sometimes felt like leaving this spa because I needed more private time for myself. But I didn’t want to find a new job and I was happy with the base income for the manager position. I have been working here for such a long time and I had a sense of stability with this company.” (page 243)</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
<p>Meg, Receptionist</p>	<p><i>‘Monetary motivation’</i> “We all expect extra money or tips from customers and I think it affects the way we provide customer service. Unfortunately, it depends on customer satisfaction with the services from spa receptionists and spa therapists. At this spa we do not have a tip box like many other spas, we only have a donation box for foundations and associations. I sometimes feel dispirited because customers always give tips to the spa therapists in the private treatment room. As the spa receptionists, we only receive service commission from selling spa packages. If the spa therapists do not receive tips from customers, they always come to me and grumble about their ‘Tough luck!’ saying ‘I do heavy massage and use a lot of my energy to rub their body, but I do not get any tips from customers.’ When this happens, I appease them by saying that ‘not receiving any tips is better than receiving customer complaints.’ I sometimes feel it is ludicrous when customers give 10 Thai Baht (£0.20) that we have to divide among three spa employees.”(page 139)</p>	<p><i>‘Professional face’</i> “Often, male customers come and ask for ‘special massage’, they say ‘I want a beautiful young therapist’. In reality, we have to refuse customers because we are a spa, not just any massage place. However, when in a private treatment room where no one can see what is going on, the spa therapist may provide sexual massage in exchange for money. It depends on the conscience of individual and the therapist’s morality. There is a Great Teacher of the spa profession and we all should respect our teacher. I was shocked when I first worked here and a customer asked this. It is disgusting and I felt those customers have a mental disorder. It is frightening really.” (page 138)</p>	<p><i>‘Saving face’</i> “I was silent for a while when the male customer asked for special or sexual massage. I thought ‘didn’t he know that this is a spa and we didn’t provide special massage?’ However, I told him that we provided massage for relaxation, not for fun such as erotic massage with a neutral facial expression and tone of voice.” (page 204)</p> <p><i>‘Space for emotional comfort’</i> “Whenever I felt bored and anxious from my daily work routine, I always asked for a break (one hour break) and went out to eat at a restaurant. Eating made me happy. Or if it’s not my break yet, I will immediately leave the spa lobby and walk to the entrance gate of the spa where there is a pond. I watch fish and listen to the sound of the fountain. This is how I relax and refresh myself before going back to work.”(page 204).</p>	

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p><i>'Robotic face', 'Routine work', 'Imposed identity'</i></p> <p>"I feel accustomed to my daily work actually and this sounds like my habit. Whenever I wake up, my first questions are 'Will there be a lot of customers or demanding customers today?.' 'Does the number of the spa therapists match the number of customers?.' I feel it is a system for my everyday working life. At the end of the day I feel dead on my feet and fatigued." (page 149)</p> <p><i>'Cynical performance'</i></p> <p>"The spa display rules are 'always smile' and 'smile to every customer'. I think it is freakish and crazy to smile all the time even when I don't want to. If I don't want or feel like smiling, I will give a fake smile, but not a grimace. In the worst cases such as customers are bugging or agitating at me, I will show a blank facial expression." (page 156)</p> <p><i>'Conflict'</i></p> <p>"It is idiotic, really, when a customer walks in, sees the treatment menu, and immediately asks for a discount. It is their habit and I think they learned to bargain from the internet and they bargain for every single thing in Thailand. I feel like I am a</p>			

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p>clown whom customers make fun of when they ask for a big discount. However, I do not have authority to give them a discount because I have to ask for approval from the spa manager.” (page 169)</p>			
<p>Nida, Receptionist</p>	<p><i>‘Cynical performance’, ‘Surface acting’</i> “One thing that makes me feels discouraged and feel like giving up is my monthly income. I used to get around (28,000 THB or £566 a month) but now I only get £300. Actually I get 8,000 THB (£162) as my base monthly income, but I receive commissions from selling spa packages, service charges from customers, and monthly target bonuses from the spa. The spa owner now sets a higher monthly target, which I think is so ludicrous since he knows we cannot reach it (170,000 THB or £3,437 per day). The number of customers is the same. It’s as busy as usual so I know the monthly income should stay the same, but it is not. The spa owner takes advantage of us, I feel I do not want to work and I only put half-hearted effort into my work. He ruins my heart and I think I will not work for him wholeheartedly.” (page 140-141)</p>	<p><i>‘Professional face’</i> “A customer came and asked for ‘special massage’, I was shocked, furious with him, and felt so disgusted with him coming and asking for this. I feel sick and I have to refuse him. Sometimes, customers don’t ask at the reception area, but personally ask the spa therapist while they were in the treatment room. If this is the case, the therapist comes out and tells me not to give the feedback form to the customer to fill in because it affects their performance bonuses and income. I feel sympathy for the spa therapists who have to face the mental illness of customers even when the customers are beastly.” (page 185)</p>	<p><i>‘Space for emotional comfort’</i> “I will ask to leave the lobby area and find a place to calm myself. I normally go to the car park or the kitchen, sit down, and relax. I want to be alone if I am very angry or annoyed by someone, either colleagues or customers. I stay in the staging area behind the spa and I feel better I think.” (page 216)</p> <p><i>‘Space for misbehaviour’</i> “We have created our own culture as receptionists. We are always busy and we face demanding and difficult customers every day. We don’t have time to have a proper break, so I eat in the spa lobby even though I know we are not allowed to do so. I eat and chitchat with other receptionists because I feel hungry. And I don’t think it is wrong because the senior receptionist used to do that too. Sometimes I feel the spa rules are thoughtless and enforced too loosely to be followed or control us. If we are not found guilty of doing the wrong thing, I will keep doing it. I think as</p>	<p><i>‘Space for compassion’</i> “I feel sympathy when I see the ill customers such as a customer in a wheelchair or a handicapped customer coming to the spa. The massage bed is too high for them to climb onto and it is difficult to change position, take a shower or get dressed. But I think they must feel really fatigued and want to feel relaxed, so that’s why they came to the spa.” (page 229)</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p><i>'Customer is always right'</i></p> <p>"There was one customer who came and asked about the spa packages. I then introduced him to the Lanna Style package which includes a hot herbal compress, aroma oil massage, and Thai traditional massage. This was 2.30 hour spa package. The customer agreed to the time, price, and massage therapy as I confirmed with him before letting him go to the spa treatment room. Once he had finished one of our hot herbal compresses, he came out to the lobby and complained that he didn't like the spa package and he didn't want to pay. He wanted only aroma oil massage for 2.30 hours. I was so angry and upset because I already confirmed the spa package with him at the very beginning. He insisted on having aroma oil massage for the remaining 1.30 hours, but I couldn't make the spa therapist do that because it was not right. Finally, I decided to change the spa package for him to aroma hot oil massage and asked him to pay again. I had to fake my smile and talk to him nicely even though I wanted to run away from him and let another receptionist take care of him. I don't think it is right to believe that 'the customer is always right'; however, we have been told to</p>		<p>we become closer friends, it makes it difficult to control us or for us to be disciplined." (page 216)</p>	

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	accept this stupid idea.” (page 156)			
Bunny, Therapist Chief Leader	<p><i>‘Customer is always right’</i> “It was awful when the VIP customer or the boss’s friends use our spa services and treated me like a slave. They expected us to pamper them and do everything for them, i.e. one gay customer asked me to wear his underwear and socks. I was bitter because I couldn’t refuse him; even I had a feeling that he wasn’t my father whom I can treat him that way. When I used the hot herbal compress along his body, he asked me to focus only on his ass by claiming that he spent long hours driving. I felt disgusted, but what else I can do except pamper him. I had no choice.” (page 133)</p> <p><i>‘Emotional exhausted’, ‘Indoor labourer’</i> “This spa used us as hard labour, we had to work from 8 a.m. until 10 p.m. every day while someone had to work like this for a week. I absolutely mean that it was a tough job and I felt so exhausted like all the other therapists feel. The therapists who worked here had to work very, very hard, like we were indoor labourers. This spa expected us to work harder and harder, I felt that it was the hardest labour in a spa in Chiang Mai. We</p>			<p><i>Space for compassion</i> “Once upon a time, I experienced a rude customer and I had a sense that she wasn’t satisfied with my service. After the treatment, I ran to the reception area and asked one of the receptionists to help me by not giving the feedback form to the customer. I was really scared about what would happen if customer wrote something bad about me. Once the receptionist helped me, I felt safe and relaxed.” (page 233).</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p>had to work extra hours (overtime) even though we didn't want to." (page 134)</p> <p><i>Monetary motivation'</i> "If the customers give me a tip before a treatment, I will provide a better service. I will do whatever they ask me to do because my heart smiles for money. I just feel encouraged and like I have spirit to work for them. In contrast, I felt a bit strange if they do not give me a tip. However, if they do not want to give a tip, I expect them to give me excellence service performance review on the customer satisfaction index because this tiny paper influences my monthly income." (page 139)</p> <p><i>'Humiliation'</i> "There are some Chinese customers who have really bad behaviour and use bad words when they call me. They treated me as if I am not a human being and they always grunt and make loud noises. I feel discouraged because I think being a therapist is tough and I have to use my best effort when massaging the customer. However, I have been told that customers are always right because they pay us money in order to receive our services." (page 160)</p>			

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
<p>Nicole, Therapist Leader</p>	<p><i>'Humiliation'</i> "I have self-esteem and I am proud of my job as a spa therapist. I feel good if I can make customers feel good and relaxed. But sometimes I am disappointed when customers have a bad attitude towards my role. I am not selling sex, I am not providing sexual massage, and I am working in a certified spa. There are a large amount of customers who come and ask for sexual massage, but we (spa therapists) have ways of coping with and escaping this problem. We cannot teach each other as we have to learn from our own experiences how to say no and refuse the customers. Some customers ask the receptionists whether the therapist can go to a hotel guest room and provide massage. From this, we know that they want sexual massage. My own experience with this has left me scared and horrified from then until now, I cannot erase that moment from my heart and my memory. I was frightened because I had never had a customer ask me for sex before in my whole life. I am afraid of male customers raping me. I feel like a male customer started to degrade me by touching my hands and moving my hands over his naked body. After the treatment, he came out to the</p>	<p><i>'Professional face'</i> "When the same male customers come to the spa again, they never ask for 'special or sexual massage'. I think because they had the wrong idea about the Thai spas, but when I told them that we did not provide sexual massage for fun, they all accepted it and felt embarrassed. Most massage therapists are required to follow the spa code of ethics as part of training and work. The spa ethics are concerned with the boundary between therapists and customers and respecting the massage teachers. Hence, we (therapists) agree to conduct massage in a manner which commands respect for our 'Great Teacher of Thai Massage'. Apart from feeling nauseous about the customers who ask for special massage, I feel that he is not my husband and I cannot touch his sexual organ even if he puts a huge amount of money in front of my face." (page 186)</p> <p><i>'Saving face'</i> "There was a case when a male customer asked me to give me a special massage and I said no. I had to massage around his legs and groin for the full body massage. I heard his noise kind of masturbation, I felt</p>	<p><i>'Space for emotional comfort'</i> "Whenever I faced demanding customers, I usually went to my own office and locked the door. Being alone or being by myself made me feel better so that I could think and find a solution."</p>	

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	<p>lobby area, paid and walked out with his eyes down. I think he felt embarrassed.” (page 161)</p> <p>“It is disgusting actually when he has sexual arousal and he is erect. Then, I covered his genitalia with the blanket and asked if he felt cold. He told me he wasn’t cold but I heard him moving and he masturbated. Another customer who ordered facial massage, while I massaged his face, I noticed that he used his own hands to fondle his sexual organ and masturbate. It is again, horrible and repulsive and I wanted time to move faster so that I could finish working on him. However, I couldn’t leave the treatment room even though I felt I wanted to run away from him. It is my job, so I have to complete it. By this time I wasn’t scared because I was accustomed to male customers, but I wanted to vomit seeing him doing that in front of me.” (page 162)</p>	<p>something went wrong but I couldn’t do anything or even leave the treatment room. It was disgusting and I was scared of him raping me. What I did was to avoid that area and keep massaging. I just ignored what I have seen and heard because I wanted to save his face. At that time, I wished time could run faster so that I could finish my job. Another example was when an Indian male customer always using his hands touching and rubbing his penis. I felt bitter to see it and lucky me because the spa treatment was almost finished, so I decided not to massaging his head. I just asked him to sit, he suddenly opened a towel that covered his penis and masturbated. I then just walked away from the room because I felt so disgusted.” (page 208)</p>		

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
<p>Nyla, Therapist</p>	<p><i>‘Conflict’</i> “I am sad and feel like I have worked for the wrong spa. If the spa owner asks me to leave tomorrow, I am willing to do that because I see things going wrong. At the moment, I have worked here only four days and would leave without pay because the spa owner said he faced the economic slowdown. He has taken all the money from our holiday without pay and service charge from customers since July. However, they started to pay service charge during the low season with less customers. The spa owner has some amount of money because we didn’t work for him and we asked for holiday without pay, but he didn’t pay us service charge that customers paid to the spa and share among the employees. I think he is smart while we are stupid. He takes advantage of us really and this makes a lot of skilled and experienced employees leave the company. I feel impotent and really bad. I still work here because I am waiting for them to kick me out so that I have the right to sue them. So, I will never resign from this job. He has taught me to betray my employer and be disloyal to the company. As a spa therapist, we lose our courage and are shaken because this used to be a secure and stable</p>	<p><i>‘Female’s work’</i> “Thai people were more open to female working as a therapist. Male therapists do not progress in their career, except they were gay or lady boys. Women had more sense of caring like a mother care for children. For managing emotion, I thought it depended on family background, educational level, and social status. Sometimes women were better in coping with bad mood better than men and vice versa. Have you ever heard that the higher education you have, the more dangerous you are. Higher education people could hide their evil better than those who had lower education.” (page 179)</p>	<p><i>‘Saving face’</i> “There is one male customer, who is the Prince of one country, who came and used hydrotherapy. I had to be in the pool with him and teach him to exercise. He asked me to come closer to him but I refused because I knew what he would do to me. I’m not disgusted with him, but my job is not selling sex and I am too old to have sexual arousal. I tried to create a humorous environment for him and told him that I have never slept with a male in my whole life. I wanted to protect his dignity actually by refusing to be closer to him and let him step backward himself. For me, dealing with this type of customer does not require me to talk to him badly or impolitely. To escape a male customer doesn’t require talk I think, just showing disinterest with my behaviour and focusing on my job. Then he will detach himself from me. Some of the customers respect my profession and come back to me while some of them feel embarrassed and never come back.” (page 207)</p> <p><i>‘Space for emotional comfort’</i> “Whenever I felt bad or stressed about my colleagues, I usually went to the dining hall and fasting room. I just went there to help customers if they</p>	<p><i>‘Space for a gift’</i> “I like talking to the customers while we are in a treatment room about everything, especially how to eat good food and live a healthy life. I sometimes add extra massage time if I like talking to the customer or we have the same attitudes so that we can share ideas and I can learn new things from her. It is wonderful to have this kind of customer here and I am happy to share my knowledge.” (page 223)</p> <p>“I provided hydrotherapy to a male customer and it’s funny that all male customers think they can hug me in the pool. Well, I told them to respect me and my job as a therapist first so that I could work easily. First of all, I ask him to come and sit down with me in the pool. Then, I try to balance the temperature of the bodies and the water, to keep the customer from feeling hot. After a little while, we can feel that both water and body temperature is balanced. Then I slowly ask him to clasp my hands so that I can feel whether he is relaxed. He can feel me sending the power of love to him by touching my hands. If he feels relaxed, it means that he trusts me, he allows me to work on him and it makes my job easier. I then move closer to him to work</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
	spa.”		needed my help. I just wanted them to feel better.”	<p>properly.”(page 225)</p> <p><i>‘Space for compassion’</i></p> <p>“Most of the time I meet ill customers, recently, I met a customer in a wheelchair, and I had compassion for him. Even though I cannot feel their pain, I want them to recover and release their pain. I thought that I could help him in some ways such as physical therapy because he couldn’t walk at all. His first and second visit he still could walk. However, this was the third time he came here and he couldn’t walk. I have to support them and encourage him. He was a returning customer and I knew him quite well. He also had a stroke that caused paralysis. He had all these symptoms because his wife asked to break up with him and he was shocked. I encouraged him by saying that he could recover and feel better after the treatment.” (page 228)</p> <p>“The spa owner wants to lay off spa employees which mean more than half of us have to leave. We don’t want anybody to go; we love each other because we have been together for almost ten years. I feel downcast and don’t want to work, even I work, and it’s not the best work I ever perform. It affects my feeling a lot.</p>

Name/Typology	Pecuniary	Prescriptive	Presentational	Philanthropic
				<p>Eventually, we all help to solve the problem by lessen our working days from 6 days to 4 days per week and we can keep everybody here. I feel sorry for those who have to responsible for family and utility and debt bills and work only 4 days a week, but this is the best solution for all of us.” (page 234)</p>

ANNEX B: ETHICS REVIEW FORM – STUDENT DISSERTATIONS/PROJECTS

Name: WINAYAPORN BHAMMANACHOTE Student Number: 2126166
 Programme: PhD, Management, Work and Organisation Division
 Dissertation/Project Title: Emotion Management in the Spa Industry, Thailand

I confirm that this project **DOES NOT** include any of the following:

	TICK
Research involving vulnerable groups (e.g. children, young people, those with a learning disability or cognitive impairment, or individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship)	✓
Research involving sensitive topics (e.g. participants' sexual behaviour, their illegal or political behaviour, their experience of violence, their abuse or exploitation, their mental health, their gender or ethnic status); instruments required for initial access to members (e.g. ethnic or cultural groups, native peoples or indigenous communities)	✓
Research involving deception which is conducted without participants' full and informed consent	✓
Research involving access to records of personal or confidential information concerning identifiable individuals	✓
Research which would induce psychological stress, anxiety or humiliation or cause more than minimal pain	✓
Research involving intrusive interventions which participants would not encounter in the course of their everyday lives	✓
Research where there is a possibility that the safety of the researcher may be in question (e.g. in international research; locally employed research assistants)?	✓
I confirm that I have completed procedures required by any secondary data provider (please attach any relevant documentation)	✓

I understand that:

If my research **includes** any of the above aspects, I will need to describe more fully how I plan to deal with the ethics issues raised by my research. **My research proposal will be subject to a full ethics review.** In such cases, the following information is required to be submitted (along with this form) to the Ethics Committee for approval:

- A copy of my dissertation proposal
- A summary statement, highlighting the ethical aspects and how they will be addressed

It is my responsibility to follow the University's Code of Practice on Ethical Standards and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of my study. **This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data.** Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the School's Research Ethics Committee Secretary and may require a new application for ethics approval.

Student's Signature: B. Winayaporn Date:

I confirm discussion of the above statements and that the student understands their responsibilities.

Supervisor's Signature: *Adelina Broadbent* Date: 26/11/13

REVISED OCTOBER 2012



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29th October 2013

To whom it may concern

I confirm Winayaporn Bhammanachote (also known as Apple) is a doctoral student in the Stirling Management School, University of Stirling, Scotland and I am her principal supervisor. Winayaporn is currently conducting a series of interviews with spa employees regarding their behaviours and how this affects the service performance of the spa. This investigate into employees service performance will enhance customer service levels and customer satisfaction.

Therefore, your participation and commitment to this interview will be valuable for my student. I can assure you that all information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Winayaporn is happy to provide you with a copy of her findings should you want to receive them.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions or concerns about her fieldwork in your setting. Your participation and cooperation is greatly appreciated and in anticipation thank you very much for your valuable contribution to this study.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Adelina Broadbridge".

Dr. Adelina Broadbridge
Senior Lecturer
University of Stirling



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เรื่อง ขอความอนุเคราะห์ข้อมูลและสัมภาษณ์
เรียน ผู้จัดการสภา

ด้วยข้าพเจ้า นางสาววินยาภรณ์ พรหมมณ โขติ อาจารย์ประจำสาขาวิชาการจัดการและการบริหารทรัพยากรมนุษย์ คณะ
วิทยาการจัดการ มหาวิทยาลัยราชภัฏเชียงใหม่ กำลังศึกษาต่อในระดับปริญญาเอก สาขาวิชา Management, Work and
Organisation ณ University of Stirling, Scotland สหราชอาณาจักร โดยในส่วนของกรเรียน ทางมหาวิทยาลัยได้กำหนดให้ผู้เรียน
ทำวิจัย ซึ่งข้าพเจ้าสนใจศึกษาเรื่องพฤติกรรมกรให้บริการ ในธุรกิจสภาซึ่งเป็นธุรกิจที่สำคัญ มีชื่อเสียง และสร้างรายได้ให้กับ
จังหวัดเชียงใหม่และประเทศไทยเป็นจำนวนมาก เนื่องจากการบริการส่งผลต่อความพึงพอใจของลูกค้า และคุณภาพการบริการ
อันจะนำไปสู่การพัฒนาการบริการให้ผู้นในระดับสากล

เพื่อให้การดำเนินการวิจัยสำเร็จลุล่วงไปด้วยดี ข้าพเจ้าจึงใคร่ขอความอนุเคราะห์เข้าทำการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลโดยการ
สัมภาษณ์ผู้จัดการสภา พนักงานต้อนรับ และเธอรานิส โดยข้าพเจ้า (ผู้วิจัย) จะทำหน้าที่ในการสัมภาษณ์ด้วยตนเอง ในช่วงเดือน
มกราคมถึงเดือนมีนาคม 2557 ทั้งนี้ หากท่านยินดีที่จะเข้าร่วมการวิจัย ท่านมีสิทธิ์ที่จะถอนตัวหรือบอกเลิกการเข้าร่วมใน
โครงการวิจัยเมื่อใดก็ได้ และการบอกเลิกการเข้าร่วมวิจัยนี้จะไม่ส่งผลกระทบต่อใด ๆ ต่อผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัย

ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าข้อมูลที่ได้รับจากท่านจะเก็บรักษาไว้เป็นความลับ ไม่เปิดเผยต่อสาธารณะ รวมทั้งจะไม่นำชื่อ
หน่วยงาน ชื่อบุคคล และตำแหน่งของผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยมาอ้างอิงในงานวิจัย นอกจากนี้ข้าพเจ้ายินดีที่จะเปิดเผยข้อมูลในภาพรวมที่
เป็นการสรุปผลการวิจัย รวมถึงข้อเสนอแนะต่อธุรกิจสภา หากท่านมีข้อสงสัยประการใด สามารถสอบถามได้จากนางสาว
วินยาภรณ์ พรหมมณ โขติ หมายเลขโทรศัพท์ 081-8822434

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณาให้ความอนุเคราะห์ในการเก็บข้อมูลวิจัย และหากท่านยินดีที่จะเข้าร่วมการวิจัยครั้งนี้โปรด
ตอบกลับไปที่ winayaporn@gmail.com เพื่อทำการนัดหมายวัน เวลาในการสัมภาษณ์ ขอขอบคุณมา ณ โอกาสนี้

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

วินยาภรณ์

นางสาววินยาภรณ์ พรหมมณ โขติ

Interview Questions

Areas to be covered: Relationship between emotion management, customer service, and service performance (explore true feelings)

1. Tell me how you come to do this job?
 - a. What interested you? / What appealed to you about the job?
 - b. Any training/service scripts prior to start working? (Managing Emotion: always smile & demonstrate a particular behaviour)
 - c. What training or support did you receive on how to deal with customers? / How useful? (Display rules and Feeling rules)
2. What do you like about the job? (work experiences & job satisfaction level)
 - a. What good or bad point about this job?
3. What a typical day like?
 - a. Do you feel emotional drain at the end of the day?
 - b. Emotional challenges facing them (demanding/abusive customers)
4. Customer interaction
 - a. What about customers? (how do you deal with the whole experiences)
 - b. Demanding? Give me an example of emotionally or physically. How does it make you feel? And How did you cope?
 - c. How did you feel afterward/at the end of the day
 - d. Are there any differences dealing with local or tourist customers? / If so, what?
 - e. How do you cope with the whole situation?
5. How important is customer service to you? (explore about Emotional issues)
 - a. What is a good customer service? In what ways?
 - b. How your role contributes to customer service?

Interview Summary Sheet 1

Date

Contact.....

Interview number
Name of the Spa
Name of respondent

Interview topics	Main Themes/Responses recorded	Quick reflections (analysis of emerging themes)
1. Nature of current job & Feelings about job		
2. Work Experiences		
3. Training & Support		
4. Performance of EM		
5. Coping Strategies		
6. Customer Service		
7. Relationship btw EM & CS		

Interview Contact Record Sheet 2

Interview Number	Date & Time	Location	Name of Spa	Name of respondents	Designation M -Manager R -Receptionist T - Therapist	Confirm appointment (C) or Reschedule (R)	Mode of recording M - Manual A - Audio	Computer Backup Y - Yes N - No
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								