Emotional self-management and its significance for well-being in service work

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Abstract

This study investigates service workers' experiences of managing their emotions and how they make sense of these in relation to their perceived well-being. It responds to calls within the sociology of service work literature for a more definitive focus upon the dynamic complexity of service agents' 'emotional self-management' and their self-care across, in addition to within, specific occupational contexts.

The still novel qualitative methodology, interpretative phenomenological analysis ('IPA') was adopted because of its emphasis upon gathering experiential data from a first person viewpoint. This choice of IPA was innovative, not only because of its virtual invisibility in service research to date, but also because it was methodologically augmented using artefact elicitation technique. A purposive, non-random, sample of twelve participants was drawn, six from each of two specific occupational groups; air cabin crew and nurses, with respondents participating in a series of in-depth, loosely structured interviews over an extended timeframe. The findings revealed that three key relationships lay at the heart of how participants made sense of their emotional experiences; service agents' themselves, their interaction with working colleagues and those whom they served. Relationships were played out within dynamic climates of authenticity, falseness, loyalty or betrayal and often interpreted by respondents in terms of their inherent degrees of truth, trust, dignity and pride.

This study contributes to contextual and theoretical understanding by offering fresh insights on service agents' emotional experiences as mediating influences in their socially constructed sense of selves and their well-being. This is one of very few studies which emphasise idiographic contexts within the broader patterns of worker–customer relations, transcending the traditionally delineated occupational boundaries of nursing and commercial service work. New knowledge has been created by considering individuals' feelings about their work in this way thus prompting a reconsideration of emotion effort in terms of its complexity, challenge and occupational context.

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Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Conor Sheehan

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Publications associated with this thesis

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Chapter 1: *Introduction*

1.1 Preamble and personal rationale

> **Vignette 1: 'Mixed feelings – Transgression and Redemption'**
>
> The phone rang downstairs in the receptionists' flat across the road from one of London's grandest hotels. Groggily, I opened my eyes and stumbled downstairs to the draughty hallway and answered the call.
>
> *'Conor, where on earth are you?-it's five past eight!!'* barked Robert, the reception manager. Through my drowsiness, a feeling of dread surged up within me. I was working that morning... at 7.30 a.m.
>
> *'I'm on my way'*, I mumbled and shot back upstairs, splashed cold water on my face and threw my uniform on. Sweating and panting, I scuttled down the cobbled stone of Three Kings Yard across Davies St. and in the side door of the hotel. *'This will be the worst day of my life'* I thought to myself, anticipating management's wrath. People had been sacked for less and this job meant **everything** to me.
>
> *'Thank you for joining us',* said Robert sarcastically, *'no breakfast for you now'*. Ten minutes passed and it was still quiet....maybe I had 'got away with it' after all.
>
> *'Sheehan!!'* boomed Mr. Bentley, the assistant general manager. He seemed to have appeared out of thin air.
> *'Yyyes sir',* I stuttered.
> *'Out 'discoing' last night, were we?'* he asked.
> *'Oh nnnoo sir,'* I responded nervously. This was the end, I was sure of it.
> *'Well, get on with your work',* Bentley barked, turning his back on me and gliding away in the direction of the restaurant: but did I overhear a chuckle?
> Maybe it wasn't going to be such a bad day after all…

As with many social research projects, the rationale for study has been informed by personal interest and experience. Upon completing a first degree in hospitality management, my early professional life was spent working in customer-facing supervisory and management roles within the hospitality and retail sectors. The vignette above relates to an experience in my early formative years working in the glamorous environment of a famous grand hotel. At this time, the joys of serving a distinctive clientele ran in parallel with the abject lows of perceived service failures or personal transgressions such as the minor misdemeanour recounted above. This event was significant because it raised many questions about the interplay between my dispositional traits, motivation and self-identity and how these might determine my affective reactions at work. I felt that it was important to reach a better understanding of this if I were to develop a happy and successful career within the service industry. I was also prompted to reflect upon the affective nature of this incident and how much it inhibited or enabled me to manage my feelings in the course of my social exchanges with colleagues and guests on that day. Inexplicably, and despite my initial anticipation of dread, the rest of the working day was perhaps one of the best that I recall whilst at the hotel. I have a distinct recollection of coming off duty with the glowing feeling of accomplishment that I associated with successful service encounters and management's acknowledgment.

I remain uncertain whether it was the tacit reprieve of the assistant general manager's 'chuckle' or another hitherto unexplained factor that contributed to this unexpectedly upbeat end to my working day. Later, I reflected on the puzzling ironies of beginning other days at work with high levels of positive anticipation only to witness a rapid deterioration in my ability to self-manage my emotions and social exchanges. The significance of affective events, great or small, upon my own 'emotional self-management' perplexed me then as it did when I embarked upon this project. My early days in hospitality operations and later two decades as a 'service management' academic have allowed me to experience the simultaneous pleasures and emotional challenges of front line service and pedagogic work.

Equally importantly, such experiences have, prompted me to observe, reflect and attempt to understand more about how others navigate such challenges in their own roles. This interest has increasingly drawn me towards the expanding body of literature on the concept of 'emotional self-management' and the desire to understand its profound complexity and significance for occupational health and well-being.

1.2 General Context

Whilst public-facing roles in both commercial and not-for-profit service sectors have long been associated with emotional challenge, there has been, however, increasing academic and organisational concern with 'emotions' and employee well-being over the past three decades. Fundamental changes in the nature of service work have been increasingly driven by competitive pressures, efficiency imperatives and heightened consumer expectations. In an attempt to understand how such changes have impacted upon service workers' interactive roles, an increasing body of literature has emerged relating to the concept of their 'emotion management' and its dynamic, complex relationship with occupational health and well-being. Whilst many conceptualisations of emotions at work exist, this research was primarily concerned with emotional *self*-management, a term used consistently in this thesis to indicate a service agent's capability to suppress, induce, regulate, juggle and synthesise personal emotions in order to meet with social norms, organisational feeling rules and self-determined objectives (especially the preservation of his/her personal integrity and psychological health).

Emotions lie at the heart of the new trilateral employment relationship emerging in service work, which involves a three-way contest for control between worker, manager and customer (Belanger and Edwards, 2013: 435). The achievement of the respective goals of each of these parties is contingent upon their respective physical and psychological resources and their willingness and ability to deploy these (Leidner, 1993, 1999).

Although this relationship may not be equilateral, the emotional resources of the service worker are becoming increasingly regarded as key intangible factors in service transactions where they have the vital potential to contribute to the quality of customers' perceived experiences. Predictably, service organisations continue to increase their focus on 'emotion management' in recognition of its key influence as a service differentiator and a source of competitive advantage (Bryman, 2004, Nasution and Mavando, 2008).

The exponential growth of global service sectors and their critical importance to national economies has been accompanied by new human resource management practices that recognise the need to attend to employees' emotional and psychological needs. Grugulis et al (2004) suggest that an employee's 'person-to-person' skills in these sectors now supersede both mental and technical competencies in terms of their commercial and social importance. How 'emotion' work is performed is now increasingly viewed as an important influencing factor in both employee and customer well-being. This is very evident in nursing and airline service. The findings of Lord Darzi's 2008 review on quality (Carvel, 2008) and the Francis Reports of 2010 and 2013 documented seriously deficient levels of physical and psychological care of patients across the NHS and specifically in Mid Staffordshire. The Government's 2009 response to and further anticipation of, serious patient care issues was the publication of a set of over 200 quality indicators, with 53 of these focussing on the patient experience covering dignity, respect and 'care of the person'. Whilst the reasons for the deficiencies in care exposed by these reports were multi-faceted and complex, it is clear that substantial issues continue to exist, relating specifically to nurses' performance and the management of 'emotion' work.

The commercial service sectors have been experiencing similar problems. Turbulent industrial relations conditions have recently prevailed within the UK airline industry, many of which relate to its cabin crews' perceptions of intensifying work demands, deteriorating relations with passengers and the degradation of their interactive service skills. These views are corroborated by the last decade of research into emotion work in this occupational area and my exploratory research outlined in section 1.5, below.

Thus, this thesis is concerned with the development of further understanding of individual human agency in the performance of emotional self-management in interactive service work and how this, in turn, affects perceived well-being.

1.3 The nature of service work

In parallel with the service employee alienation difficulties just referred to, two contradictory pictures of the service industries that offer alternative characterisations of the nature of public facing work have emerged. The first is of emotional challenge and the need for the regular deployment of sophisticated communications skills in unpredictable and demanding contexts. The second relegates service work to routinised, prescribed and restrictive social interaction (Ritzer and Jurgensen, 2010, Belanger and Edwards, 2013). Similarly, there are divergent views on the actual social and emotional demands placed upon service agents. These are represented along a continuum of viewpoints depicting such demands as psychologically damaging at one end of the spectrum and as potential contributors towards enabling, developmental and enriching experiences at the other. While it is true that some of the reasons for these conflicting perspectives may relate to the service demands of specific sectoral or business contexts (Belanger and Edwards, 2013, Carnicelli-Filho, 2013), it is also evident that the key differences in perceptions relate to service agents' own lived experiences and how they respond to these (Sheehan, 2012).

The daily uplifts and 'hassles' experienced as a consequence of social exchange have been reported to engage and repel respectively those who work in these sectors, determining individuals' immediate behavioural outcomes and shaping their attitudes which influence their longer-term commitment and well-being. The academic literature presents us with an abundance of problematised accounts of the emotional challenges inherent in service work.

Much of it appears to concentrate on the undisputed physically and psychologically detrimental aspects associated with emotion effort (Hochschild, 1983, Fineman, 2000, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Bolton, 2005, Scott and Barnes, 2011, Groth and Grandy, 2012) Such aspects as 'stress', 'toxic customer exchanges', 'organisational manipulation', 'emotional dissonance' and 'numbness' are recurring themes. Fewer studies, however, appear to acknowledge the potentially enriching and therapeutic aspects of managing emotions in social and professional interaction (Korczynski and Macdonald, 2009, Curley and Royle, 2013). Surprisingly, moreover, there would appear to be no direct causal link between the level of rationalisation in the service environment and the corresponding degrees of workers' positive emotional engagement. For example, there are contrasting accounts of highly engaged call centre workers who operate within the narrow confines of prescribed verbal exchanges with customers and poorly engaged small hotel operators who possess considerable discretion and control over their social exchanges with guests (Belanger and Edwards, 2013).

A complex, and sometimes contradictory, range of enabling and inhibiting factors have been suggested as governing an individual service agent's emotional self-management. Positive factors include their 'empowerment', increased skill variety requirements, supportive work environments and enhanced reward and recognition. Conversely, withdrawal of individual autonomy, over-routinisation, intensifying physical or mental demands and increased monitoring, represent just a few of the negative influences attributed to difficulties with agents' emotion management. More recently, research attention has begun to turn towards service agents' accounts of the perceived deterioration in their customer relationships and the degradation of their work as a consequence of efficiency imperatives and a resultant simplification and 'dumbing down' of their social exchanges at work. Thus, this research was interested in further investigating the phenomenon of affective behaviour influenced by the 'sovereign' customer's (Chon and Olsen, 1991:4, Sheehan, 2012:109,113) emotional demands upon service workers.

1.4 Customers and social exchange

Young et al (2003:163) claim that 'disempowering acts', whether intentional or unintentional, are often interpreted by the employee as hostile and demeaning and can therefore threaten their inherent dignity and self-respect. One of the key concerns of this research relates to the consequences of customers' disempowering acts or 'toxic events' (Kiefer and Barclay, 2012) upon service agents' negative affect. Such acts may adversely influence the employee's psychological well-being whilst simultaneously compromising an organisation's performance and productivity goals. This study will investigate such assertions and the more fundamental questions they raise concerning service agents' perceptions of their own ability to determine positive social exchange outcomes with customers, their experiences of emotional self-management and how these, in turn, may affect their perceived well-being. Ashkanasy and Humphrey, (2011) imply that an individual's response to the emotional challenges presented at work may differ considerably regardless of situational, social and affective factors and they assert that these 'within-person' and 'between-person' variations influences remain under-researched and less well understood. This study endeavours to explore the reasons for such differences in order to understand better the dynamics of emotional self-management and social exchange.

1.5 Research Question

In order to understand more about the contingent factors affecting an individual service agent's ability to emotionally self-manage, I conducted an exploratory piece of research (Sheehan, 2012) investigating the changing emotional demands and constraints on air cabin crew resulting from the increasing cost efficiency imperatives within commercial aviation. The findings indicated that negative forces e.g. intensifying job demands and deteriorating working conditions, continued to increase the alienating psychological costs of performing emotional labour for some crew members.

Such costs appeared higher in cases where the psychological rewards of social interaction were not mutual between crew member and passenger. Some agents reported the recurring inequity in such 'emotional reciprocity' (Bericat, 2012) had led to progressive alienation between their natural inner feelings and those they were expected to display. The findings also indicated, however, that some continued to make emotional effort autonomously and spontaneously despite passengers' unwillingness to reciprocate. Respondents linked this ability to display emotions more naturally to individual differences such as personality trait characteristics and positive service orientation. The findings also raised questions as to the legitimacy of the organisation's ownership of the 'emotional agenda' and suggested that further work was needed to consider where certain organisations' responsibilities might lie to support of service agents in their performance of emotion work. In particular, it appeared that further research could be carried out to investigate the 'reciprocity dynamic' as an enabling factor in positive emotional self-management. The key question underpinning this research related to the development of further understanding of how service agents perceive the relationships between their emotional self-management, the nature of their social exchanges and their well-being.

Research Aim and Objectives

Specifically this study asked: 'What is the experience of emotional self-management and how do service workers make sense of this in relation to their well-being?' The search for answers to this question has required further understanding of the evolving nature of service work and the paradox of how social interactions between agent and customer may alternately be viewed as enriching or psychologically damaging. The research was particularly interested in exploring the significance of emotional 'exchange' and how this affected the nature of the agent-customer relationships in different service contexts.

Ashkanasy and Humphrey (2011:219) argue that the study of how 'affective events' at individual 'micro' level influence a particular employee's attitudes and behaviour is important to our understanding of workplace emotions. Thus, the aim of this study, based on the relevant definitions of emotional phenomena provided by the literature (Hochschild, 1983, Bolton and Boyd, 2003, Ashkanasy and Humphrey, 2011, Stets, 2012) was to investigate the experience of service workers' emotional self-management and self-perceived well-being. This aim was underpinned by the following objectives:

i. to investigate conceptualisations of emotional self-management and well-being and their applicability to the changing nature of the service worker's role;

ii. to explore the nature of service workers' relationships with those they serve and care for and how these may influence their sense of well-being; and

iii. to understand the personal, social and emotional aspects of service agents' experiences and investigate how these may relate to their perceived well-being.

1.7 Theoretical Orientation, Research Perspective and Methodological Approach

The interpretative nature of this research raises fundamental ontological questions as to the 'real' or 'illusory' nature of both 'emotions' and 'well-being'. Emotions have been studied from a range of physiological (e.g. Darwin, 1872), psychological (e.g. Freud [1923], 2001) and sociological (e.g. Barbalet, 2002) perspectives so it is pertinent to identify the particular theoretical orientation of this study. A key distinction often made relates to the psychological and sociological perspectives on emotion, although these share common ground. The psychology of emotion relates to a number of interrelated disciplines including neurophysiology, cognitive processes, motivation, individual human behaviour and other aspects of human experience (Carlson, 1992).

On the other hand, sociology is associated with the study of the origins and ongoing development of human society. Sociology assumes that an individual's acts are influenced by his surroundings or pertains to the group he belongs to and so is also concerned with emotions. Shilling (2002) suggests that the sociology of emotions is concerned with how the major theoretical sociological traditions can be applied and developed to understand the social and moral dimensions of emotional phenomena. Shilling (2002:18) documents a number of traditions in the sociology of emotions and his presentation of Durkheim's ([1912]1995) constructs is one of the most helpful in illustrating the shared conceptual spaces of psychology and sociology. He writes of Durkheim's ([1912]1995) views on 'social solidarity' or 'collective effervescence':

> 'Collective effervescence induces changes in individuals' emotional experience and expression, and in their mental apprehensions of the social world. It spreads 'contagiously' between individuals, is expressed through shared patterns of bodily marking, gesture and action, and is able to substitute the world immediately available to our perceptions for another, moral world in which people interact on the basis of a shared system of symbolic representations.'

Durkheim's concept of 'collective effervescence' not only illustrates the social collective dimensions of emotion but also is suggestive of the reflexive (bidirectional) relationship between the psychological (individual) and sociological (collective) study of it. The concept is also relevant to my 'positionality' as a researcher which was discussed earlier in the context of the opening vignette. The interest in the broader sociological context was driven by a lifetime of curiosity relating to the complexities of private and public social interaction. 'Watching people' was a favourite pastime and my earlier adolescent years, as the son of an EU official, provided many opportunities to do so, often in unusual and artificial social surroundings. At extended social gatherings, I would reflect on such questions as: 'Why is he always surrounded by people?' 'Why is she looking bored and sitting alone?' 'Is that diplomat really enjoying himself as much as his expression seems to suggest?' 'Was that laugh real or induced?'

Years later, reading Hochschild's (1983) 'The Managed Heart' a clearer understanding emerged of the reasons for my curiosity about human interaction and the many questions I sought to answer which included: 'How can you tell if a person is genuine?' and, 'Is it wrong to pretend you feel something that you do not?', and 'Can 'phoney' people be really happy?'

My specific psychological interest developed later as a consequence of first entering the world of interactive service work. The vignette and related discussion earlier in this chapter juxtaposed an enigmatic individual response against an ostensibly commonplace work scenario. It raises the question about differential individual responses in similar circumstances and the possible reasons for these. In the context of this study's objectives it would be inappropriate, to consider such private emotions away from their social collective dimensions to which Durkheim ([1912]1995) refers. This is because social exchanges lie at the heart of this inquiry which concerns the understanding of individuals as social beings, and their relationships with the outside world. I have adopted a micro-sociological perspective, where the methodological approach is based upon interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) as opposed to statistical empirical observation from the field of service work.

IPA is influenced by the principles of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1967, Blumer, 1969), which suggest that meanings are derived from social interaction and modified through interpretation, thus allowing exploration of how meanings are constructed by agents within both their personal and social worlds (Shinebourne, 2011). IPA allowed me to explore each research participant's unique case and to recognise accounts of the potentially enabling aspects of emotional self-management that have sometimes been overlooked or lost in the data generated by larger scale self-report, quantitative studies. It enabled the reflexive exploration of the lived existences of the service agents participating in this study.

There has been considerable research already conducted relating to emotion work performed by nursing practitioners (James, 1992, Bolton, 2001, Smith and Gray, 2001, Mann, 2005, Rolfe and Gardner, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Gray, 2010,) and airline cabin crew (Hochschild, 1983, Bolton and Boyd, 2003, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Bolton, 2009). Many of these studies focus upon one specific occupational group but draw less frequently from data gathered from two or more. A detailed rationale for the selection of respondents from these occupational groups is offered in Chapter 3.

1.6 Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 (Literature Review: Part 1) provides a rationale for the theoretical focus of this study and identifies the thematic areas that will be included and excluded. It proceeds to examine the historical development of the sociology of emotions, specifically emotions at work. It explores the classical and more recent theories, frameworks and conceptualisations of emotionality and appraises these critically in the context of the contemporary workplace.

Chapter 3 (Literature Review: Part 2) addresses the specific occupational contexts of this research. It presents a detailed critique of the service sector, its associated job roles and the distinctive character of its emotional and social exchange dynamics.
It then examines the research on the study of emotions in the occupational areas that concern this study; namely, commercial airline service and nursing work. It proceeds to explore the historical connections and development of these occupations in order to illustrate how far evolutionary changes have shaped perceptions of these roles and the nature of the emotional demands associated with them. A critical assessment of hospitableness in these fields is offered and the contentious, ambiguous or under-researched aspects of the respective emotional challenges of offering service in each are discussed.

The more significant themes that emerged from the discussions within both literature review chapters on the need for further study of how emotions are managed are then reviewed.

Chapter 4 (Methodology) justifies the methods chosen in order to realise the research objectives. The chapter explains my epistemological, ontological and axiological perspectives in relation to their influences upon the choice of IPA as the methodological approach. This approach's philosophical underpinnings are analysed and very briefly compared with other methodologies to support the rationale for its selection. The ethical considerations inherent in research design are then considered from both deontological and consequentialist perspectives. The chapter then discusses the various considerations associated with sampling, participant selection, data collection methods and analysis before discussing issues of research credibility and rigour. It concludes with a brief summary and evaluative reflection on the entire research process.

Chapter 5 (Findings) presents a thematic analysis of the main findings, drawing upon observations from the close analysis of individual cases and how these have informed the superordinate 'cross-case' themes. A brief individual biographical profile is offered for each of the 12 participants and then the chapter moves progressively though the identified thematic framework, offering individual perspectives on workplace emotions and well-being, linking these, where relevant, with broader 'cross-case' themes.

Chapter 6 (Discussion) builds upon the analysis of the findings and offers further interpretation and discussion of agents' accounts of their 'life experiences', 'social exchanges', 'emotional rewards', 'self-perceived personalities' and 'values'. It highlights how the identified themes discussed have served to develop understanding of respondents' agency and autonomy in their emotional self-management and how they perceive these to impact upon their well-being.

It reflects critically upon the existential aspects of well-being and their significance for the understanding of agents' perceptions of their freedom, self-determination and self-meaning. It concludes with a reflection upon how the analysis and interpretations have addressed this study's overall research question.

Chapter 7 (Conclusion), offers a summary of the entire study and considers the value of what has been revealed about respondents' lived experiences of emotional self-management and well-being. It explains how this study has made a significant contribution to knowledge at methodological, contextual and theoretical levels, reflecting upon the possible implications of this contribution for service agents' lives and, importantly, for those who interact with them both in work and away from it. It also provides a personal perspective upon the research journey and the value of the personal learning that has occurred. A consideration of how the study's findings could usefully be disseminated follows together with some suggestions for future research.

A note on gender use in pronouns:

In this thesis, in cases where the gender of the pronoun antecedent is unknown, 'he' is used as a default term. This practice is followed as an alternative to terms such as 'he/she' and 's/he' purely for style reasons. Where it is appropriate, the third person plural forms are employed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review (Part 1)
Sociological and theoretical dimensions of emotions at work

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conceptual background to the study's objectives which relate to the development of further understanding of service agents' experiences of emotional self-management and how these may affect their perceived well-being. This study adopts a sociological perspective which is appropriate given that it focuses upon interrelationships between three primarily social phenomena: emotional self-management, social exchange and well-being, each of which shares a natural connection with interactive service work. As this study adopts a qualitative phenomenological approach, it offers just a brief account of quantitative studies relating to 'measures' of emotional effort such as those related to job demands (Doef and Maes', 1999) or the development of the 'emotional labour scale' (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003). This research's aim is substantially different from that of those studies, being underpinned by a phenomenological preoccupation with each participant's idiographic experiences of emotional self-management and the understanding of the 'particular and unique' in individual cases (Simons, 1996:227).

In order to present a more contextual perspective on the significance of 'emotions' and 'well-being', a theoretical critique is offered relating to the conceptual backgrounds and the history of developing thought related to their study as sociological phenomena. This paves the way for a later discussion of the changing social and economic contexts that have directed academic and organisational attention specifically towards workplace emotions. The nature and significance of social exchange in the management of emotion is examined referring to the seminal works of key sociologists and more recent thinking on social interaction at work, focussing particularly upon the service agents' experience of emotional self-management and the dynamic interplay in their encounters and relationships with customers.

A discussion follows on other researchers' views on the interconnectedness of emotions and well-being focusing upon contemporary thought on the perceived relevance of affective events, disposition, resilience and agency to agents' well-being. It then links to the subject matter of Chapter 3, which considers the theories of workplace emotion in the specific occupational contexts studied.

2.2 The significance of emotions and historical developments in the sociology of emotions

Barbalet (2002:1) suggests that the word 'emotion' is saturated with meaning and frequently has negative connotations where emotions, or more specifically 'acting emotionally' or 'being emotional', are associated with undesirable irrationality and volatility, when logical reasoning or acceptable behaviour is required. Many sociological and organisational behaviour theorists appear concerned with the suppression, control or management of emotion. Barbalet (2002:1) suggests that the conventional opposition between emotion and reason often results in the complete rejection of emotion as a legitimate subject for analysis except in cases of psychological or behavioural abnormality. There is a growing body of literature, however, addressing the recognition of spontaneous, natural emotions and their relationship with management challenges in decision making, workplace creativity and positive psychological health (Clarke et al, 2007). Barbalet (2002:2) firmly roots emotions within a relatively new sociological domain and argues that:

> 'no action can occur in a society *(interactive system)* without emotional involvement'

supporting Clarke et al's (2007) claims that such emotions as trust and 'confidence' are vital to both social and commercial life. Theodosius (2006:893-4) supports the view that the meanings and various conceptualisations of 'emotion' itself need to be understood before subsequent exploration of individuals' self-management.

She asserts the need to 'recover' emotion from the study of 'emotion *management'* (my emphasis) and suggests that the sociological study of emotion may be wrongly predisposed to reduce emotion to ideas that 'have no autonomy from the rational world with which they coexist'. She argues for the need to acknowledge the significance of 'unconscious' emotions in the analysis of emotion work and social exchange and directs us back to the significance of Freud's ([1923] 2001) notions of unconscious emotion in interactive encounters. It could be inferred from Theodosius's (2006) work that a better understanding of the interactive 'relational' nature of emotion could be reached when certain deep-rooted unconscious factors that cannot be governed by interactive forces are identified.

The brief historical section on the study of emotions and the debates on whether humans instinctively or deliberatively respond to them explores how alternative understandings of their nature and significance to human life have developed. Many theories have attempted to explain the origins, neurobiology, experience, and function of emotion and these continue to fuel an ongoing debate about its fundamental psycho-physiological and social properties. Emotions such as happiness, sadness, guilt and envy have been a source of curiosity and preoccupation since the earliest civilisations. Cognitive appraisal theory (Lazurus, 1994) states that emotions are judgments about how far individuals' circumstances are congruent with their desired personal states. However emotions have been conceptualised and redefined alternatively as human perceptions of physiological change, supernatural phenomena or a combination of cognitive appraisal and bodily perception. Bericat (2012:1) expresses their significance by suggesting that:

> 'The profound complexity which characterised *human life in the world** is reflected in the broad and subtle universe of emotions. (**author's emphasis*)

He argues that the sociological study of emotions has simultaneously enabled us to better understand what emotions are and the many alternative meanings attached to them. Denzin (2009:49) defines emotions as:

> 'Temporally embodied, situated, self-feelings that arise from emotional and cognitive social acts that people direct to self or have directed toward them by others.'

The study of emotions as sociological phenomena gained momentum over three decades ago with Hochschild's (2003:214) views on the social construction of emotions. She explains that two basic theoretical frameworks of emotion have emerged since the late nineteenth century: an 'organismic' model and an 'interactional' model. Organismic theorists such as Darwin (1872) and Freud (1915) categorised emotions primarily as instinctive neurobiological processes or 'libidinal discharges'. This view essentially confined emotions within an 'elicitation-expression' model of initial sensory or biological stimulation and subsequent manifestation and/or exhibition, believing that emotion was a personal, instinctual and largely fixed biological process of the human body. Freud was preoccupied with the obstacles to psychological health represented by the existence and management of pathological emotions, being unconcerned with the possibility of emotions being socially influenced or constructed. This negative focus endured within the late 20th and early 21st century studies on workplace emotions which emphasised issues such as emotional burnout, dissonance and depersonalisation (e.g. Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987, Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002, Heuven and Bakker, 2003). Fewer works (Bolton, 2005, Sheehan, 2012) acknowledge that service agents may be self-aware and psychologically well-adjusted individuals deriving great pleasure from their interactive roles and enjoying the emotional challenge, variety and intensity of their work. Recent research on senior airline cabin crew by Curley and Royle (2013) suggests that many agents actively resist management's efforts to emotionally 'dumb down' their work, lamenting the progressive over-simplification of their jobs which denies them the opportunity to serve and care holistically for their passengers.

This observation from a flight attendant (Sheehan, 2012:111) suggests, in contrast to Freud's view, that *positive* emotions can be socially influenced or constructed:

> 'I look at my ability to 'be happy' as part of my personal journey in terms of my own development. I don't use any 'tricks of association' […] It's just 'there in the moment.'

On the one hand, this respondent implies that his happiness is involuntarily bestowed upon him but, on the other, claims that the achievement of happiness is a self-determined 'ability'. This observation raises interesting questions on the extent and nature of human agency and the effect of social factors in the management and experience of emotion.

Theodosius (2006) interprets the significance of Freud's and Hochschild's (1983) works for the understanding of emotional self-management in nursing. She points to the unstable and potentially disruptive nature of repressed emotions in social and working life. She suggests that, in nursing, deep-rooted unconscious desires over which we may exert limited or no control relate to the personality induced need for 'being loved' and identified as 'true carers'. Consequentially, the nurse's Freudian 'ego' might suppress instinctive emotions such as 'disgust' and 'anxiety' in order to address a superordinate need 'to be loved' by the patients. Theodosius's work is significant because it suggests the need to separate unconscious emotions from those that are sociologically influenced, observably managed and rationally understood. Thus, some 'within-person' aspects of emotion may not be directly determined by affective events, social exchange or other external stimuli but instead linked to personality factors which suggested an avenue of enquiry for further research. Dewey (1894) argued that our social conditions are not created by human 'nature' or instinct alone but also by the discretionary use of our intelligence. Later social theorists (Goffman, 1959/1963, Gerth and Wright Mills, 1964, Hochschild, 1979) conceptualised emotion as an interactional process determined by intervening social factors in addition to neurobiological impulses.

They were interested in the collective capacity of biological, psychological and social forces for the generation of feelings. The development of the interactional perspective is important in the study of the sociology of emotions. Interactional theorists, such as Dewey ([1922] 2007) and Goffman (1959) were more concerned with the effects of social factors that interacted with emotions before, during and after experiencing them, than with their biological bases. Hochschild (1983:223) reminds us that social interaction not only can help an individual express emotion, but can also enable others to shape his emotion and define his feelings by their initial responses to it. Thus, Hochschild emphasises the socially constructed aspect of emotions which is the basic premise of their study as a sociological phenomenon.

Hochschild (1983) argues that we need to acknowledge the complexity of emotions and that they are not simply related to positive or negative affect but encompass all the often-subtle nuances of feeling such as irritation, happiness, sadness, joy, anger, annoyance and fright. Despite this complexity and the indeterminate nature of emotions' origins, I suggest that it is how emotions reflect individuals' sense of self-relevance in a situation and how they subsequently attend to their feelings that are of particular significance to service agents' lived experiences and thus to the focus of this study. Hochschild (1983:213) asserts that we often speak as if 'emotions' have a presence or identity independent of the person experiencing them ('fear grips us', 'guilt strikes us', 'desire overwhelms us') and that we locate emotions in physical parts of the body, e.g. 'love in the heart'. Such ideas conflict with the interactional perspective which conceptualises emotions as phenomena that are not only owned by us but capable of being shaped and influenced by human agency. Scherer's (2005) model of emotion suggests that emotion encompasses five key elements which are experienced chronologically: cognitive appraisal, bodily symptoms, action tendencies, expression and, finally, feelings which represent the individual's subjective experience of his emotional state after it has occurred. The 'cognitive appraisal' event could suggest that happiness is an evaluation of whether goals are being met, as in the case of an individual who may feel pride at receiving a recognised award.

Conversely, rage may occur when one perceives a gross personal affront for example, if the same award was offered to another who was perceived as undeserving. Bericat (2012:2) summarises a popular understanding of emotions, dividing them into a 'primary' category, where the emphasis is upon evolutionary and biological influences, and a 'secondary' category consisting of 'primary' emotions that have been socially and culturally conditioned. The 'nature versus nurture' debate as to the distinctive characteristics of emotion continues but the popular view prevails that while emotions are influenced by physiological changes, they are also sociological phenomena.

2.3 Emotions at work: theoretical background

Bolton (2005:14) proposes that emotions have always existed within organisations, although classical management theorists' (Taylor, 2011) scientific approaches offered scant acknowledgment of this. The scientific and 'mechanistic' view of organisational actors perceived them as predictable resources devoid of thoughts, feelings and self-discretion. Later classical and human relations management theorists (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939, Mayo, 1946, Weber, 1946), however, did recognise the significance of emotions, albeit in terms of the satisfaction of workers' sentimental needs in addition to their physical ones. Often the agent continued, nonetheless, to be perceived as a Weberian (1946) 'cog' within a managerial frame of reference. Albrow (1997:112) asserts that during the earlier part of the 20th century emotions were relegated to an 'unanalysed motivational reservoir' but have now moved to the forefront of modern organisational consideration and are increasingly regarded as a critical element of working life. Fineman (1993) asserts that 'love, hatred and passion' now represent core features of contemporary life at work, whilst Albrow (1997) goes as far as suggesting that collective feelings permeate all layers of organisations. Fineman and Sturdy (1997:2) acknowledge managements' changing perceptions of the role of individual and collective emotions in the achievement of corporate goals. This has led to 'a significant scaling up of institutional privilege over the ownership of emotion. Bolton and Boyd (2003:290) further assert that:

'Employers are openly engaging with hearts and minds [...] and souls as the management and manipulation of employees' feelings is securely tied to the idea of competitive advantage.'

Bolton (2000a, 2005) joins a long line of theorists who have expressed concern over organisations' apparent intentions to exploit their workers' feelings and emotions (Hochschild, 1983/2003, Tracy, 2000, Henderson, 2001, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Cropanzano et al, 2004, Curley and Royle, 2013). She proposes that the appropriation and commodification of workers' feelings is neither legitimate nor desirable. Bolton (2005:2) suggests that two related themes have emerged from the study of emotions in organisations. The first indicates neglect within research of the inner struggles individual employees experience when attempting to balance workplace demands with conflicting private inclinations and self-determined objectives. The second relates to a general implication of the perceived potency of the organisation's normative control over their workers and a suggestion that resistance is virtually futile in an increasingly secure 'cage of corporate culturism'. Neither of these perspectives present a full three-dimensional view of organisational life and workers' 'management' of their emotions. Indeed, some of the emotion literature appears to overlook organisations' legitimate business objectives in consequence of the almost exclusive attention paid to individual service agents' emotional challenges. It is also puzzling that Bolton (2005) suggests that employees' 'inner emotional struggles' are a neglected theme at all considering that much research including Hochschild's (1983) own seminal work was so deeply concerned with the angst that service workers experience when confronting the emotional challenges of their duties. Even the earliest conceptualisations of 'emotional labour' acknowledged the existence of internal struggles between the true self and socialised self. For example, Goffman's work (1963:113) refers to the 'socialised trance' as a state achieved by participants' sustained efforts to monitor and regulate their own conduct.

Thus, whilst Bolton's (2005:3) suggestion that the research literature often overlooks the service agents' inner wrestling with their own feelings may be questionable, the observation that organisations do not control all emotion is significant. It acknowledges the existence of the worker's potential agency, autonomy and self-management, and, the employee as an active knowledgeable agent who may arguably be capable of self-determining personal fulfilment in addition to generating customer satisfaction. The credibility of these views is important as they underpin this study's rationale and potential worth.

The categorisation of emotional and social exchange as 'effort' remains a predominant theme in the research to date. Conversely, the underrepresentation of emotion and social interaction as empowering, positive experiences at work in extant research (Sandiford, 2004, Judge et al, 2009), is a phenomenon that this study investigates more closely. 'Emotional self-management', as opposed to emotional compliance, implicitly suggests the possibility of service agents' self-determination and the active self-realisation of their well-being through their work. Were this not the case, then there would be little theoretical or practical justification for this study.

2.4   The dimensions of private and commercial emotion effort

There have been many re-conceptualisations and refinements of the terms 'emotional labour', 'emotion work', 'emotion management' and 'emotional self-management' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995, Fineman, 2000, Bolton, 2005/2009, Brook, 2009a, Blau et al, 2010). Because these descriptors are often used interchangeably and their meanings appear ambiguous, I use the term 'emotional effort' to encapsulate all of these different forms of emotional exchange. My conceptualisation of emotion effort along a continuum from 'prescribed and externally controlled' to 'autonomous, self-directed and self-controlled' is helpful in making a general distinction between the various forms of exchange.

It is this 'continuum' that this study has used to define and distinguish between these key terms. 'Emotional *labour*'* essentially involves workers' display of socially desired emotions during work regardless of congruence with their internal feelings. This concept has been primarily associated with forms of emotion effort that are remunerated. The term 'emotion *work*'* relates more broadly to an individual's display of socially desired emotions across a range of social, private or professional contexts. 'Emotional *self-management*' * relates to the capability to suppress, induce, regulate, juggle and synthesise personal emotions in order to meet with social norms, organisational feeling rules *and* self-determined objectives. The individuals' emotional *self-**management abilities may also relate to a propensity to preserve their psychological health in this process. Finally 'emotion *management*'* involves the management capabilities to offer a trained but nonetheless individualised response that assists with the management of *others'** emotions (e.g. service users/colleagues). Salovey and Mayer (1990) developed the concept of emotional *intelligence** which they conceptualised as the ability to identify, integrate, understand and reflectively manage one's own and other people's feelings. They argued that the idea of rational intelligence ignored emotional competencies and, thus, there was a need to recognise these in their own right. Goleman (1995/1998) later popularised this concept by promoting the idea that emotional intelligence was more important than rational intelligence or technical skills. *(*my emphases)*.

Whilst Salovey and Mayer's (1990) definition conveniently encapsulates my own conceptualisations of both 'emotional self-management' and 'emotion management', I argue that conflating these concepts is unhelpful from two perspectives. Firstly, 'intelligence' is an attribute often associated with neurobiological inheritance and that 'management' or the ability to manage is not. Secondly, and perhaps more significantly, the ability to manage one's own emotions and the ability to manage others' emotions do not automatically co-exist. For example, the late Diana, Princess of Wales, is frequently referred to as having possessed remarkable emotional intelligence in respect of others but, sadly, not in her own case (Morton, 2003).

Salovey and Mayer's (1990) and Stein's (2009:98) later popular psychology work on emotional intelligence suggests that she possessed some attributes of emotional intelligence, namely 'empathy', but then suggests there are many other prerequisites for managing one's own and other emotions effectively. Thus implying that 'being emotional' does not necessarily equate with emotional intelligence. There continues to be definitional confusion relating to the terms, 'emotional labour', 'emotional intelligence' and 'emotion management'. Bolton (2004:19) asserts that:

> 'Emotion work', 'emotional labour' or 'emotional intelligence' refer to the ability to regulate one's own and others' feelings and to be able to change and manage one's emotion so that it is appropriate for any given situation. While it has been recognised that emotional competencies are important in employees, emotion work is still regarded as a personal attribute and not recognised as a skill, and employees who carry out emotion work are not acknowledged as 'skilled' workers.'

Bolton's (2004:19) explanation does not directly assist with distinguishing between these three types of emotion effort, which is one of the reasons that I search later in this chapter for greater definitional clarity on such constructs (see Figures 1 & 2 and Table 2) in addition to highlighting the nature of any conceptual ambiguities. In the context of the above mentioned theoretical constructs, the emotion literature has portrayed service agents alternately as accomplished managers of feelings (Bolton, 2003:303) and as psychological 'prisoners' with little discretion or control over their work (Hochschild, 1983, Al-Serkal, 2006). Similarly, there are contingent views evident as to the levels of satisfaction, intrinsic benefit or psychological 'harm' associated with performing this work (Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Antoniadou, 2010). In nursing and in other 'service' work occupations, some of the earlier research has been concerned with how organisationally prescribed and imposed emotional demands impacted upon agents' occupational health (Hochschild, 1983). Whilst such research focused on 'emotional *labour',* more recent studies have explored agents' abilities to manage their own emotions at work.

Bolton and Boyd (2003:289) have suggested that Hochschild's (1983) depiction of flight attendants as 'crippled actors' seduced into 'loving the company' may fail sufficiently to reflect their autonomy and resourcefulness in managing and delivering emotional labour. They offer an alternative conceptualisation of these workers as:

> 'skilled emotion managers who are able to juggle and synthesise different types of emotion work dependent on situational demands'.

Wharton (2011) critiques Hochschild's more recent works and comments upon the emergence of her new 'Hochschildian sociology', which emphasises the nature of human relationships and the networks of obligation, emotion and care that bind people together. She argues that Hochschild's works since '*The Managed Heart'* have moved away from a view of workers as hapless victims of institutional manipulation towards a conceptualisation of private autonomous individuals with personal identities, families, children and private lives that runs in parallel to their work. These more holistic sociological perspectives are mirrored in this study's quest to understand emotional self-management in the context of human social exchange and relationship dynamics from an idiographic perspective. There is a multiplicity of perspectives on emotion effort in social, personal and professional contexts and the models and concepts presented in the research literature offer alternately bewildering and illuminating insights on its many workplace manifestations. Wharton (2009:147) suggests that although the concept of emotional labour has generated many research projects, it has been largely unhelpful in enabling cross integration of their results. Her view is understandable as some interpretations of emotional labour appear only to frustrate interpretation because of their ambiguity and tendencies to conflate, combine or obscure certain forms of emotion effort. For example, Curley and Royle's (2013:107) research suggests a rationale for further exploration of individual flight attendants' emotionality but they appear to conflate 'emotional labour' (i.e. display of socially desired emotions during work) with genuinely felt displays of emotion, courtesy and professionalism.

They also discuss management's prescriptive expectations of 'levels' of emotional labour performance which confuses emotional labour with 'display' rules. In this case, I argue that management may prescribe the nature of facial, bodily or behavioural display but the degree of emotional labour exerted by service agents is contingent upon the degree of effort required to bridge the gap between what they genuinely feel and the emotional display required of them.

Bolton and Boyd 's (2003) 'typology of emotion management' (see adapted version in Table 1 overleaf) claims to 'move on' the thinking on emotions in the workplace from Hochschild's (1983) allegedly two-dimensional perspective on 'public' and 'private' feeling rules. It is evident that none of the forms of emotion-related behaviour identified within this typology are truly autonomous. Even the most discretionary, 'philanthropic' behaviour is still arguably influenced by a 'social feeling rule'. Thus, it is difficult to understand why the term 'management' is universally applied here. Benmore and Lynch's (2011) research into small-hotel owner's social exchanges added a fifth dimension to 'emotion management', which purports to add a more self-determining and autonomous aspect. It is evident, however, that in their quest to provide a framework for analysis, that such conceptual models are inherently self-limiting because of their automatic exclusion of other ideas. While Bolton and Boyd's (2003) model attempts to link underpinning motivations and feeling rules within a categorisation of types of emotion effort, it cannot fully acknowledge the relative complexity, temporal volatility and ambiguity of emotional interactions nor can it depict the permeability of emotions between public work and private life (Hochschild, 2003:205).

Emotion Management:	*Pecuniary*	*Prescriptive*	*Presentational*	*Philanthropic*	*Personalised* (Lynch & Benmore, 2011)
Feeling rules	Commercial	Professional Organisational	Social	Social	Social Friendship
Associated motivations	Instrumental	Altruism Status Instrumental	Ontological Security Conformity	Gift	Status Companionship

Table 1: *Adapted typology of emotion management* (from: Bolton and Boyd (2003:295)

Figure 1 below summarises the key conceptualisations of emotion effort at work highlighting definitional distinctions but also illustrating the conceptual ambiguities and inherent limitations of these constructs in relation to the understanding of the term 'emotional self-management'. It suggests that emotional self-management could be seen as incorporating activities and abilities associated respectively with 'emotional labour', 'emotion work', 'emotion management' and 'emotional intelligence'. Whilst there are some clear distinctions between the constructs, there would also appear to be some conceptual overlaps.

It has been noted earlier that Bolton (2004) asserted that emotion 'work', 'labour' or 'intelligence' all related to the regulation of one's own and others' feelings and the capacity to alter and manage one's emotions so they were congruent with the nature of a social exchange. In addition, 'emotional labour' could notionally involve 'genuine' (Glomb and Tews, 2004) or 'false' displays of feeling that either accidentally or intentionally correspond with prescriptive behavioural rules. Such genuine displays could equally well be offered in a private context, which Hochschild (1983) describes as 'emotion *work*'. If such work effort is related, however, to the offering of psychological reassurance or support to a colleague outside the immediate territorial domain of work, defining such effort becomes more challenging. The question arises therefore whether it is the 'work', 'social' or 'private' spaces where emotion effort is actually performed that determine its alternate categorisation as 'emotional labour' or 'emotion work'.

A more dramaturgical perspective might view the 'genuine' or 'synthetically induced' nature of the emotion effort itself as the pivotal factor which delineates emotion 'labour' from 'work', regardless of where it is performed.

Emotional Labour
Emotion regulation for a wage that creates a publicly visible facial and bodily display within the workplace (Hochschild, (1983)

Genuine emotion displays compliant with display rules (Glomb & Tews, 2004) Emotion management at one's job (Stets, 2012)

Emotion Work
Unpaid emotional effort in a private context (with family and friends) (Hochschild, 1979)
Cognitive reflection on one's emotions and how these should be managed (Theodosius, 2008)
Personalised emotion "effort" (Lynch and Benmore, 2011)

Emotional self-management
The process of change and self-dominated by resilience (Holm and Severinsson, 2012)

Capability to juggle and synthesise personal emotions in order to meet with social norms organisational feeling rules and self-determined objectives

A combination of emotional self-control and integrity, innovation & creativity, initiative, resilience, achievement drive, stress mgmt., realistic optimism & intentionality (Crompton, 2010)

Emotion Management

Extrinsic and intrinsic processes responsible for monitoring, evaluating and modifying emotional reactions, especially their intensive and temporal features, to accomplish one's goals (Thompson, 1994)

Exercising of discretion, judgment and control in the performance of emotion effort. How people actively shape and direct their feelings, and a recognition that social structure and institutions impose constraints on these efforts (Wharton, 2009)

Emotional Intelligence
Ability to perceive emotions in self and others/assimilate information in cognitive functioning/manage emotions in decision making (Mayer and Salovey, 1997, Gardner 1999)

Combination of *Interpersonal intelligence* (the capacity to understand the intentions, motivations and desires of other people and, consequently, to work effectively with others) & *intrapersonal intelligence* (the capacity to understand oneself, to have an effective working model of oneself own desires, fears, and capacities and to use this for self-regulation) (Salovey and Mayer, 1990)

A constellation of emotion-related self-perceptions and dispositions at lower levels of personality hierarchies (Petrides and Furnham, 2001)

Figure 1: *A summary of conceptualisations of emotions at work*

Hochschild's (2003) more recent work acknowledges the increased blurring of the conceptual boundaries of human interaction within public and private domains, particularly where domestic care responsibilities have slipped into a liminal space comprised of newly augmented segments of work and home territory.

Table 2 (below) represents the four forms of emotion effort under discussion in terms of key theorists' views (Hochschild, 1979/1983, Mayer and Salovey, 1997, Gardner, 1999, Petrides and Furnham, 2001, Glomb &Tews, 2004, Wharton, 2009, Crompton, 2010). Their respective conceptualisations of emotions from 'prescribed and externally controlled' to 'autonomous, self-directed and self-controlled' manifestations of feeling are also represented in terms of the contexts in which emotions may be manifested and the degree of possible challenge and complexity associated with their performance. Bolton and Boyd (2003) make a logical assertion that the various forms of emotion effort (or emotion 'management' to use their expression) are often combined many permutations. They hold that these alternative presentations of emotions are contingent upon many factors including agents' dispositions and discretion within highly context-dependent situations.

Construct:	Emotional Labour	Emotion Work	Emotion Management	Emotional Self-Management
Control-nature& source:	Organisationally prescribed Compliance-instrumentality related	Voluntary, Discretionary, Induced by feelings of care, love or compassion	Voluntary, Discretionary, Induced by feelings of care, love or compassion but often organisationally /socially directed	Voluntary Autonomous, Self-directed Self-controlled
Context:	Commercial Professional	Private, Social, Professional	Private, Social, Professional	Private, Social, Professional
Complexity/ Challenges/	Generating and sustaining a convincing display of organisationally prescribed emotions regardless of congruence with internal feelings Suppression, inducement, regulation of Personal emotions	Displaying socially desired emotions across a range of social, and private contexts	Offering trained and individualised interventions to assist or determine the management of *others'* emotions (in addition to one's own)	Self-monitoring & achievement of trait self-esteem

Table 2: *A summary of theoretical perspectives on emotions at work*

This discussion of the alternative conceptualisations of workplace emotion effort has captured some of their inherent similarities, definitional inconsistencies and theoretical ambiguities (Wharton, 2009, Ashkanasy and Humphrey, 2011).

The most significant dichotomies in theorists' depictions of emotion effort relate to the variable use of the term 'management'. 'Management' implies different degrees of autonomy, discretion and self-determination but, in the case of emotional 'labour', the word is often applied to a range of emotion 'efforts', some of which relate to contexts characterised by conformity, compliance and self-restraint. Brotheridge and Lee's (2003) development and application of the 'emotional labour scale' acknowledged that the nature of emotional labour varied substantially according to its frequency, intensity, variety, duration and performance depth.

The 'triadic contest for control' between worker, manager and customer (Belanger and Edwards, 2013) represents a further compounding element in the composition of a service worker's emotion effort. The combination of this three-way dynamic and Brotheridge and Lee's (2003) criteria with other considerations such as individual agency, self-discretion, autonomy, judgment and self-determination may result in a complex and multi-faceted form of emotion effort. Thus, one is presented with a veritable 'patchwork' quilt of permutations and combinations to characterise an individual's emotion effort. Additionally, the nature of the social encounter itself and the service agents' perceived need for reciprocity (or 'fair exchange') in their relationships may represent a further influencing factor upon the immediate and longer-term emotion effort invested. The more fundamental social construction of service agents' self-images and identities (Cooley, 1902, Goffman, 1959, Stets and Burke, 2003/2012), which is discussed later in this chapter, may simultaneously influence, and be influenced by, the ways in which they attend to the emotional demands of their work.

While the debate surrounding definitional ambiguities in emotion effort seems likely to continue, it is also apparent that the constructs of truth, 'deception', 'genuineness' and 'falsehood' underpin much of the theoretical discussion, particularly in relation to workplace emotions. Therefore, it is appropriate to offer some theoretical insights into how the phenomena of 'reality' and truth themselves are perceived.

The Compact Oxford Dictionary of Current English (2005) offers both positivist and social constructionist descriptions of 'reality':

1. 'the state of things as they actually exist, as opposed to an idealistic or notional idea of them.'
2. 'a thing that is actually experienced or seen.'
3. 'the quality of being lifelike.'
4. 'the state or quality of having existence or substance.'

Definitions and understandings of truth are equally ambiguous but many of these nonetheless imply a form of alignment between 'belief' and 'reality'. Heidegger ([1967]1998: 138) asserted that:

'Truth is the correspondence of the matter to knowledge. But it can also be taken as saying: truth is the correspondence of knowledge to the matter.'

which may suggest that the 'matter' has an essence or existence of its own with which knowledge must align. Kierkegaard's (in Bish, 2010:242) interpretation allows for both a 'subjective' and an 'objective' truth:

'Objective truths are concerned with the facts of a person's being, while subjective truths are concerned with a person's way of being.'

More conventional definitions reflect a belief that truth must align in accord with an objective reality, a materialist view expressed by some contributors to online philosophical fora such as Geduld's (2014):

'there's "stuff out there," outside of what we imagine and sense and that we can contrast such imaginings and sensations with the reality of whatever that 'stuff' actually is.'

The determination of the degree of 'genuineness' or truth of any felt or observed emotion is arguably problematic because of the very nature of emotions themselves, which are often viewed as subjective, ephemeral and ambiguous. Thus, some of the above conceptualisations offer limited insights on how the truth and reality of emotions may be recognised. Many scholars in the field of emotions at work remain predominantly concerned with both the measurement or prediction of emotional feeling and behaviour and use quantitative data techniques such as variations of the 'emotional labour scale' (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003) to capture individuals' views of their workplace experiences. Such studies offer us some useful insights on patterns of emotional behaviour but the credibility of the data generated is contingent upon the ability of the respondents to report accurately and truthfully upon emotions and feelings which they may find difficult to define or recall. Thus, Kierkegaard's (1992) 'subjective' truth may only reveal a 'person's way of being' if the individual can report on this as if it were objectively true. Service agents may experience difficulties understanding, reflecting and reporting upon their experienced emotions, especially if they are asked to do so using self-reported questionnaires for completion within a limited period. This study argues that the phenomenological approach will yield more considered, truthful and reflective accounts from respondents who have had ample time to articulate their experiences.

2.5 *'Within-person' and 'between-person' emotion research and their relevance to this study*

Ashkanasy and Humphrey's (2011:214) critique of contemporary emotion research uses Ashkanasy's (2003:215) 'Five Level Model of Emotion in Organisations' (see Figure 2) as a conceptual framework to review contemporary 'emotion' research. This study focuses on emotional self-management from 'within-person' and 'between-person' perspectives in order to develop further understanding of how service workers' experiences may affect their perceptions, behaviour and performance at work. This focus facilitates appreciation of how agents' work affects their own feelings of personal and professional dignity and self-worth.

It also reflects other emotion researchers' increasing concern with individual differences and their impacts upon service agents' abilities to self-manage their feelings whilst still complying with organisational norms (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, Doef and Maes, 1999, Hodson, 2001, Bakker and Demerouti, 2006, Gray, 2010, Hede, 2010).
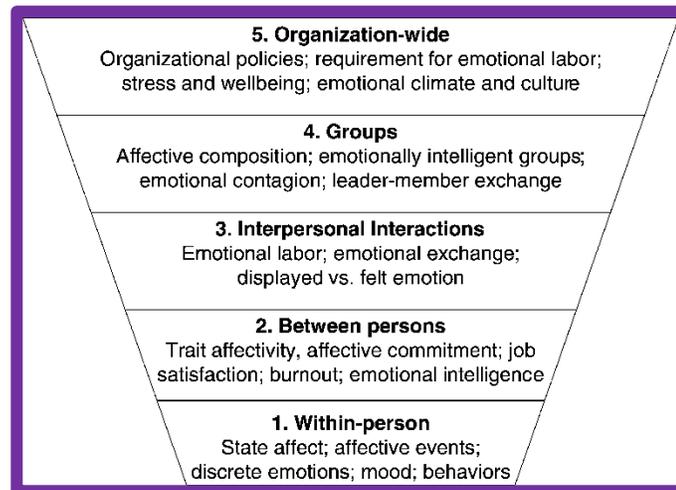
Figure 2: Ashkanasy's (2003) 5 level model of emotion in organisations (reproduced from Ashkanasy, N. M. (2003), 'Emotions in organisations: A multilevel perspective', p.11 in Dansereau, F. & Yammarino, F. J. (eds.), *(Emotion) Research in multi-level issues* 2, 9–54). Oxford, UK: Elsevier/JAI Press.)

Cropanzano et al (2004) suggest that the level 1 experiences of emotion are often contingent upon daily affective events and the study of these are important to our understanding of emotion. 'Level 2' emotional variation relates to the comparison of traits and emotional intelligence in two or more individuals. While many studies have focused upon 'higher levels' within Ashkanasy's hierarchy on themes such as 'emotional climate' (Driver, 2003), there is considerably less attention upon the intrapersonal skills and qualities agents may possess or acquire to manage emotional challenges at work (Scott and Barnes, 2011). Bericat (2012:8) identifies three types of emotions that have been the primary concern of sociological study to date: interactional, collective and societal. Interestingly, he implies that individual 'within-person' emotions have received scant sociological attention, corroborating Ashkanasy and Humphrey's (2011) assertion that there is a greater need for level 1 emotion research.

They suggest that any research of emotion dynamics at 'higher levels' such as those to which Bericat (2012) refers can only be valid if the critical 'lower level' groundwork is first carried out.

2.6 Social and emotional exchange (reciprocity)

In the context of service work, Korczynski (2009:83) highlights the dichotomy of the industry's dual preoccupation with both the 'means' and 'end' status of actions and emotions. His concerns reflect the tensions mirrored in rational as opposed to human relations perspectives in organisational theory. The bureaucratic side of organisations proposes a logic which prioritises the 'means' of action over its end. Weberian efficiency suggests the marginalisation of affect to be displayed to the 'ends' of the action and the prioritisation of logic and impersonality in job behaviour. The formally rational side of the customer may be satisfied with routinised standardised interactions and impersonal exchanges but the irrational side will not be. Because of this, Korczynski suggests that organisations must also prioritise the service encounter, which represents the 'ends' of action. Front-line staff are expected to act with positive, authentic emotion and empathy in customers' eyes, but management also expect such emotions to be delivered efficiently. Applying Korczynski's explanation of the 'means-end' process in service work, it can be appreciated how Hochschild (1979/1983) initially conceptualised human feeling as 'commodified'. Human feeling and emotions appear firmly 'sandwiched' between two rational imperatives, the 'top slice' attempts to compress emotion out of the service process while the 'bottom slice' squeezes emotion back in to it but simultaneously and contradictorily demands rational efficiency in its delivery.

Bolton and Boyd (2003) and Sheehan (2012) propose that some agents may possess the skills to 'manage around' the organisationally prescribed efficiency and feeling rules in order to achieve more natural, spontaneous and socially fulfilling exchanges with customers and thereby enhance their sense of well-being.

However, Goffman (1959:36) posits that certain agents may struggle to do this. He asserts that the part of an organisational actor's performance that often functions in such a regular or fixed fashion ('front') can also inhibit customers' propensity to interact empathetically with service agents. He argues that:

> 'Instead of having to maintain a different pattern of expectation and responsive treatment for each slightly different performer[…] *(the observer/customer)*[…]can place the situation in a broad category around which it is easy for him to mobilise his past experience and stereotypical thinking.'

Goffman (1959:36) warns that this approach to the interpretation of others' behaviour represents a 'wonderful but sometimes disastrous convenience' as it offers a faster yet more flawed judgment as to the authenticity of the performance but may obscure the service agent's genuine care that may underpin it. Prescriptiveness and spontaneity may coexist within the emotional repertoire although each form of interaction presents challenges for service agents including the difficulties associated with the suppression of 'emotional reciprocity' and the erosion of intrinsic rewards associated with customer service work. Wang et al (2012:80) document the contrasting effects of customers' 'affiliative' and 'dominant' styles upon service agents and, in the case of the former, they assert that 'liking begets liking with positive emotions being contagious or echoed back'. Conversely, customers' reluctance or inability to perceive service agents as fellow beings has the propensity to generate animosity, employee alienation and, most significantly, deteriorating perceptions of self-worth (Groth and Grandey, 2012, Kiefer and Barclay, 2012). A cabin crew member (Sheehan, 2012:110) comments despondently on the dwindling opportunities for social exchange at work:

> 'You used to get time to talk to passengers and make a different sort of connection, which was nice […] there isn't much time for that now, which can make you feel a bit 'trapped' and lonely sometimes.'

This observation corroborates a conceptualisation of 'worker alienation' as a negative force within service work (Hochschild 1983; Heuven and Bakker 2003; Brook 2009b).

Groth and Grandey (2012) further prompt researchers to consider the effects of customer exchanges from the service user's perspective. They claim that the literature on service exchanges is fragmented, either focussing upon mistreatment by customers or frontline employees' service delivery failures. In each instance, employee-customer interaction is viewed differently, with different labels given for the same behaviours (e.g. 'incivility'/'emotional burnout') resulting in a one-dimensional portrait of social interaction at work. They make the case for further empirical research into the impact of negative exchanges partners have on each other, both on affective and cognitive levels.

Bolton and Boyd's (2003) typology of 'emotion management' (Table 1), suggests that a range of often overlapping 'motives may underpin the emotion effort made by service agents'. Lugosi (2007:227) asserts that often 'social and commercial manifestations of hospitality become entangled', implying unclear boundaries between professional 'duties', social needs and personal feeling. Benmore and Lynch (2011:10) add 'personalised emotion management' as a further dimension in host guest social exchanges in small commercial hospitality environments which is:

> 'shaped by social and personal feeling rules, motivated by both gift and empathy, and expressed sincerely, with the expectation of long-term integration between the two parties'.

This study further explores this form of emotion management, questioning whether reciprocal and enduring emotional exchange may exist within many service contexts including the unmanaged 'offstage' spaces of larger organisations.

As with Ashkanasy and Humphrey (2011), Scott and Barnes (2011) point to the need for more micro-level research on the relationships between emotion effort (specifically 'surface' and 'deep' acting) and its effects upon work withdrawal and well-being. Korcyzinski (2009; 958) also provides a strong rationale for the further exploration of agent-customer relationship dynamics *across* different service sectors.

For example, he highlights marked differences between the global direct selling business Amway's commercial service agents' rigid classifications of customer contacts into 'prospect, distributor, customer and loser' as opposed to 'touching' human accounts of emotional connections between care staff and patients. He presents employees' accounts on the 'joys' of caring work which are in stark contrast to Hochschild's (1983) assertions on the frequency of 'unequal exchanges' between the tyrannical customer and flight attendant. Korczynski (2009:955) mirrors Jenks's (1998) concern with the rapidly altering patterns of customer-service agent relationships and argues that:

> 'research is needed into how far workers experience customers as alienating and the factors that push levels of alienation in one direction or another'.

claiming that few attempts have been made to consider the 'abstract' qualities of service relationships and their importance for employees' subjective experiences.

2.7 The agency of customer and employee in the determination of positive and negative exchanges

Since Korczynski's (2009) assertion of the need to refocus on service agent-customer exchanges, numerous researchers (e.g. Lopez, 2010, Groth and Grandey, 2012, Kiefer and Barclay, 2012, Belanger and Edwards, 2013, Curley and Royle, 2013) have responded. Service worker-recipient power relationships, exchange dynamics and relative agency have received renewed attention, with significant attention being paid to the potentially disabling or disempowering effects of 'toxic emotional experiences' (TEEs) (Kiefer and Barclay, 2012:600). Groth and Grandey (2012) suggest that poor agent-customer interactions influence employee well-being and that the inputs, processes and outcomes of such dyadic exchanges feed upon each other and are co-dependant in the creation of often unpredictable negative exchange spirals. Kiefer and Barclay's (2012:603) quantitative study further explored the connection between negative emotions and 'toxic emotional experiences' (TEEs).

They suggest that little is still known about why TEEs have such adverse consequences for individual and organisational outcomes. They propose that TEEs are sustained affective states generated by negative emotions and emphasise their distinction from 'negative emotions', which are 'short-lived, focus attention and can prepare individuals for action'. Keifer and Barclay suggest that negative emotions in themselves may not be damaging unless they are prolonged to the extent where they become pervasive and ultimately 'toxic'. In their view, TEEs have three dimensions: the tendency for psychological recurrence, the capacity to 'disconnect' the worker from their support network and the propensity to deplete the agent's physical and psychological energy. The connections they make between negative emotions and 'emotional toxicity' are supported by an unsurprising but logical set of hypotheses, such as that 'negative emotions are associated with diminished psychological health and poor attitudes towards the organisation and performance'. They concur with other scholars that research needs to move beyond the study of discrete emotions and devote attention towards their more relational and contextual variances.

Kiefer and Barclay (2012:603) suggest a three-pronged approach to addressing TEEs which position managers as preventers and problem solvers. They suggest that particular attention should be paid towards employees displaying 'toxic' characteristics. Arguably, however, many service workers experiencing emotional toxicity will be adept at hiding their emotions and will not be readily identifiable. Keifer and Barclay's (2012) work offers valuable insights into negative and toxic emotions but their findings are developed from a quantitative methodology which could not (nor were they intended to) portray the subtle nuances of individualistic responses to coping. Thus, further work which attempts to understand how negative and toxic emotions experienced from micro 'lived-in' perspectives would be valuable, and this was one of the key objectives of this inquiry. Whilst management has an undeniable role in supporting front-line service workers, this study's exploration of emotionally challenging situations from service agents' first-person viewpoints reveals more about

their own, agency and self-determination capabilities during potential 'toxicity building' encounters.

Groth and Grandey (2012) assert that there is puzzling gap in research that seeks to understand customer-agent dynamics from a reciprocal viewpoint. Their research focuses upon incivility behaviours, unequal goal expectations and power differentials in employee-customer interaction. They cite inappropriate preconceptions and interpretations by both customer and agent as particularly destructive forces in otherwise remediable negative service encounters. They also cite the principles of 'social exchange' and 'justice' as relevant to the dynamics of spiralling anti-social behaviour situations. Employees and customers respectively will attempt to 'get even' if either feel there have been justice violations. In their view, negative exchanges are even more likely to spiral out of control when either party or both lacks the ability to regulate emotions. Groth and Grandey (2012:223) assert that the development of an appropriate service 'climate' is key, referring to this as:

> 'a shared perception of the importance of providing excellent customer service that emphasises the value of the employee and is associated with employee engagement and satisfaction.'

As with Kiefer and Barclay (2012), they emphasise the positive mediating role of social support within a 'climate of authenticity' in diverting or preventing the longer-term development of toxic emotions. Gergen (1991:139) and Lifton (1993) argue that the degree of individuals' flexibility and adaptability in their responses exerts an important influence over how the experience is internalised and whether a positive or negative outcome results. Lifton (1993) supports the concept of the flexible 'protean' self which can effectively adapt to particular situations in a positive way. He presents his views from a psychoanalytical perspective and his grounded vignettes relate to case histories of poor urban black people brought up in extremely hostile criminal environments, which nevertheless offer hope and insight into human agency and the ability to adapt in particularly adverse circumstances.

At the core of Lifton's argument is the insistence that it is not just economic circumstances that influence individuals' capacity to adapt but their social support and binding networks of care. His assertion corresponds, to a degree, with Kiefer and Barclay's (2012:621) general recommendation for the management of employees' negative emotions through 'intervention', in particular managerial discretion to show compassion. This study is interested in understanding more of agents' views on the potentially enabling influences emerging from agents' private, social and professional 'communities of coping' (Korczynski, 2003) (developed further in Chapter 3).

Although this study is sociological in focus, Theodosius (2008) argues that any discussion on human agency in emotions cannot ignore the significance of developments in psychology and neurobiology, including the disproving of the traditional theory that the central nervous system did not generate new 'neurons' whereas the brain and the nervous system actually generate new cells as learning or repeated experiences dictate (Davidson in Goleman, 2004:334). This finding has far-reaching implications for the understanding of emotion work and has prompted a review of early organismic theory (Darwin, 1872, Freud, 1915) which posited that emotions were primarily fixed biological processes. Moreover, Goleman (2004:285-6) refers to 'neural plasticity' (Eriksson et al, 1998), the neurobiological process that responds to the repeated practice of 'compassion' which may ultimately change the circuitry in the brain to the extent that being compassionate no longer requires any effort. The 'neural plasticity' concept potentially complements sociological theory in which positive learned behaviours are additionally reinforced within and between persons by a neurobiological influence, bringing new meaning to the idea of '(social) practice makes perfect'.

Positive physiological and psychological effects of good service have also been noted from the customer perspective. King's (2013:102) report on the commercial study by American Express and Neurosense Ltd. summarises findings on the connections between positive service encounters and neurochemically induced brain reactions.

These include feelings of love and pleasure, and physiological signs such as decreased breathing rates associated with reductions in anxiety and stress levels and slightly increased blood pressure linked with excitement. She reports that these changes led ultimately to an enhanced sense of well-being. The 8,000-respondent sample provided interesting, indeed surprising, results which indicate how importantly positive exchanges are perceived by customers. The study claims that 'receiving a great service' ranked very highly in terms of 'emotional pleasurableness' against other experiences such as 'being reunited with a close friend' and 'your sports team winning'. If these findings are reliable and valid, it would help to explain how antagonistic exchanges may be equally disappointing and painful. In addition to service agents' *abilities* to manage their social exchanges, Bolton and Boyd's (2003) emotion management typology reminds us of the importance of their inclination and instrumentality in doing so. Their model's two most polarised forms of social engagement at work are 'pecuniary' and 'philanthropic'; these are underpinned by the agent's instrumental or empathetic motivations respectively.

Tracy (2000:92) exposes a tendency in social research to reduce analyses to simple dichotomies and asserts the need to acknowledge the co-existence of certain feelings or behaviours that might normally be considered mutually exclusive. Whilst Bolton and Boyd assert that agents will practise differing forms of emotion management in different situations, they do not explicitly acknowledge that two or more types of emotion management may be performed concurrently within a single exchange. The conceptualisation of emotion efforts in absolutist terms, which has been a preoccupation within the organisational psychology and social research literature of the last decade, may not serve particularly to enhance understanding. Some psychologists maintain that it is impossible for human beings to experience more than one discrete emotion at once and that a dominant emotion represents the one being attended to at a given moment. Contrasting emotions may, however, alternate in rapid succession in cases such as that of the nurse who experiences feelings of disgust and also pity towards an incontinent patient or a flight attendant who simultaneously feels

pity for and exasperation about a drunken passenger. Emotions, by their very nature, are often contradictory, ambiguous, ephemeral, elusive and opaque. It is often difficult not only to determine the feelings of others but also one's own and I suggest that the development of understanding of how emotions change is as important as categorising their precise nature and characteristics.

2.8 The service agent and 'selfhood'

It has been seen that the emotional demands of service work are complex, challenging and often unpredictable. The suppression and inducement of feelings inherent in many roles may require the deployment of 'surface' and 'deep' acting techniques, which suggests that the agent may be required to present a range of appropriate behavioural impressions at work as well as juggling a number of lived-in identities in order to transcend the boundaries of their work, social and personal lives. Therefore, an analysis of the critical nature of the agents' 'self' and 'identity' (Stryker, 1980) represents a natural progression in the attempt to further understand their emotional self-management and social exchanges. Contrasting approaches to the relationship between the self and society can be identified in the literature:

1. Stets and Burke (2003:128) suggest that a sociological approach to self and identity begins with the assumption that the individual self and society are reciprocally interlinked and that the individual influences society through actions which involve the creation of groups, organisations and networks which the self-manifests itself in and is reflective of society. Thus a sociological approach is required to understand it. They further articulate Mead's (1913) theory on the 'social self', that the core of 'selfhood' is contingent on society bestowing the tools (e.g. language and a system of meanings) for self-reflexivity. This approach is suggestive of both social constructivist and symbolic interactionist perspectives in the sense that individuals' learning about 'their selves' takes place because of their interactions in societal groups

and their actions are based upon the meanings such interactions have enabled them to create.

2. Blumer's (1969) situational perspective offers a more traditional view of symbolic interactionism, seeing society as in a constant state of re-creation, being continually shaped by the interpretations and definitions of its inhabitants. Thus, the individual self is unstable and ephemeral because the roles we occupy and the identities we adopt are temporally influenced.

3. Stryker (1980:27), on the other hand, views the self and society from a structural symbolic interactionist perspective, perceiving society as stable and enduring, enabling us to analyse patterns of behaviour within individuals at different levels within a more structured framework.

While it is difficult to view society from polarised perspectives of either total transience or total stability, viewing the world as chaotic and devoid of stability implies permanently shifting frames of reference which can only serve to frustrate any form of analysis. Although a phenomenological, qualitative approach is adopted in this research, to understand patterns of behaviour and perception across individuals is partly to rely on the application of analytical models which are based upon assumptions of societal order and structure. As this study is concerned with the significance of social and emotional exchange between agent and customer, it is important to understand the self and how individuals perceive and demonstrate who they are. For example, a flight attendant may act in a way that exemplifies to himself and others that he is confident, organised, conscientious, calm and good-humoured. He may perform his duties in a way that shows this. His acts may not only serve as confirmation of his professional persona but they may contribute over time, with the actions of other flight attendants, to society's perception of his professional role, ultimately constituting part of the social structure.

Mead (1934) proposed that the symbolic interactionist perspective viewed the self as emerging from one's own mind and that the critical determinants in the social construction of self was an individual's reflexivity, interaction with others and, most significantly, the ability to see oneself as others see one. Symbolic interactionism offers three co-existent realities which an individual may inhabit: physical/objective, social and unique; however, the socially developed interaction with others represents a particularly dominant reality because it is continually reinforced by interaction and reflexivity. Stets and Burke (2003:132) elucidate Burke's (1980) earlier theory by suggesting that our self-concept relates to the meanings that we hold for ourselves when we attempt to create our self-image. Our 'working' copy of our self-views are 'import[ed] into situations and [...] subject to constant change and revision based on situational influences'. Cooley (1902) defined this concept as the 'looking-glass' self which is primarily constructed on our own interpretations of others' appraisals of us. Gergen (1991:139) argues that the answer to the question 'who am I?' is not unitary and uniform, and that our increasingly volatile and ephemeral world continuously re-defines our identities as a consequence of the 'sea of ever-changing relationships' in which we engage. Lifton's (1993) 'protean' concept of the 'self' aligns with Goffman's (1959) idea of multiple socialised selves, which are highly diverse entities mutating according to the situations that an individual encounters.

These perspectives are particularly pertinent to commercial service and health care environments, where the service agents' public and private identities may be shaped by their unpredictable and perishable client encounters. However, in the context of the service agent's work, a paradox emerges from these theories of the pluralistic and ever-changing self which ideally adapts according to the differing social demands of a situation. Traditional customer service training in many service organisations continues to advocate a standardised approach to social interaction reminiscent of Hochschild's (1983: 89) Delta Airlines flight attendant who asserts:

'If they could have turned every one of us into sweet quiet
Southern belles with velvet voices like Rosalyn Carter, this is what
they would want to stamp out on an assembly line'.

This approach leaves service agents with often limited discretion or control over how they respond to individual situations. In consequence, they must continue to act out their roles, drawing upon a very narrow repertoire of social interaction rules. Thus, their 'working copies' of their own identities are prescriptively defined by the rules of engagement and may be deprived of more spontaneous interaction with their environment, which Burke (1980) asserts is critical to the development of the 'self'. Bolton (2004) suggests that on some occasions an organisation's display rules may, in fact, be consistent with an agent's self-identity and furthermore fit with personal values. She argues that such consistency and fit may be the reason that some service agents are drawn to certain organisations and why they identify strongly with their work roles once they are employed. Whilst this assertion is not surprising, there remains considerable disagreement amongst social theorists as to how agents acquire their 'emotional selves'. Durkheim (1938) identified 'social facts' as the determining framework for individual agency or constraint. Such 'facts' included the social protocols and prescriptive allocation of roles both in and away from work. Bolton (2005:72) summarises this somewhat dismal interpretation of human agency by stating that, from this perspective, the belief is that:

'the socially constructed actor does not write the script, rather the
stage is set and roles assigned and these factors shape the self and
prescribe the framework of meanings to be socially transmitted'.

Durkheim's (1938) narrow social constructionist view on 'the emotional self' has been challenged many times (e.g. Pearce, 1989, Allbrow, 1990) and produces what Bolton (2005:730) refers to as an 'image of emotionally anorexic social actors' who are bereft of any real control over their human interactions. Bolton (2005:73) suggests that social interactionists' perspectives on the self (such as Silverman's, 1970) and the construction of emotion are considerably different. These recognise the influence of

'social rules' but assert their susceptibility to constant change and re-negotiation through the interactions of individuals. This perspective resonates with Lifton's (1993) concept of the adaptive, autonomous 'protean self' and also claims support from the findings of social researchers (Lugosi 2007/2008, Whitelegg, 2007/2009, Hochschild 2012a/2013) where individual agents have been found to demonstrate discretion, agency and control and subtly navigate the boundaries between prescription, interaction, self-expression and private goals, often in highly regulated environments. Thus, despite the constraining factors that characterise service work, research has shown that individuals may respond to these in very different ways (Bolton, 2004, 2005, Whitelegg, 2007, Theodosius, 2008, Korczynski, 2009, Belanger and Edwards, 2013).

Abuhamden and Csikszentmihalyi, (2012) explore the variations in human agency and disposition, linking the possible reasons for individuals' differential experiences to a combination of circumstantial and personality factors, discussing, challenge, enjoyment and contentment in the context of 'autotelic' activities (those we enjoy for their own sake). Csikszentmihalyi (1996) explains that many pursuits may be unattractive or anxiety producing initially, and it is not until we become familiar with them, that our fears and resistance to them disappear. Thus, he argues that there is a need to persist in some activities which may appear either routine or insurmountable, in order that they may become autotelic later. He cites several co-existent elements which need to be present for this to happen, including a clear understanding of the goals 'every step of the way' (1996:111), immediate feedback and balance between task challenge and the skills possessed. Csikszentmihalyi (1996) also asserts that there must be 'no worry of failure' (1996:112), diminished self-consciousness and a sense of time being compressed to the extent that hours fly by like minutes. All of these conditions are aspirational as opposed to being automatically present at the outset, and he (1996:51–126) identifies the 'creative' personality type who is more likely to facilitate these. Once these conditions are present, Csikszentmihalyi (1996:116) suggests that a person is able to enter a situation of 'flow', a state of immersion where

the individual is positively absorbed in an activity requiring both high levels of skill and challenge. Sheehan's (2012) cabin crew member asserted that such immersion allowed him to harness his emotional effort in a manner natural to him and in harmony with the social and personal needs of his passengers. He indicated a positive absorption in routine activities which he re-conceptualised as requiring both high levels of skill and challenge.

For this agent to be in such a state of flow, Csikszentmihalyi argues there are prerequisite personality traits, including an orientation towards natural curiosity, intrinsic rewards, low self-consciousness and high degrees of concentration ability, thus pointing to the presence of an 'autotelic' personality. Csikszentmihalyi (2004) likens the achievement of a 'flow state 'within an individual as akin to 'turning a door handle' and 'entering without forcing oneself over the threshold', implying the desire to freely walk over it. He suggests that the only 'gravitational pull' away from the 'door handle' will come from the 'outside world'. In the case of the cabin crew from my 2012 study, these 'pulls' could correspond with the prescriptive interaction rules and other constraints that crew assert increasingly characterise their work.

2.9 'Mindfulness' and emotions

The concept of 'mindfulness' has developed from the ancient Eastern traditions and, more recently, from the field of cognitive psychology (Langer, 1994 in Whitmyer, 1994). It is introduced here in the context of the discussion on the 'self', 'self-hood' and 'identity'. Its practice has been associated with the enabling and understanding of human agency in emotions. Hede (2010:94) asserts that with the increasing acknowledgement of emotional competence as a prerequisite for effective management, there is a need to search for new ways of achieving this, proposing that mindfulness techniques may be used at work to avoid emotional reactivity and manage stress.

Hede (2010:95) cites Martin's (1997:291-2) conceptualisation of mindfulness as:

> 'A state of *psychological freedom** that occurs when attention remains quiet and limber, *without attachment** to any particular point-of-view. Mindfulness is a process of looking freshly, of observation that is essentially non biased and explorative'. (*Martin's emphasis)

Mindfulness could be viewed as an antecedent to the more positive forms of emotion management. Kabat-Zinn (2005:108) describes mindfulness as:

> 'moment-to-moment, non-judgmental awareness, cultivated by paying attention in a specific way […] in the present moment, and as non-reactively, as non-judgmentally, and as openheartedly as possible'

In relation to the symbolic interactionism perspective, mindfulness theory would argue that the individual needs to develop a sense of constructive and meaningful self-awareness in order to navigate each co-existent reality: physical, social and unique. The principles of mindfulness are now being increasingly embraced by individuals and collective organisational groups (Stew, 2011, Hulsheger et al, 2012), despite Hede's (2010:95) claim that its constructs have been seldom applied to management and organisational behaviour. Thus, there is an implication inherent in both 'flow' and 'mindfulness' theory that life has many unrecognised activities and moments with hidden intrinsic value that often remain, dismissed or unintentionally overlooked. Nonetheless, a key distinction between the two constructs relates to relative levels of skill to achieve these two different states, as mindfulness does not require the possession of complex skills and has no finite 'end-point' signifying completion or achievement of a specified goal. The achievement of a 'flow' state is, however, associated with an ultimate objective, the achievement of which is contingent on the possession of particular abilities. The testimony of Sheehan's (2012:111) cabin crew member (see section 2.2 above) raises questions on his potential agency in determining his own state of happiness. For him, the achievement of this state related to his personal 'talents' for perceiving potential fulfilment in even the routine aspects of his work.

Hede (2010:97) casts the 'emotionally less competent' person as an individual with limited control over their immediate reactions, for example an individual's vulnerable 'sub-self' which is suffering pain or humiliation. This 'sub-self' may become dominant and take control, casting the individual as a 'victim'. Such a response is reflected in Partridge and Goodman's (2007) typology of airline cabin crew where they identify the 'ain't it awful' type who perceives himself as a powerless victim of an increasingly uncaring corporate parent (see Chapter 3 Table 7). Hede argues that the strengthening and increased resilience of the 'meta-self', the interface between our sub-selves and the outside world, may assist a less emotionally competent person in dealing with these 'sub-self' reactions. The 'supra-self' represents our true 'I'. Hede's variants on 'self', together with Cooley's (1902) 'looking-glass self' and Stets and Burke's (2003) 'working copy of self', share a central idea of an 'off-the shelf' self which we don when we wish to avoid looking for the 'original'; the 'carbon copy' provides a workable, consistent, presentable and socially acceptable version. On other less frequent occasions, we may wish to reflect on 'who we are' and consider a reconfiguration of ourselves based upon insights, feelings or knowledge that has hitherto remained unconsidered. Such a notion again has resonance with service agents' coping strategies where they not only adopt a fixed persona with customers or patients but also with their colleagues.

Partridge and Goodman's (2007:9) 'holding-pattern' type represents an illustration of this where the flight attendant must cope with transient working relationships requiring a close collaboration only achievable through both professional and social cohesion. Some cabin crew may repeat the same approach to generate social acceptance from their peer group where similar or identical personal anecdotes and psychological challenges are recounted to successive in-flight crew teams. Those who adopt this coping strategy may believe that a new audience exonerates them from the personal resolution of the issues and problems they are presenting. Thus, a 'looking-glass' or 'working copy' self is continuously reconstituted, relegating the 'super-ego' to a neglected area of the psyche.

2.10 Personality, agency and resilience in the management of emotions

This section offers a brief overview of the relevant aspects of personality theory that concern the management of emotions. My analysis of personality theory has been limited to its application to individual ability, agency and resilience in the self-management of emotions at work. Personality theory, although wide ranging and complex, is founded upon Darwin's (1872) fundamental principle of human and animal differences within and across species. Galton (1869) is generally credited with the foundation of differential psychology and the development of the core principles of 'psychometrics', a field of personality study often associated with psychological measurement in the working environment. Psychometrics attempts an objective measurement of individuals' skills, knowledge, abilities, attitudes and personality traits using questionnaires or enumerator's judgments. It may utilise tests of emotional, dispositional or intellectual attributes. Psychometric testing is still used in organisational recruitment and is also applied in team building and talent development. The 'Big Five personality dimension' taxonomy was first developed by Tupes and Christal (1961) and later further refined by researchers including Digman (1990). It recognizes the characteristics of 'extraversion', 'emotional stability', 'agreeableness', 'conscientiousness' and 'openness to experience' in terms of their appropriateness as criteria across a range of job types.

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) (Myers and McAuley, 1985) is one of the better-known testing instruments and its use has been developed in conjunction with the 'Big Five' scoring system (Harvey et al, 1995) to assess candidate suitability for recruitment and promotion. The MBTI test categorises individuals into 16 personality types which result from the cross-products of four bi-polar dimensions: 'introversion-extroversion', 'sensing-intuition', 'thinking-feeling' and 'perceiving-judging'. Preliminary selection of candidates is based upon their match with the identified personality type(s) considered desirable in a particular job role.

There is discussion in the human resource and psychology literature as to whether these models are legitimate and appropriate approaches to assess potential employee aptitudes and performance.

Tracy's (2000) suggestion, discussed earlier, regarding the self-limiting nature of any conceptual models of emotion effort resonates with the potential analytical deficiencies of psychometric frameworks (Bartram, 2005). Psychometrics endeavours to measure only the attributes and contra-indications that are relevant in a job and to prove or disprove candidates' potential suitability and their likely fit within an existing team. This exclusion of irrelevant personality attributes ignores the need, particularly in phenomenological research, to acknowledge the co-existence of certain feelings, attitudes or behaviours that might normally be considered mutually exclusive. The adoption of a phenomenological perspective requires an openness to the sometimes contradictory nature of emotions and their idiographic complexity. Whilst the personality theories of differential psychology may have relevance to respondents' lived emotional experiences, this study's emphasis is upon the development of a deeper understanding of such experiences, not their categorisation or measurement.

Roethlisberger and Dickson's (1939) and Mayo's (1946) research at GEC's Hawthorne Plant in the USA heralded an intensifying interest in what is now referred to as the 'human relations' aspect of management. Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) argued that the understanding of the 'logic of sentiment' was critical if management were to understand when and why workers' affective behaviour might conflict with 'logic or efficiency' and how these might be reconciled. Commercial service organisations increasingly perceive their workforce's collective ability to manage their emotions as valuable capital that secures competitive advantage. There is extensive evidence that methods to recruit, select and develop individuals who self-present as emotionally resourceful and resilient are regarded as critical to effective management of human resources.

Bolton (2005:13) asserts that the more traditional perceptions of organisations as formal structures 'populated by rational office holders' are being progressively replaced with views that organisations:

> 'have feelings and that organisational actors utilise their emotions in the course of their work'.

Bolton (2005:59) presents a view of postmodern organisations in which the employment relationship is no longer directly focused upon rational efficiency but on a psychological contract, where workers are expected to show 'emotional intelligence' and where 'bounded emotionality' replaces 'bounded rationality'. It is questionable, however, whether this picture actually reflects a real shift away from rationality. This is because the main changes in modern service organisations could be described as an alteration of *what* is actually being rationalised as opposed to Fineman's (1993) 'stripping away of the façade of organisational rationality' to which Bolton (2005:59) refers.

Hochschild's (1983) core arguments related to the commodification of emotions suggesting that they were being increasingly factored in to the 'means of production'. She (1983:5) compares the work of a 19th century child labourer who works within the draconian environment of a wallpaper factory with that of the seemingly glamorous work of the flight attendant. An initial consideration of the child's situation suggests appalling capitalist exploitation and unfair treatment. However, Hochschild suggests that while this may be true, the child is not 'forced' to love his job whereas the 'emotional style of offering the service is part of the service' for the flight attendant, which means she must convey that she loves the work. In this example the rationality has not been removed from the work of the stewardess or the organisation within which she works. Instead, the rationality has been extended to the commodification of her emotions where she must maintain an appropriate outward facial and bodily display in addition to the other obligatory mental and physical work.

Hunyh et al (2008: 199) redefine emotional labour in healthcare as a trans-disciplinary concept which:

> 'involves intense energy expenditure as the worker transforms negative emotions into socially and organizationally acceptable emotional display to enhance well-being in the recipient'

In this context, the worker's agency is viewed in terms of transformative ability which assumes, however, that his own emotions will be negative in the first place and that significant effort will be required to alter these in order to comply with service-user expectations. Hunyh et al's (2008:199) summary of this conceptualisation of emotional labour is puzzling, particularly in the light of their later assertion that nurses assume their own agency in expressing emotions 'felt deeply or at the surface' during patient encounters. This suggests a high degree of control and discretion over the emotional effort nurses invest. They add that:

> 'emotional labour emerges from the nursing literature as an authentic emotional expression'

which is representative of other writers' views on emotional labour in healthcare. (Lopez, 2006, Theodosius, 2008). Lopez (2006) suggests that nurses practice emotional *care* as compared with other service operatives, who perform emotional *labour*. Hunyh et al (2008:200) argue that nurses 'must normalize their emotions within their professional role' and harmonise these with the feelings of the patients. They are elusive in defining such activity as 'surface acting' akin to a flight attendant because they argue that nurses may still manage to retain their 'inner sense of self', thus remaining 'authentic'. This conceptualisation of emotional effort is interesting and one that will be explored further in Chapter 3 when the working environments of nursing and airline cabin service are analysed.

It is relevant here to a discussion of the emotion worker's agency as it suggests that the workers in certain professions may be practising more sophisticated forms of emotion effort and may possess an innate disposition and ability to do so.

Much of the emotion literature debates the nature of so-called emotional 'competencies' in front-line service employees. Hochschild's (1983) study of predominantly female flight attendants added to the increasing debates on the issue of gender attributes and the discussions relating to the differential capabilities, dispositions and motivations of men and women in service work. While, this study is primarily concerned with individual lived experiences of emotional self-management, agents' self-perceived gendered identities and social perceptions of gender differences are relevant to the understanding of agents' feelings about their work. Gender studies now represent a vast field of academic inquiry but there are two interconnected areas that particularly concern this research:

1. The gendered representation of service roles and its affect upon agents' motivation and perceptions of their work (Satin, 1984, Young et al, 2003, Adib and Guerrier, 2003, Guerrier and Adib, 2004, Mills and Helms-Mills, 2006, Simpson, 2009, Gray, 2010, Scott and Barnes, 2011, Harris et al, 2011, Magee, 2015);
2. The perceived effects of gender upon agents' propensity to make emotion effort (Aitchison, 1999, Whitelegg, 2009, Gray, 2010, Hackman, 2015, Delgado, 2017).

The parallel themes of inequality and exploitation underpinned the concept of gendered representation in service roles. Purcell (1996:17) summarises the historical social and organisational distinctions in the typical allocation of 'women's work' that still prevail in the majority of organisations worldwide:

'there are differences in the distribution of women and men throughout the workforce, with clear understandings about appropriate work for women and men and which incumbents of posts are in "gender atypical" occupations'

Delgado et al's (2017:84) review of key research on emotional labour in health care suggests that women's stereotypical societal role as family nurturer and protector was very much reflected in their sensitive and caring approach towards patients. It was also found that female nurses were often conflicted in their work between the performance of necessary social control alongside the offering of therapeutic care. In contrast, some findings suggested that male nurses remained less emotionally available to patients although these assertions have been challenged by other studies (Gray, 2010) which found that some demonstrated an acute awareness of their own and others' emotions. Both men and women were found to focus more upon tasks requiring technical expertise as a respite strategy from the sometimes intense emotional demands of their work.

Hochschild (1983) and Whitelegg (2007) document similar stereotypical gendered perceptions of the airline cabin crew role where stewardess was perceived as a maternal provider of a comfortable 'homely space' aboard the aircraft. Whitelegg (2007) asserts that male flight attendants appear to have been largely written out from the early history of the aviation service because of supposed public preferences to be served by women. In addition, airlines viewed women as an important promotional asset and foregrounded them in their publicity material. Sandiford (2004:74) discusses Purcell's (1997:41) categorisation of gendered work roles which offer insights into women's motivation to perform certain service roles and the social forces that propel them into these:

1. *'Contingently gendered jobs*-unskilled, flexible labour which employers can obtain cheaply. Women gravitate towards because family responsibilities or lack of qualifications negate against obtaining more desirable work
2. *'Sex typed jobs'* –where gender attributes are explicitly or implicitly implied in the job specification

3. ***'Patriarchally prescribed jobs'*** – where a male dominated society limits women's access to the more skilled or senior roles within an organisation. Women may be cast in 'caring roles' (nurse/flight attendant) whilst men may be placed within highly valued roles (doctor/pilot).Harris et al's (2011:51) depiction of exploited female hotel housekeepers within a male dominated management structure provides a good example of this.

The gendered representation of service roles reveals much about the social perceptions of the value of different work and some of the ostensible reasons why men and women gravitate towards certain positions. Regardless of the controversies surrounding gendered inequality and exploitation, as suggested above, another important debate in the emotion literature relates to the propensity, disposition and intrinsic motivation of men and women respectively to make emotional effort at work. An extensive range of arguments prevail relating to women's gendered attributes and natural inclinations and abilities to perform emotion work (Spence and Helmreich, 1978, Hochschild, 1983, West and Zimmerman, 1987, Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999, Darke and Guerney, 2000, McDowell, 2008, Hackman, 2015). Erickson (2005:341) implies, however, that it is the alternative *meanings* that this work has for men and women that may attract or repel their engagement in it. She suggests that these meanings are influenced by symbolic interaction and gender construction arguing that:

> 'individuals who construct their gendered selves in more "feminine" terms would be more likely to attribute positive meanings (e.g., loving care, concern, nurturance) to family work tasks that traditionally have been performed by women'

This assertion is significant as it suggests that 'caring, concern and nurturance' may be commonly perceived as feminine qualities but that certain men may be as predisposed as women to display them. Magee's (2015) research on gender and pride at work presented some notable findings on perceived differences between men and women's sense of pride in their work. He makes an important distinction between pride which results from the intrinsic rewards of doing a job well and job satisfaction which results from 'having' position, status and material rewards. The results of Magee's research revealed that women tend to display less pride than in their earlier working years but

that this pattern reverses with advancing age. Magee refers to Phelan's (1994) 'gender paradox' to interpret his findings which suggest that women's pride increases firstly because of their professional advancement although this occurs later and secondly because of the value they place on work that generates 'effortful pride' (Magee,2015:1108). Huffington (2013a) centres the debate on men and women's different interpretations of success and pride around a 'third metric' which incorporates the concepts of 'well-being, wisdom, wonder, empathy, and the ability to give back' alongside the more traditionally masculine indicators of money and power which she suggests (2013b):

> 'by themselves, [...] make a two-legged stool — fine for balancing on for a short time, but after a while, you're headed for a fall'

These gender related themes are returned to in Chapter 3 where the significance of gender perceptions and perceived freedoms and opportunities are further explored.

It has been seen that emotional management, self-management and competence represent important concerns from both perspectives of organisational efficiency and individual agency and well-being. Whilst it is not intended to focus on the managerial aspects of emotion management, the personality type and gendered constructs outlined above may prove relevant to the understanding of respondents' testimonies in terms of their perceived behaviours, workplace challenges and personal abilities.

2.11 Conceptualisations of 'Happiness' and 'Well-being'

'Well-being' has ostensibly moved to the forefront of government and corporate agendas where a new sense of urgency prevails to measure and monitor well-being and 'happiness' on individual, community and national levels (Michaelson et al, 2009). Klapp (1986) suggested that many people living in prosperous societies believed they could find enjoyment simply by spending money and through the acquisition of more possessions. Durning (1992) asserts, however, that sources of fulfilment lie primarily in social relationships, meaningful work, and leisure, rather than wealth.

This view is corroborated by recent research undertaken by the UK Office for National Statistics (ONS) to 'measure' national well-being (Matheson, 2011). Whilst the ONS report indicates that the 'instrument of measurement' has yet to be further refined, it proposes a number of indicating criteria for well-being .These include 'emotional stability', 'vitality', 'resilience', 'optimism', 'happiness', 'self-esteem' and 'engagement'. 'Well-being' has been defined and conceptualised from different perspectives (Bakker & Demourouti, 2006, Gray, 2010, Seligman, 2011, Erdogan et al, 2012, Groth & Grandey, 2012). The term essentially relates to how people view the quality of their lives as a consequence of their emotional reactions and cognitive judgments. The concept relates to a combination of life satisfaction and the relative frequency of positive and negative affect in people's lives. Erdogan et al's (2012) comprehensive review of the 'life satisfaction' literature, suggests that 'life satisfaction' is a key indicator of 'subjective' well-being, which is a term used by scholars to indicate 'happiness'.

Seligman's (2011) critical delineation between 'well-being' and 'happiness' is convincing. He argues that 'happiness' relates chiefly to three aspects: 'positive emotion', 'engagement', and 'meaning'. This resonates with the view that 'happiness' is primarily a subjective state directly associated with 'feelings', whether they are transient, long-term, spontaneous or induced. Seligman perceives well-being as encompassing two more measurable elements; namely 'positive relationships' and 'accomplishment' as viewed by those with whom the individual interacts. He posits that well-being cannot simply exist 'just in your own head', hence his suggestion of these additional criteria. The implication is that the path to well-being will be determined by how all five of these elements are optimised by individuals within their social and economic environment. Seligman's interpretations correspond with the view that employees can be active agents in the creation of their own happiness. Tantam (2014:160-161) reminds us that:

'enchantment' can lurk behind subjective happiness when we prefer 'glamour' to the reality and we are prepared to prolong such deception as 'self-deception'.

This enchantment transports us out of our everyday world into a new, absorbing one where desires appear satisfied without any of the associated efforts or disappointments. Our belief is that the meretricious happiness associated with the first exposure to escapist, 'addictive' states will actually provide 'well-being'. Tantam (2014:161) suggests that continued self-deception means not living in 'reality' but in an enchanted world:

> '(we) can tolerate all manner of relationship disrepair, environmental squalor, even poor health without noticing these realities [until] the scales fall from (our) eyes' and (we) start to see clearly again […] the effort to maintain the glamour becomes increasingly onerous and life becomes proportionately less and less satisfying'.

Kabat-Zinn (2005) argues that people will be more likely to find satisfaction in even simple activities if they do them in a 'mindful' way by focussing on the present moment and by being non-judgemental. Martin et al (2012:59) suggest that learning to do things in this manner may not only generate contentment but also alleviate the boredom and stress associated with routinised service work. Pugliesi (1999:130) developed this concept of mindfulness in the context of emotion effort where the agent may exercise control over their own and others' emotions. He argues that:

> 'emotional labour appears to have positive consequences when it is experienced as self-enhancing or when workers are in control of their emotion management. Some qualitative studies suggest when emotional labour involves (the) management of others' emotions, it can be experienced as empowering'.

Erdogan et al (2012) make a number of significant observations in relation to undeveloped areas of research in the field of 'well-being' claiming that management research has little to offer in terms of insights into how the experience of work contributes to the more holistic state of happiness in the form of 'whole life' satisfaction.

While the life satisfaction literature has tended to ignore the influences of the work domain upon happiness, this study later draws attention to this through its examination of service agents' idiographic accounts of their perceived life satisfaction.

The apparent increase in the 'commercialisation of human feeling' (Hochschild, 1983) has been accompanied since the 1980s by growing concerns for the consequences for the happiness and well-being of individual service agents. Occupational psychology and human resource management studies have focused much of their attention upon occupational stress, role strain and 'emotional burnout' (Maslach et al, 2001) amongst customer-facing employees, particularly air cabin crew, cruise ship workers and public house employees (Hochschild, 1983, Bolton and Boyd, 2003, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Bryman, 2004, Seymour and Sandiford, 2005, Bolton, 2009, Brook, 2009b). Nursing has also received substantial attention from researchers investigating workplace emotions (James, 1992, Bolton, 2001, Smith and Gray, 2001, Mann, 2005, Rolfe and Gardner, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Gray, 2010, Hunyh et al, 2008), where the findings of many studies suggest that emotion effort represents one of the most critical and demanding aspects of a nurse's work. Gray (2010:350) asserts that research on the interrelationships between emotional labour, emotional engagement and empathy remains underdeveloped and that an 'important gap in understanding surrounds the centrality and therapeutic value of emotional labour in the lives and well-being of patients'. It is interesting and significant that Gray (2010) and many of his contemporaries place less emphasis upon the therapeutic value of emotion effort for the *service agent*. Such discussion is generally less evident within the emotion literature. Bolton and Boyd (2003:304) suggest that Hochschild's (1983) depictions of organisations are those of 'flat lifeless landscapes' where the significance of culture, imperfection, humour and individual fulfilment in the emotional dynamics of customer service is underplayed. They ask:

> 'Where is any sense of the satisfaction, enjoyment and reward that can be gained from various forms of emotion work? Where is the innuendo, humour and imperfect customer service? Where *are* the cabin crews in (Hochschild's) study?'

Interestingly, while Bolton and Boyd's (2003:304) own study presents flight attendants' testimonies more prominently, these remain predominantly problematised perspectives.They focus upon the negative aspects of emotion issues such as 'abuse', 'emotional numbness' and the physically demanding aspects of service work. Bolton's (2004) later assertion of the intrinsic rewards of emotion work indicates a viewpoint that respondents from her earlier studies omitted. Curley and Royle (2013:107) summarise her view:

> 'workers derive pleasure from serving customers and receiving a positive response [...] in return, positively identifying with work roles when the required emotional display rules are consistent with their self-identity and personal values. The fit between personal values and job roles may also be the reason that some workers decide to take up their jobs to begin with'.

Brotheridge and Grandey's (2002:32) earlier findings that the frequency and duration of customer contact, intensity and variety of emotional expressions and greater expectations to show empathy and friendliness toward customers all relate positively to employees feeling efficacious and accomplished. Additionally, Curley and Royle's (2013) research indicates that some service agents value the emotional challenge and complexity of their role and relish the opportunity to exercise the professional and advanced social skills necessary to perform these aspects of their work. Furthermore, it would appear that respondents actively resist management's efforts to simplify the social interaction forming part of their duties and that they value this aspect of their work as highly as other extrinsic rewards. Antoniadou's (2010) and Martinez-Lucio's (2011) studies also represent examples from a comparatively scant literature conveying the voices or testimonies of service agents experiencing positive moments of 'joy' in addition to instances of those of 'anger' and 'frustration'.

This study explores not only the experiences of service workers as active, knowledgeable agents but also their propensity to determine positively their own sense of well-being and how the adoption of a 'within-person' perspective (Ashkanasy, 2003) may contribute to the understanding of this. Pugliesi (1999) cites Gimlin's (1996)

work which provided evidence that emotional labour focused on others can also diminish status differences between service agents and customers.

Consistent with the phenomenological perspective, the existentialist view sees well-being as a way of 'being-in-the world' in addition to a felt experience. Todres and Galvin (2010) offer an interpretation of Heidegger's (1953, 1962, 1973, 1993) concept of 'homecoming' and present a theory of well-being based on his notion of 'Gegnet' ('abiding expanse'). Todres and Galvin's (2010) theory of well-being is appealing because it suggests a view of well-being from a unique, individually situated perspective that emphasises its existential nature. They suggest that well-being is experienced in two primary dimensions, the first being a form of 'mobility' encompassing a capacity for moving in ways that expand one's life, ranging from *metaphorical* forms of movement and possibility, which include the feeling, sense, and imagery of movement, to *literal* movement. The second dimension sees well-being as a form of '*dwelling'* involving an ability to settle into the 'present moment' and to 'feel at home' with what is there inside or outside oneself (or both).

These two essential 'dwelling' and 'mobility' states of existence provide the basis for Galvin and Todres' (2011) conceptual framework for well-being which, recognises many physical and imagined possibilities for existence. They envisage 'spatial', 'interpersonal', 'temporal', 'mood', 'bodily' and 'identity' elements all as possible forms of 'dwelling' or 'mobility'. It could be inferred from their work, that is not simply the physical or metaphorical space that the individual occupies that governs well-being but the ways in which he inhabits such spaces and makes sense of these by reconciling them with his life objectives. Table 3 presents an adapted version of Galvin and Todres' (2011:3) *'Dwelling-Mobility Lattice',* depicting the interrelationships between the experiential domains of well-being and 'ill-being' and their respective natures. Amongst many other interesting considerations, Galvin and Todres' conceptual framework suggests the multifaceted and subjective nature of well-being which each individual must make sense of alongside those more objective elements proposed by

Seligman (2011). It could serve as a constructive 'prompter' to individuals for both reflective and self-reflexive activity and enable understanding of how well-being possibilities might be enhanced or diminished by the perceived dimensional states which they occupy.

Dimensions/States (Experiential domains of well-being/ well-being possibilities)	Mobility	Dwelling	Mobility-dwelling
	Nature ('Levels') of well-being/ill-being /suffering:		
Spatiality	Adventurous horizons/ Imprisoned	At homeness/ Exiled	Abiding expanse/ Roomless
Temporality	Future orientation/ Blocked Future	Present-centredness/ Elusive Present	Renewal/ No respite
Intersubjectivity	Mysteriousness-interpersonal attractions/ Aversion	Kinship and belonging/ Alienated isolation	Mutual complementarity /Persecution
Mood	Excitement or desire/ Depression	Peacefulness/ Agitation	Mirror-like multi-dimensional fullness/restless gloom
Identity	I can/ I am unable	I am/ I am an object or 'thing'	Layered continuity/I am fragmented
Embodiment	Vitality/ Stasis or exhaustion	Comfort/Bodily discomfort and pain	Grounded Vibrancy/ Torture (painful closing down)

Table 3: *Well-being 'Dwelling-Mobility Lattice'* (adapted from Galvin and Todres, 2011:3)

In the sphere of healthcare, Dalhlberg et al (2010) express concerns that capitalist consumerism superimposes a model of 'patient-centred' care over existential perspectives of well-being and that this may ostensibly provide patients with 'choice and voice' but fail to recognise the individual as a holistic being with the existential freedoms and abilities to make personal well-being choices that may not conveniently fit within the normative 'illness-treatment-cure' rubric. Varul (2010) points to the precarious social position of the chronically ill, in what he refers to as the 'capitalist moral economy', where the choices they make are prompted and partially

predetermined by what is deemed appropriate and efficient. He highlights parallel expectations of the healthy who are expected to embrace 'chronic health' which may constitute only a thin layer of what arguably comprises their overall 'existential' well-being. Dahlberg et al (2009:267) also assert that:

> 'Heidegger's and Merleau-Ponty's reflections on the existential possibilities of being human have convinced us of the importance of including an understanding of people's capacities for interpersonal intimacy and individuality of expression and creativity. Illness or pathology can thus be understood as a truncation of such existential possibilities, a closing down of potential to exercise one's engagement with the world and the future in all the ways that may beckon'.

The picture of well-being that has emerged from this review is one of a complex and subjective phenomenon which is influenced by many subjective and objective factors. It has been seen that well-being is not generally regarded as merely 'the absence of illness' and that, indeed, it may transcend illness depending upon perceptions, interpretations and dispositions of those who conceptualise and experience it. Whilst some of the theoretical ideas explored in this section are related to the field of medicine and healthcare, they also resonate clearly with the world of commercial service and the experience of agents who work within it. Whilst Dahlberg et al (2009) warn of 'falling into the trap of seeing patients as only consumers of care', it is even perhaps more pertinent to alert commercial service organisations, such as airlines, of the dangers of perceiving passengers in a similar way. Arguably the opportunities to foster one's own and others' well-being are not exclusive to the hospital ward or any other occupational area but are instead experientially situated in both physical and metaphorical contexts.

Conclusion to Chapter

This chapter has offered a general appraisal of the conceptualisation, significance and dynamics of emotions and, more specifically, emotions and well-being at work. It has examined the chronological development of knowledge and understanding of emotions as sociological phenomena and why increasing levels of attention continue to be directed towards them in the context of service work environments.

Much of the theoretical work on emotions points to the significance of affective events, disposition, resilience and agency to agents' well-being. The next chapter builds upon the interrelated themes of emotions at work, the role of emotions in social exchange and well-being by examining their relevance to the unique contexts associated with service work. It analyses the particular nature and characteristics of the service industry and explains the study's specific focus upon the airline service and nursing working environments.

Chapter 3: The legacy of emotions in service work

3.1 Introduction (structural overview)

The ethos prevailing within the care sector is very different to that of the commercial service arena and it could be argued that the comparison of nurses' experiences and perceptions of emotion effort with those of cabin crew is inappropriate. This study, contends, however that there are three valid reasons for some comparative dimensions to this research:

1. To obtain perceptions from a more diverse pool of individuals than those more traditionally associated with conventional 'service' work. Escolme-Schmidt (2009) documents that between the wars (1930s) historical connection between the development of nursing and airline cabin crew work, reporting that airline stewardesses were all originally registered nurses. She also asserts that this legacy of nursing being the most suitable profession for recruitment still endures within some major airlines. Whilst the two roles may continue to share common attributes in terms of care and responsibility for others, they have evolved in distinctly different ways in terms of role demands, constraints, complexity and purpose.

2. To add depth and roundedness to an understanding of the phenomenon of emotional self-management through the comparison of nurses' perspectives with those of cabin crew. Considerable research has been conducted relating to emotion work performed by nurses (James, 1992, Bolton, 2001, Smith and Gray, 2001, Mann, 2005, Rolfe and Gardner, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Gray and Smith, 2009,) and cabin crew (Hochschild, 1983, Bolton and Boyd, 2003, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Bolton, 2009). Many of these studies focus upon a particular occupational group but few collect data gathered from others. It could be inferred from these, however, that there are common emotion themes transcending both work contexts (Henderson, 2001, Bolton, 2005, Mann, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Hunyh et al, 2008, Theodosius, 2008, Gray and Smith, 2009).

Theodosius's (2008) work, which compares the emotional labour of cabin crew with nurses, provides a rationale for the further comparison across, in addition to within, sectors where face-to-face social exchange represents a critical element in the agent's work. There have been recent calls for emotion research that transcends occupational boundaries and focuses more directly upon 'individual' perceptions of the relationships between emotion effort and work withdrawal (Hunyh et al, 2008, Korczynski, 2009, Scott and Barnes, 2011). Interestingly, there are considerably fewer cross-sectoral studies that examine the phenomenon of emotion work from an *individual's* viewpoint, where the occupational context remains relevant, but secondary to, that one person's unique perspective.

3. To explore and challenge some of the current perceptions in the literature which position emotion effort on a *'continuum of complexity'* according to its occupational context e.g. Lopez (2006) posits that 'emotional care' is largely confined within a nurse's role and that 'emotional labour' suffices in other forms of service work. Gray's (2010:350) work signposts further research on the interrelationships between emotional labour, emotional engagement and empathy, arguing that an:

> 'important gap in understanding surrounds the centrality and therapeutic value of emotional labour in the lives and well-being of patients'.

This chapter addresses this concern with 'therapeutic value' in the broader context of agent-recipient exchanges, offering a critical appraisal of the landscapes of healthcare and airline operations. It explores how the demands, constraints and challenges of emotion work have evolved alongside chronological developments in these contrasting sectors. The historical connection and development of nursing and air cabin crew work is explored to highlight how evolutionary changes have shaped external and private perceptions of these roles and their emotional demands.

This contributes to a critical understanding of nurses' and cabin crews' evolving self-perceptions, role identification, motivations and aspirations. The research literature indicates differences in emotional complexity, social exchange dynamics and agent-client relationships between these workers. In addition, some studies have conceptualised and compared such roles in terms of their professional status, vocational calling or caring dimensions (James, 1992, Lopez, 2006, Theodosius, 2008). A critical assessment of these differing viewpoints on commercial hospitableness in the air versus nursing care is offered in order to identify specific aspects of the emotional challenges, lived experiences and well-being of cabin crew and nurses that appear contentious, ambiguous or under-researched.

3.2 Service Industries Profile: A Changing Landscape

Within the last 20 years, service work has received increasing levels of attention from social researchers and now occupies a central position in the sociology of work literature. This may be unsurprising as service positions account for 80% of all UK jobs (ONS, 2016) and hospitality and tourism positions alone comprise 10% of the total workforce (Price Waterhouse Cooper, 2016:2). Approximately 300,000 nurses, midwives and health visitors work within the NHS, which is one of the world's largest global employers (NHS Confederation, July 2017). MacDonald and Sirianni (1996) were two of the first researchers who perceived the potential value of analysing and comparing different forms of service work in terms of their inherent challenges and emotional demands. While a wide range of related studies have been undertaken since to fill empirical gaps in knowledge, Korczynski and MacDonald (2009:2) assert that our theoretical understanding and interpretation of it has not kept pace. Thus, we are left with two-dimensional pictures of the pains, pleasures and emotional demands without a conceptual understanding of the nature of service work within which to frame our analysis. Korczynski and MacDonald (2009:3) offer a simple, yet clear, definition of service work as that which involves working *on* people.

Their use of the preposition 'on' distinguishes it from many other forms of work, e.g. scientific research or manufacturing, that involve working *'with'* people. Korczynski and MacDonald (2009:3) assert that the presence of the service recipient within the labour process represents the key distinguishing factor in service work. Zeithaml and Bitner's (1996) four key service characteristics of 'intangibility', 'inseparability', 'variability' and 'perishability' further differentiate the nature of service from the user's perspective. These attributes have combined with an accelerating rate of consumption in modern society to create a growing need for sensitive, resilient and emotionally 'competent' front line employees. The uncertainty and vulnerability of service, whose success depends significantly upon the agent's ability and inclination to deliver it, has created challenges on a number of levels. Against a backdrop of cost and efficiency imperatives, management must continue to search for new ways in which to motivate their employees and develop their emotional competence and resilience. Employees may increasingly struggle to juggle and synthesise contrasting emotional demands against progressively demanding challenging physical and mental work requirements. Finally, the rising tide of consumerism and competition has generated heightened, often conflicting, customer requirements. On the one hand, high quality and uniformity is expected whilst on the other, the customer may lament the passing of imperfect, spontaneous and natural interactive service which has been sacrificed for standardised smiles and scripted exchanges. These challenges and changes continue to alter the patterns of human relations and the lived experiences of service agents at work.

Bryman's (1999:26) concepts of 'Disneyisation' and 'Disneyfication' illustrate how 'magic, mystery and individuality' have been sacrificed for rational efficiency, not just in the field of entertainment but within many customer-facing organisations which ironically now prioritise the marketing of 'experiences' over the mere provision of conventional services. Bryman (1999:39) alerts us to the human implications of this, and the alienating consequences of constant pressure for consistency in service experiences and the perceived need for agents to display socially desired emotions.

He argues that the consequences of increasingly scripted interaction in service work are leading to the progressive deskilling and dehumanisation of service roles and the rapid erosion of intrinsic rewards. Curley and Royle (2013) corroborate these claims, indicating however, that service workers continue actively to resist the imposition of limiting social exchange and feeling rules. Bolton and Houlihan (2009:2) suggest:

> 'the experience of work relies on the material conditions of 'decent work' *and* the support of the human ties that generate respect and dignity'.

They also assert (2005) that much customer service work remains misrepresented and that social researchers need to bring the humanity back into its analysis. Belanger and Edwards' (2013) classification of service is of particular relevance to this study as it provides a clear basis for comparison of the similarities and differences between nursing and other forms of service work from the twin perspectives of work rationalisation and worker engagement in 'use value' generation. Belanger and Edwards (2013:442) also prompt consideration of how customer demands and managerial control exert increasing pressure on the service worker. They suggest that emotional challenges and strains are created by a multiplicity of contrasting influences and conditions such as over–routinisation, depersonalisation, predictability and, paradoxically, unpredictability. Ritzer et al (2010, 2012) associate these conditions with the phenomena of 'prosumption' and 'McDonaldisation', where the customer is cast as a co-producer of a predictable standardised service. Here, the service agent is relegated to a secondary, functional role where the 'use' or the 'exchange' value of what he produces (or both) is obscured and there are few opportunities for meaningful levels of customer engagement.

The growth in consumer control over the worker represents an increasingly predominant theme in the emotion management and consumer psychology literature. The 'triadic' relationships (Lopez, 2010, Belanger and Edwards, 2013) between customer, employer and agent would appear to have collectively shifted to a new space where all three roles have been redefined.

This new space is populated by the customer, who must act as co-producer, the agent who must operate within increasingly confined and routinised service parameters to perform physical, mental and emotional work, and, finally, a conflicted organisation which is pulled by the contrasting imperatives of rational efficiency and the perceived need to offer and deliver superior, distinctive customer service. Korczynski's (2009:83) conceptualisation of the dichotomy created in efficiency imperatives by 'means-end' rationalisation (discussed in Chapter 2) is pertinent to the context of toxicity in exchange relationships as it suggests that it may not be only the specific context and circumstances that shape positive or negative service encounters but the extent to which the participating actors are content within their greatly redefined roles. In order to appreciate the evolution and social construction of these roles and their symbolic meaning for service agents, the next section explores how historical, social and economic forces have shaped their development.

3.3 Historical legacy, connection and development of nursing and air cabin crew roles

This section examines more closely the chronological development of both airline cabin crew and nursing roles and the aspects of their evolution that are interconnected.

3.3.1 The work and life of air cabin crew

Hochschild's (1983) *'The Managed Heart'* spearheaded flight attendants into an increasingly prominent position in sociology of work studies. However, their personalities and working lives have arguably been misrepresented in contemporary culture. Female cabin crew have been alternatively portrayed as vacuous snobs, materialistic pleasure seekers, bossy nannies or serial nymphomaniacs. Their male counterparts have been similarly portrayed, with the addition of the camp gay stereotype to the list. Productions and publications such as '*The High Life*' **(**De Chastelai Smith, 1994), '*View from the Top*' (Barreto 2003), '*Plane Crazy'* (Conn, 2005), and '*The Way Home*' (Bradley, 2005) are examples of how these images have been promulgated in entertainment and popular fiction. Thus, Hodson (2008) asserts that flight attendants remain-over exposed but under-studied as an occupational group.

Earlier representations and recollections conveyed different but perhaps equally misleading interpretations of the role:

> 'Flying unsupported through space gave one a godlike impersonality. For those who could tear themselves loose from the earth there was reward. Not in the physical release only, but in a mental freedom which swept the brain clear of cobwebs and gave one a perspective which made such tragedies as broken hearts shrink from mountains to molehills.'
>
> *(*words of Vida Hurst, Air Stewardess, 1934 in Brodigan, C., (nd)

Hurst's experiences encapsulate much of the mystique and glamour traditionally associated with airline service work and is reminiscent of the mythical status, diabolism and witchcraft associated with human flight before the invention of the first aircraft. Whilst male flight attendants now comprise roughly 25% of the total global workforce, the air stewardess has dominated the world of cabin service since the origins of commercial aviation. Much of the literature on the history of flight attendants reflects this (Hudson, 1972, Barry, 2007, Whitelegg, 2007/2009, Escolme-Schmidt, 2009, Nilson, 2012) and emphasises how this career paradoxically both liberated and constrained many generations of women. As previously mentioned, Boeing's first stewardesses in 1930 were trained nurses and required to wear white nurses' uniforms whilst on board (Whitelegg, 2009, Nilson, 2012). Airlines perceived the need for a new type of flight attendant who would be charged with attending primarily to the physical, medical and psychological needs of air passengers. Many airlines, including Boeing, began to recruit women as flight attendants in preference to men, in line with prevailing stereotypical beliefs on gender attributes that women would naturally gravitate towards maternal and caring activity and the creation of a 'homely space' on the aircraft. Thus, emotion effort was performed by early female flight attendants in two distinct respects. Firstly, they were required to manage their own emotions by controlling whatever feelings of fear they might have in order to produce an outwardly reassuring indication of calm. Secondly, they were required to reason with or counsel passengers who might have been anxious.

Whitelegg (2007:13) attaches a number of meanings relating to 'space', each of which represents a distinct phase in the development of the aviation industry and also landmarks the progressive colonisation of the flight attendant's role by women. He argues that women have collectively worked over the decades to convert:

> '[a] short-term, exploitative and restrictive job with an image of triviality into a long-term professional career with almost unparalleled mobility and autonomy '.

Whitelegg also asserts, however, that just as this was almost achieved, austerity and new global economic forces began to undermine their efforts. He maps three periods in the airline industry's evolution, each of which are associated with flight attendants' changing perceptions of the job's inherent rewards and their own self-identities. All of these rewards relate to feelings of freedom, flexibility and control associated with the work. He uses the terms 'spatial remuneration' to encapsulate these feelings and shows how such 'remuneration' was obtained in different respects during these three distinct eras (summarised in Table 4). Whitelegg (2007) use the word 'space' in terms of its original peripatetic meaning, 'to roam' within the zones of territorial distance, social space and expanded personal time. These collective mobilities afforded flight attendants a lifestyle involving exotic locations and luxury hotels, automatic social status and an escape from routine domesticity. Additionally, and perhaps paradoxically, flexible rostering allowed attendants to organise extended and concentrated periods at home.

Phase	Perceived Rewards	Associated self-identification
Predestination' (1930-1939)	Domestic Escape, Novelty, The experience of flying	Pioneer, Adventure seeker Carer, Rescuer
'Destination' (1940-1970)	Exotic lifestyle, Visits to faraway places	Glamour girl, Social sophisticate,
'Post-destination' (1971-present)	Flexibility, control, autonomy over personal time	Safety Professional

Table 4: *Industry 'Space-Out' phases: Flight Attendants perceived rewards and self-identification (*Adapted from: Whitelegg, 2007:16-18)

Despite the alleged freedoms that a flight attendant's career offered women, Lovegrove (2000) argues that much of feminine glamour, style, grace and poise that became progressively hard-wired into airlines' overall service blueprints ultimately undermined female equality. Stewardesses' uniforms, appearance and their gracious service of food and drink, particularly in the premium cabins, became regarded by international airlines as a vital promotional asset. Lin (2016) suggests that the work of the stewardess goes beyond that of mere promotion and that it also exerts a vital influence on passengers' actual conceptualisation of 'airspace' itself. He argues that the 'lines in the air' have been determined, in many instances, by their 'peopling'. Lin (2016) expands upon his claim with a credible business example of the critical role of the 'Singapore Girls'' emotional labour and promise of care in drawing global passengers through the 'Singapore Hub'. Thus, the writer's claims about the 'corridors of the air' being defined in a 'virtual', 'geographic' and 'business sense' by the emotional promise and appeal of the 'Singapore Girl' has merit. In effect, Lin is claiming that the strength of the employer-branded emotional appeal of certain airline's flight attendants actually do create the 'lines in the sky' from other world destinations directly to the Singapore hub.

In consequence of the rise of feminism in the 1970s, however, a burgeoning literature developed that was directly concerned with the ill-treatment of women in exploited, sexualised roles. Admittedly, Whitelegg's (2007) study and many others on the same subject (Escolme-Schmidt, 2009, Letherby and Reynolds, 2009, Nilson, 2012) are limited in the sense that they focus predominantly upon the history and legacy of female flight attendants. In Whitelegg's work and in other historical accounts of the development of the flight attendant role, the aspirations and motivations of their male counterparts are overshadowed. This observation is also pertinent to studies of the history of nursing (see the next section). In general, this inattention to men in the genealogical study of airline service work can be attributed to the dominance of women in the role from the beginning.

Simpson's (2009) work addresses this apparent neglect and examines the experiences of male flight attendants from the perspectives of their self-identities and 'space'. She also discusses the role of men in other 'caring' occupations, examining how the male embodiment of masculinity is represented in nursing. Her work highlights the challenges of managing identity in such female dominated environments in addition to the negotiation and assertion of difference.

3.3.2 Evolutionary changes in the nursing role in the care sector

The classically 'saintly' and charitable image of nursing developed because of its close relationship to the Church throughout the history of medieval and early modern Europe and has persisted into the present day. However, the outreach work of religious communities such as the Sisters of Charity (Dinan, 2006, McHugh, 2012) showed that nurses also had political agency in shaping systems of public poor relief. Gordon (2006:3) presents the religious connection as a more constraining and self-limiting force both in the professional and personal development of the nurse

> 'Nurses in religious orders were socialised to sacrifice every shred of their individual identity, to be obedient members of an anonymous mass. Religious nurses were taught not to claim credit for their work and accomplishments but were instead supposed to view themselves as divine instruments who willingly assigned the credit for their accomplishments to God, the Bishop, the Abbot, or the Mother Superior.'

Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) is generally regarded as the founder of modern nursing and her ministering of military patients at Scutari, Turkey, during the Crimean War continues to be cited as an exemplar of psychological and physical care (Bullough and Bullough, 1969). Apart from her undisputed contribution to the profession's practical knowledge base, Nightingale is historically significant in terms of the modern conceptualisation of the nursing role. Thus, she is representative of a competent and caring professional in a secular context as opposed to a strictly religious one.

Nightingale's writings clearly indicate that a nurse, in addition to demonstrating compassion, care and competence, must act as an intelligent, autonomous being who must exercise discretion and judgment. This is exemplified in the extract below from her '*Notes on Nursing*':

> 'Remember that sick cookery should do half the work of your poor patient's weak digestion […]. If the nurse is an intelligent being, and not a mere carrier of diets to and from the patient, let her exercise her intelligence in these things'.

([1859], 1992:38)

Gordon (2006) asserts that Nightingale adapted the 'religious template' to assist women who wished, or indeed needed, to work outside the domestic context in a society characterised by rigid gender roles. Religious images, costumes, language and metaphors were borrowed in order to create an androgynous, morally superior impression and effectively desexualise women. For example, the nun's 'cornette' was transformed into the nurse's cap, which is still evident in more formalised healthcare environments. Nightingale's interventions thus served to promulgate nursing as self-sacrificing, impartial, devotional, altruistic work, which is an impression that still endures. There were many other pioneering nursing figures during the 19th and early-20th centuries such as Isabel Hampton Robb who is credited with laying the foundation of education and professionalisation within U.S. nursing. Since then, the pace of developments within nursing have brought about a general perception of it as a specialised occupation, an academic discipline and a science. Although tensions, status and reward issues remain prominent, many view the occupation as autonomous from, as opposed to ancillary to, the medical profession. Nurses are now increasingly accepted as active agents in medical diagnosis, prescription, and treatment. Interestingly, the profession has been increasingly repopulated by men who now view nursing work as the specialised application of knowledge within a professional discipline (Bach, 2013).

Amongst other representations, nurses have been stereotypically portrayed as 'angels of mercy' or 'sex sirens', images which have been popularised in film and works of fiction and are also captured in Muff's (1982: 211) typology (Table 5).

Stereotype	*Associations*	*Contradictions*
Ministering Angel (or Angels with pretty faces and empty heads)	Self-sacrifice, devoted ministration	Saintly perfection is unachievable
The Battle Axe or monstrous figure	Asexual, huge, tyrannical, fun-crushing	Not compatible with modern-day views on effective leadership
Torturer	Bullying, sadistic. Similar to above but no clearly associated physical characteristics	Stereotype developed through media misrepresentation of rare occurrences
Naughty nurse/idiot	Sex symbol	Image promulgated by media representation and fantasy
Physician's Handmaiden	Subservient and subordinate to the medical profession. Little or no autonomy	Contemporary developments of nursing as a science and a profession
Woman in White	Anonymous, sterile, impersonal or ghostly figure	Image based on disappearing traditions of self-presentation

Table 5: *Typology of nursing stereotypes* (adapted from Muff, 1982:211)

In the context of stereotyping, Delacour (1991:413) asserts that:

> 'it is important that we analyse the process through which dysfunctional images and discourses are maintained. Moreover, it is useful to regard *(the)* reading *(of)* media as a politically situated and critical activity for the nursing profession.'

He argues that the development of understanding of how nursing is perceived, particularly by nurses themselves, is of critical importance on a number of levels. He suggests that even inaccurate or totally misrepresentative stereotypes may remain for long periods within the sphere of public awareness and may become naturalised into 'categories of the normal, the real, and the healthy and desirable' (ibid). Darbyshire and Gordon (2005:71) and Darbyshire (2010) expand this idea by suggesting that

popular public beliefs about the importance of nursing are created through history, folklore, iconography and their representation in the media (e.g. Williams, 1980, Lee, 2006/2012). With Hawkins (1993) they suggest that nurses need to combat unhelpful stereotypes, particularly if these jeopardise their autonomy and marginalise them from important decision-making activity in their roles. They also posit that nurses' ability to influence their working relationships and offer high quality patient care is directly related to how they determine their own public image. It also follows that the development of critical views by nurses on their own historical and contemporary representation will influence their self-perception. Cooley's (1902) concept of the 'looking-glass' self (discussed in Chapter 2) relates here to nurses' interpretations of how others see them. Their self-image and sense of self-worth may be constructed from this and may exert a significant influence upon the nature of their social and emotional exchanges with patients and colleagues. Roach's (2002) '6 C's of caring' framework ('Compassion', Competence', 'Confidence', 'Conscience', 'Commitment', 'Comportment') succinctly articulates the desirable attributes of 'caring' within the health professions. Importantly, this framework incorporates two key considerations in nurses' work: the need to care *for* and care *about* the patients they look after. In this respect, Mayerhoff's (1971:19) earlier observation helps to dismiss any misconceptions as to what is involved:

> 'We sometimes speak as if caring did not require knowledge, as if caring for someone, for example, were simply a matter of good intentions or warm regard. But, in order to care I must understand the other's needs and I must be able to respond properly to them, and clearly good intentions do not guarantee this.'

Whilst Meyerhoff's (1971) and Roache's (2002) conceptualisations of a nursing ideal are plausible and appealing, it is abundantly clear from recent reports on healthcare provision on both sides of the Atlantic that many patients' experiences have departed from this idealised perception of nursing care (Meier, 1999, Francis, 2010/ 2013).

This may be seen in the recent 2010/2013 'Report of the Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust Public Inquiry' and its call for greater compassion and care in nursing. The 2013 report talks of the 'appalling suffering of many patients' (Francis, 2013:9) and a 'failure to tackle challenges to the building up of a positive culture, in nursing in particular' (Francis, 2013:10). An out-of-context reading of these findings might prompt one to ask whether nursing appears to be losing its essence of caring; however, a more fundamental question relates to the understanding of the lived experiences of nurses in these situations and whether the 'triadic' patient-nurse-employer relationship (Belanger and Edwards, 2013) has altered in a way that makes rational efficiency incompatible with meeting patient needs in a competent, committed and compassionate way.

3.4 'Hospitality' in private and commercial care

Roach's (2002) '6C' typology of caring, which was briefly outlined in the section above, articulates what an 'ideal' nurse does when he is caring for a patient. However, the intertwining and identification of 'caring' within specific occupational roles may potentially cause us to overlook a popular ontological position that to 'care' is, in fact, a fundamental human disposition. Therefore, we may care for and about someone because we are human and not simply because of our occupational role. I share this ontological belief, which directly underpins this research, and the investigation of nurses' and flight attendants' agency to emotionally self-manage is underpinned by an implicit assumption that, as human beings, they are predisposed to care about those whom they serve.

The roots, rituals and practices of hospitality (or 'hospitableness') transcend many occupational boundaries, including those of airline service and nursing. These occupations share 'non-commercial' origins in early history; namely the provision of welcome, food, drink, shelter, refreshment, spiritual consolation and medical care. The shared etymology of the words 'hospitality', 'host' and hospital' also point to these

similar origins in terms of common activities associated with each term (on-line etymology dictionary, 2014). The mid-15th and 13th century meanings of 'hospital' are referred to as 'institution for sick people' and 'shelter for the needy'. This interpretation built upon the Latin word 'hospitale' ('guest-house' or inn).The origins of hospitality lie within the private domain and, arguably, began with man first stepping out of his cave and sharing food, drink and companionship with his neighbour. Lashley (2017: 3) points out that over the centuries, many Christian writers linked the provision of hospitality with the distinctive feature associated with 'holy' behaviour. McClellan and Dorn (2006) and Komter and Van Leer (2012) assert that 'moral obligation' to provide for strangers has characterised nursing care and hospitality provision since the earliest times. Lugosi (2014: 75) highlights the growing interest in academic research in the 'ethics of welcoming, inclusion and the nature of power relationships between host and guest and the nature of obligation and reciprocity'.

Komter and Van Leer (2012:11) further explain the significance of the philosophical principles of 'reciprocity' and the 'gift exchange' in relation to the fundamental interactions between human beings. They specify three particular obligations that relate to the 'gift exchange': the obligation to give, the obligation to receive and the obligation to return the gift (Bolton 2000a). It is argued that both private and public hospitable spaces lend themselves to such reciprocity. Some examples of this include the counter-gesture of bringing flowers when invited to a dinner party or a passenger's simple smile of thanks to a flight attendant who serves him dinner. Thus, in some commercial and social encounters, the offering of emotional gifts may be unidirectional, unequal or even non-existent. Komter and Van Leer make interesting observations on the power relations and imbalances inherent in the provision of hospitality and cite the dominant manipulative host who plies his over-indulged guest with fine food and wine that he will never be in a position to reciprocate. In commercial and public contexts, the potentially disruptive consequences of imbalanced social exchanges are evident. Examples of this could include the well-meaning, over-solicitous nurse who 'gives too much' and continually invades a patient's private space

or the flight attendant that offers excessive or unwelcome attention to one passenger. In cases where the customer or patient withholds their gratitude and fails to acknowledge the service offered, this may result in agents experiencing feelings of disempowerment, which lead to longer-term 'toxic' effects upon their well-being and ability to interact positively with those they serve (Young et al, 2003, Kiefer and Barclay, 2012).

Curley and Royle (2013) document agents' views of passengers' indifference in the context of the more fundamental issue of service work degradation. This had resulted in the loss of many crew members' professional pride, autonomy and, for some, their feelings of self-worth. Respondents reported that the public's misguided perceptions of the role and its inaccurate portrayal in the media had exacerbated the inherent challenges of the job and rendered the work more demoralising and depressing. In the context of disempowerment, Lugosi (2014:77) is critical of Brotherton's (1999: 168) conceptualisation of hospitality as 'a contemporaneous human exchange, which is voluntarily entered into, and designed to enhance the mutual well-being of the parties'. This is because Brotherton appears to stress 'mutual well-being', which Lugosi argues:

'ignores asymmetries of power and the potentially oppressive nature of hospitality transactions *[and that]* it focuses narrowly on provision which does not address the importance of transactions, particularly issues surrounding reward, compensation and reciprocity *[and]* social interaction'.

It would appear that Lugosi's assertions are clearly applicable to nursing and cabin crew work. Gabriel (2010:45) argues, however, that:

'people at work often engage with others emotionally in ways that are not directly tied into the formal job requirements'.

He claims that many agents will develop warm and supportive relationships with their colleagues and customers out of personal choice. He also suggests that the increasing

conceptualisation of emotions as 'commodified' experiences overlooks that service agents, as human beings, may wish to engage in personally meaningful relationships. It could be argued that the degree of 'emotional labour' required in a work-related social exchange situation will not be consistent within one individual or may be subject to substantial temporal and situational variations. It is also possible that in some instances emotional labour may not be manifested at all because there is no inducement, suppression or regulation of emotions involved. In such situations, agents' dispositions may represent a perfect fit with organisational feeling rules but simultaneously prompt exchanges that satisfy their personal and social needs without conflicting with their professional duties. Lugosi's (2007:227) assertion on the liminal space between private and commercial hospitality (see Chapter 2) is pertinent here. It raises questions on the ambiguities of the multiple manifestations of hospitality, but perhaps more significantly, the emotional 'entanglement' that may result from agents' difficulties in distinguishing between their self-created professional 'faces' and personal feelings.

Gabriel's (2009b/2010) work corroborates Bolton's (2003, 2005) findings that caring *about,* in addition to caring *for*, the person are not exclusive to nursing and the other caring professions. However, Lopez (2006) positions emotion effort on a continuum between emotional 'labour' and emotional 'care' and presents an interesting argument for the distinction between these two concepts. Gabriel (2009b/2010) argues that organised emotional care is not relevant to many kinds of service work outside care work settings and asserts that, in situations where there are large numbers of customers awaiting service, emotional 'labour' will suffice. He suggests that fast moving environments such as popular catering are not conducive to relationship-building between service provider and recipient despite his somewhat puzzling acknowledgment of Tolich's (1993:135) findings on supermarket checkout clerks which refer to their relationships with customers as 'genuine and pleasurable'. Whilst Lopez's logic may be convincing, it dismisses more optimistic findings regarding human nature which suggest that service agents will find ways to build positive relationships in spite

of their transient and busy work environments (Bolton, 2005, Gabriel, 2009b, Sheehan, 2012). To some extent, such findings indicate that certain agents are more adept at responding to conflicting consumer demands which contribute to the inherent paradoxes of service work (see section 3.2 on 'service industries' profile). Lopez (2006:136), however, suggests a useful starting point from which to investigate emotion effort in both commercial service and care work settings. It also prompts interesting questions relating to the 'emotional gift exchange' and care giving in both contexts.

Theodosius (2008) argues that, in nursing, a full understanding of the patient from all bio-psychosocial perspectives is required in order to deliver appropriate care. This care is reciprocated in the emotional exchange by patients' gratitude. In a slightly different respect, the flight attendants at Delta Airlines that Hochschild (1983) researched may have benefited from a form of reciprocity from passengers whom they were encouraged to treat as though they were 'guests in their own home'. Idealised cabin service was linked to the external metaphor of homely welcoming and effusive service. Similarly, idealistic nursing care was sometimes represented by godly self-sacrifice and devotion offered within the confines of a religious institution. Thus, both guest and patient experiences mirrored the genuine, caring hospitality experienced within private domestic spaces.

3.5 Emotional exchange relationships in nursing and airline service

There is a growing emotion management literature (Hochschild, 1983, Henderson, 2001, Mann, 1999, Mann, 2004, Bolton, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Hunyh et al, 2008, Theodosius, 2008, Gray, 2010) which suggests that there are common emotion work themes running in parallel within nursing and commercial service research. Theodosius's (2008) work comparing the emotional labour of airline service agents with nurses provides a rationale for the further comparison across, in addition to within, sectors where face-to-face social exchange represents a critical element in the

agent's work. Korczynski's (2003:57) work relating to the general context of positive and negative social exchange (see Chapter 2) develops Hochschild's (1983) concept of 'collective emotional labour' theorising on the particular reasons for the pleasures and pains of interactive service work. These reasons appear to have particular resonance with the work of nurses and flight attendants. In common with other contemporary studies (Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Lopez, 2006, Theodosius 2008, Kiefer and Barclay, 2012), Korczynski's focus is upon the negative consequences of exchange relationships between agent and service recipient.

Korczynski argues that the adverse effects of service recipients' irate abuse towards service agents are compounded by two significant factors. Firstly, he suggests that many service workers (which, arguably, would include nurses in this instance) are positively disposed to customers and seek meaning and pleasure from helping them. When their efforts are undermined, devalued or misinterpreted, agents will often experience a strong sense of rejection. Secondly, Korczynski (2003:57) argues that because service agents are usually recruited on the basis of 'pro-customer' attitudes, the agents' sense of professional self-image is constructed around the 'wider social mores of consumption-based identity'. Thus, agents may interpret toxic or unsuccessful emotional exchanges with service recipients as personal failures which, in turn, may erode their sense of professional identity and ability. Such exchanges may be further compounded by service recipients' prejudices that develop in consequence of their stereotypical perceptions of agents' 'performative front' (Goffman's, 1959) and thus create communication problems. These include the compromising of service recipients' predisposition to recognise and accept 'emotional gifts' (Bolton and Boyd 2003; Benmore and Lynch 2011) and the undermining of a service agent's authority as a result of their recipients' decreased respect and willingness to take advice. Groth and Grandey (2012:223) suggest that the solution to controlling such downward 'negative exchange spirals' partly lies in the level of organisational support that is provided to agents on the service front line. They suggest that it behoves the organization to foster a 'climate for service' which conveys internally and to service users:

'the importance of providing excellent customer service (which also) […] emphasizes the value of the employee, employee engagement and satisfaction'

In the context of healthcare environments, Gray (2010: 352) asserts that 'intimacy, informal relations and emotional labour are acknowledged as 'important' by nurse and patient and yet such interactions are 'tacit' and thus go unrecognised in performance records. Hochschild (2012a: xii) refers to this invisibility of emotional labour and reports the words of a modern nurse who observes of the human, caring aspects of her work efforts:

'if something isn't on the chart, it didn't happen'.

In a commercial context, however, the more formal assessments of service for such intangible attributes as 'courtesy', 'personality' 'friendliness' and warmth' may provide crude indicators of the presence or absence of emotional labour (e.g. mystery shopper). This respective 'tacitness' and 'transparency' of emotional labour suggests that emotion effort in one occupational context might be better understood if compared against the experiences of individuals in other areas of service work. Theodosius's (2008) research illustrated the discussion in Chapter 2 regarding the agency of customer and employee in the determination of positive and negative exchanges, with numerous examples of the volatile and unequal power relationships between nurse and patient. Her 'vignette' on 'the murderer' (2008:65) provides a poignant example of the hostile vilification of a nurse by a patient's relative following the death of her sister on the nurse's watch. Theodosius (2006: 899) cites the 'deep unconscious need to be loved' as one of the possible reasons that a nurse enters the profession and that he is also prepared to perform many unpleasant caring duties in order to achieve this end. According to Hochschild (1983:76), this nurse is operating within an 'emotional system' where payment comes in the form of 'respect with feeling' as opposed to mere pecuniary exchange.

Patients' love and gratitude form part of the psychological rate of exchange and the nurse's sacrifice in this case is based upon an expectation of reciprocity. Hochschild (1983:86), however, asserts additionally that:

> 'where customer is king, unequal exchanges are normal, and from the beginning customer and client assume different rights to feeling and display'.

Bolton (2005:57) goes further than Lopez's (2006) and Theodosius's delineations (see Chapter 2) between emotional *labour* in commercial service and emotional care in *nursing.* She argues that care is offered as a 'commodity' in the commercial sector and is never differentiated from care as a 'gift'. This is difficult to understand considering that many service users may recognise that the care experienced is augmented beyond the organisationally prescribed and remunerated. Such care may be underpinned by philanthropic, altruistic or other 'human' motivations and be characterised by an individual service agent's desire to offer much more than an acceptable minimum. Bolton's somewhat puzzling and unsubstantiated assertion appears to be based upon her view that a precise transactionary value cannot be placed upon a professional–patient relationship. In such healthcare environments, she argues that the 'care' offered cannot be recognised in terms of its material 'worth'. The difficulty with Bolton's argument is that consumerism continues to permeate commercial and not-for-profit environments and that service users such as the NHS patient are becoming increasingly aware of their rights and entitlements despite the recent systemic failures within the health services. It is also evident from the Francis reports (2010 and 2013) that many healthcare workers struggle to deliver even the most basic forms of emotional labour, let alone the 'sentimental work' to which Bolton (2005:56) also refers. Thus, it would appear that Theodosius's (2006) idealised emotional exchanges between patients and nurses are far from ubiquitous and that the fragile existence of such exchanges are contingent upon a multiplicity of external factors over which service agents may have limited or no influence.

Meier's (1999) work in the USA reveals disturbing accounts about patient care that contradict the nursing ideal presented by Theodosius (2008:53) where she suggests that the nurse offers emotional labour within a holistic care which is as part of a 'collective therapeutic relationship. Theodosius (2008:47) acknowledges, however, Bolton's view (2001:86) that emotion work, although critical to nursing practice, has become marginalised. Nurses, who would like to be able to come to terms with their feelings in situations such as the loss of a patient, no longer have time to do this. Instead, they devote what few resources they have to maintaining and presenting an acceptable 'persona' such as a breezy, bustling nurse. Emotional labour becomes a commodity where they must present different faces 'like puppets on a string'. Nurses may experience intense interpersonal involvement with patients but, it is argued (Lopez, 2006, Gray 2010), they must manage such involvement in an increasingly time-and-resource efficient manner. It is unsurprising, therefore, that nursing work is often conceptualised as a high-stress occupation and Mann's (2005:155) study cites earlier large scale NHS research findings on emotional labour and stress in nursing which claimed that more than 28% of nurses were suffering from at least minor mental health problems such as anxiety and depression. This compared with a norm of 18% experienced by the general working population.

Theodosius's (2008) work, aptly conveys the emotional demands, tensions and challenges through a range of extended 'vignettes', each of which deals anecdotally with a different aspect of the lived emotional experiences of nurses at work. These vignettes indicate that the realities of the emotional demands in contemporary nursing relate more closely to those of Hochschild's (1983) and Curley and Royle's (2013) flight attendants than to the nursing ideal that she actually depicts. Theodosius (2008: 53) suggests that the key differences between these two service roles should relate to the relative degrees of collaborative, therapeutic and emotional interaction between nurse-patient and flight attendant-passenger respectively. Table 6 below depicts Theodosius's assertions on the differences between the emotional labour of nurses and flight attendants.

While some of these differences are difficult to dispute, Theodosius's perspectives are contentious as they appear to relegate the interactive work of flight attendants to a 'second division' of emotional labour. For Theodosius, the emotional labour of nurses forms part of what she refers to as 'holistic' care whereas, by inference, flight attendants' emotional labour is merely a commodified augmentation of the service offering. Equally, the nurse's relationship with a patient is supposedly 'therapeutic', whereas the flight attendant's fleeting relationship with a passenger is superficial. Theodosius also suggests that emotional labour is needed by patients because of their vulnerability and (presumably) that their treatment and care is contingent upon it. Again, by inference, flight attendants' emotional labour may represent a desirable enhancement of the service but is not essential, in the broader sense, to a passenger's health and well-being (see Table 6 below).

Nurses' emotional labour: (Theodosius's assertions)	Flight attendants' emotional labour: (Logical inference)
Part of *holistic* nursing care	Commodified augmentation of service offering
Part of a collaborative, interactive and relational process involved in developing a therapeutic relationship between the nurse and her patient. Emotional labour can be more than the management of emotion in one given moment of time	A fleeting superficial presentation of appropriate 'feeling' and/or bodily display rules
Needed by patients because they are vulnerable; emotional labour is therefore implicated in mediating power and trust within the caring relationship	A desirable enhancement of the service but is not essential
Involves an emotional exchange. Emotional labour therefore involves an exchange of emotions	Does not involve an exchange of genuine feeling but is part of a commercial exchange transaction that is underpinned by a passenger's service expectations and a flight attendant's entitlement for pecuniary reward

Table 6: *An adapted comparison of Theodosius's (2008:53) claims relating to the key differences between the emotional labour of nurses and flight attendants.*

Theodosius's views on the distinctive aspects of a nurse's emotional labour appear to mirror the stereotypical, idealised perceptions that nurses are able to care and actually do care in a collaborative and therapeutic way.

Nonetheless, she provides copious examples in her own research that suggest the opposite is the case. For example, in her vignette 'Half Measures' (2008:24), she depicts a speeded-up hospital environment where nurses struggle to deliver even the minimum levels of physical care and psychological reassurance that patients need. These pressures render emotional exchanges with patients, at best, fleeting or, at worst non-existent, reflecting Meier's (1999) accounts of negative patient experiences in US healthcare. It is also relevant to consider the relationship between social role expectations and agents' discretion in their performance of emotional labour. It has been seen in this chapter's historical analysis of the nurse's role that the 'angel of mercy' stereotype (Muff, 1982) still represents one of the strongest and most positive images. Despite the recent well-documented failings in the UK healthcare system, self-sacrifice and devotion continue to represent the norm as opposed to the exception in public perceptions of the nurse. Thus, there is less room for the nurse to manoeuvre emotionally within such norms of behaviour where 'going the extra mile' represents a standard patient expectation rather than commendable behaviour. The public expectations of a flight attendant may be more modest, though, where passengers will expect crew members to offer a courteous, efficient service and to remain pleasant throughout the exchange.

Some flight attendants' recent struggles for dignity and control in their work relate, nevertheless to a desire to retain or reclaim a self-identity built upon professionalism and their discretion to offer skilled emotion management (Curley and Royle, 2013). Such flight attendants perceive themselves as multi-skilled, where their work combines technical competence, sophisticated emotional exchange and responsibility for the immediate care and well-being of their passengers. There are many accounts of where routinised airline service work suddenly becomes intensely challenging. There is probably no better example of this than the 9/11 case of Amy Sweeney, the American Airlines Flight 11 stewardess whose bravery on that fateful day led to the subsequent foundation of the 'Madeleine Amy Sweeney Award for Civilian Bravery'. Whitelegg (2007:21) reports that, after the tragic event, Sweeney's husband asserted that 'she

would have said she was "just doing her job" 'and that while her colleagues expressed enormous admiration for her actions, they would have been offended by any suggestion that they would have done anything different themselves in the same situation. Such testimonies might suggest a need to reconsider the perception that 'caring about' is primarily the prerogative of health professions and that other service occupations are restricted to caring 'for' service recipients. Theodosius (2006:900) reminds us of Burkitt's (2002) claim that all social and emotional interaction is 'relational' and cites Bion's (1979) assertion (cited in Symington, 1986) that:

> 'when two characters of personalities meet, an emotional storm is created. If they make a sufficient contact to be aware of each other, an emotional state is produced by the conjunction of these two individuals'.

What is important about these assertions is that they acknowledge that the experience of emotion that occurs between people is not only shaped by social feeling and interaction rules (as the earlier work of Hochschild inferred) but by a distinctive chemistry that may be unique to those two people and the place and time in which they meet. Both Bolton and Boyd's (2003: 304) and Theodosius's (2006:901) work criticise Hochschild's (1983) for relegating passengers to the role of 'passive participants' or for ignoring the spontaneous interaction between flight attendants themselves. Theodosius's (2006) criticisms of Hochschild (1983) may be justified because she proceeded to conduct her own idiographic study of the emotional labour of nurses in 2008 addressing the social interactions between 'real people' and their idiographic complexity. Bolton and Boyd's (2003) mixed method approach in their study, however, may have inhibited their ability to collect rounded, individualized reflections on the unique dynamics of emotional and social exchange. Their study involved 926 participants in a semi-structured questionnaire and ten structured interviews with trade union officials. Interestingly, the data were drawn from a previous 1998 study whose primary focus was the exploration of airline crews' working conditions and occupational health as opposed to specific issues relating to emotional labour.

Thus, Bolton and Boyd's (2003) criticisms regarding the absence of 'real' voices in Hochschild's (1983) 'The Managed Heart' could equally well be levelled at their own work. Therefore, it was important for this study to establish an internally consistent methodological approach that could potentially unveil and understand the differential complexity of the 'unique' lived experiences of agents and the interactions between each other and their service recipients.

3.6 Occupational stress and 'communities of coping'

This section examines the literature relating to occupational stress and individual and collective approaches to coping with it in service work.

3.6.1 Conceptualisations of occupational stress

Pollock (1988:381) argues that 'very little has been confidently established about the relationship between stress and illness and further asserts that 'the precise nature of stress itself eludes definition and there is no consensus as to what it encompasses'. Blaug et al (2007:14) also suggest that the concept of 'occupational stress' is elusive and refer back to Pollock's (1988) earlier claim that the term has become:

> 'so vacuous that it represents an obstacle rather than an aid to research, and that further investigation of the relationships which the stress theory attempts to elucidate would get on better without it'.

The phenomenon of occupational stress is now, however, well documented within the occupational health and well-being literature and there is a multiplicity of research studies in existence which explore certain aspects of stress and its relationship with psychological and physical health. Despite the continuing lack of agreement upon the precise nature of occupational stress, it is now almost universally acknowledged that different forms of interactive service work can be stressful and emotionally draining (Pugliesi, 1999, Bohle and Quinlan 2000, Bolton, 2001/2003, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Bohle et al, 2004, Lo and Lam, 2005, Hannif et al, 2006, Partridge and Goodman, 2007,

Korczynski, 2008, Rose and Glass, 2010). Thus, despite Pollack's claim as endorsed by Blaug et al, there remains a need to reach a common understanding of how occupational stress may be defined and the factors that may contribute to it. The European Commission Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs' research publication 'Guidance on work-related stress' (2000: 13) provides a helpful interpretation of occupational stress as:

> 'The emotional, cognitive, behavioural and physiological reaction to aversive and noxious aspects of work, work environments and work organisations. It is a state characterised by high levels of arousal and distress and often by feelings of not coping.'

Tourigny et al's (2005:71) research with Japanese airline employees indicated the complex interrelationships between occupational stress and emotional exhaustion on the one hand and depersonalisation and a diminished sense of personal accomplishment on the other. They argue that:

> 'when airline service employees experience burnout episodes without appropriate coping mechanisms they are likely to suffer from psychological distress which can lead to severe symptoms of depression'.

This finding corresponds with those of Mann (2005:155) documenting extensive NHS research which concluded that more than 28% of NHS nurses were suffering from at least one depression-related mental health problem. O'Neill and Davis's (2011) research amongst hospitality employees found that employee and co-worker stressors were linked to more negative physical health symptoms. This finding is, perhaps, unsurprising considering the extensive medical research that has already been conducted relating to the correlation between psychological stress and physical health outside the hospitality industry. Nonetheless, O'Neill and Davis (2011:389) make some interesting claims as to the sources of occupational stress amongst hospitality employees:

'employees reported much more employee-related than guest-related tensions and stressors. The message for the industry appears to be that although working with guests may at times be challenging and difficult, arguments and tensions among fellow employees turned out to be more prevalent than tensions and stressors related to guests in this study. On the other hand, typical hotel employees may often garner significant positive psychological nourishment from guests'.

Other studies on occupational stress within the service industries have also pointed to other physical and psychological causes. These include the variable quality of reported working conditions, safety concerns, increased employee surveillance and the erosion of workers' privacy (Lo and Lamm, 2005). In addition, decreasing job security associated with unequal employee-employer power, a growing 'grey' economy and the increasing use of contractual fringe workers have also contributed to a general malaise within both public and commercial service environments.

3. 6.2 Individual coping strategies and mechanisms

At an individual ('within-person') level, the study of coping strategies focuses upon the behaviours and emotional reactions that result from 'affective' events occurring in the course of an employee's working life. Ashkanasy and Humphrey (2011) suggest this level is best understood in terms of 'affective events theory' (AET) (Weiss and Cropanzano, in Staw and Cummings, 1996), which relates principally to predominantly short-term variations in the emotions and moods of individual agents. The findings of many studies within the last two decades that have applied AET to the working environment generally indicate the differential effects of affective events upon positive and negative mood respectively (e.g. Isen 1987/2002, Fredrickson, 2001, Amabile et al, 2005). Perhaps unsurprisingly, these studies have consistently linked positive mood, job satisfaction and creativity with employees' positive, pleasant experiences of 'events'. Conversely, the opposite applies to their negative experiences. Interestingly, however, some studies have suggested positive correlation between employees' experience of negative affect and their effectiveness.

Staw and Barsade (1993:304) refer to this as the 'sadder but wiser' hypothesis. Such behaviours could be explained by negative motivation theory in which employees are driven by the need to extricate themselves from unpleasant situations by working harder. Later studies on emotional labour (e.g. Beal et al, 2006), however, have found that negative affect is generally associated with a reduced capacity and inclination to maintain the display rules prescribed by organisations.

Whilst the logic of AET is difficult to dispute, it excludes the contingent factors relating to personality, trait and emotional intelligence which shape employees' responses not only to immediate affective events but to their entire working environment. In consequence, this discussion on 'coping strategies' focuses particularly upon the 'between-person' variations and 'interpersonal' emotional dynamics. Such a focus is also justified in the context of this study's overall research objectives which relate to development of understanding of the ways in which individuals emotionally self-manage at work. Barbalet's (2002) sociological analysis suggested that emotions continue to be conceptualised as negative forces that need to be supressed, controlled or managed in a comparable manner to stress. Whilst more recent work (Clarke et al, 2007) has reappraised the potential of emotions as positive, enabling and vital forces in social and commercial life, the theoretical polarisation between emotion and reason persists in the literature. An increasing community of researchers contest the idea that emotions and how we deal with them should be principally studied from the perspective of how they are managed (Theodosius, 2006/2008, Hede, 2010). Theodosius (2006) reminds us that research has sometimes incorrectly ignored that some emotions are autonomous from sociological influence and so cannot be controlled. She posits, however, that they can be understood in terms of their interactive relational nature with social influences and that such understanding offers valuable insights into who we are and how we behave at work. Chapter 2 showed how emotional, cognitive, behavioural and physiological reactions each contributed to the individual's experience of work and that such reactions were contingent upon a multiplicity of personality, attitudinal, environmental and social factors.

The nature and levels of occupational stress encountered is the result of how such factors interact with 'aversive and noxious aspects of work, work environments and work organisations' (European Commission 2000: 13). The debate continues on the 'nature vs. nurture' debate on emotions and individuals' active agency in controlling their negative aspects (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987, Goleman, 1995, Morris and Feldman, 1996, Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002, Kinman, 2009, Blau et al, 2010) Bolton (2005), however, makes a common-sense assertion that individuals can also be self-aware and psychologically well-adjusted agents deriving satisfaction from the emotional challenges associated with their work. This prompts a consideration of how theoretical ideas may apply to the social and personal construction of nurses' and cabin crews' self-identities and how these, in turn, may affect their coping strategies and behaviours. In the context of identity, it is interesting that some traditional stereotypes of nursing and airline service (e.g. Muff's typology, 1982) continue to endure, albeit in varying degrees of social credibility and prominence. Such perceptions have not been created and discarded in a historical or chronological sequence but have evolved in a genealogical fashion where the stereotypical images remain interconnected. The theories of 'selfhood' (Mead, 1934, Blumer, 1969, Stets and Burke, 2003) discussed in Chapter 2 offer some further signposts for the interpretation of the symbiotic relationship between the socially constructed self and associated individual behaviours.

The stereotypes associated with a professional role do not merely present caricatures but also indicate to agents how they are perceived by others and the associated behavioural expectations. This has implications for the agent's construction of 'selfhood' (Mead, 1913/1934 Stets and Burke, 2003) and his determination of an acceptable 'working copy' of himself based upon his interpretation of stereotypical perceptions and the meaning of his recent social interactions. Goffman's (1959) twin concepts of public behaviour suggest that individuals self-present in two different modes, 'front stage' when they are 'switched on' to portray a public persona for others and 'back-stage' when individuals 'let down their guard' (in a service context equating

to physical spaces to which the recipient has no access). Thus, 'selfhood' theory also raises issues relating to the construction of individuals' 'multiple-selves' which manifest themselves in various 'front-stage' and 'back-stage' service environments or indeed in 'off-stage' private zones that are entirely separate from the workplace. 'Backstage' or even 'offstage' zones may not necessarily be spaces where individuals can really be 'themselves'. Instead, the agent may create further 'working copies' (alternative selves) created for particular contexts. For example, in the case of 'backstage' areas, such as nurses' off-ward offices or flight attendants' aircraft galleys, the agent may still be 'acting' but applying different feeling and behavioural rules towards colleagues. Hochschild (2003) discusses the increasing complexity of the liminal emotional spaces between personal, social and commercial life. She provides (2012b) a particularly poignant example in the case of the Sri Lankan nanny who has come to America to care for the children of an American family. Economic necessity had forced her to leave her own children at home in the hands of relatives and remit her earnings home to ensure their survival. The nanny must create multiple selves for herself where each individual 'self' serves as a 'shock absorber' from her personal self which deeply laments her separation from her own children. In addition, such multiple selves are necessary in order to fulfil her duties; she must convey her 'love' and care for the American children in her care and self-present 'back-stage' to other domestic staff. She must remain vigilant against providing indications that she is dissatisfied or indifferent to her present position, lest such news filters informally back to her employers. The nanny must also develop a 'working' personal copy of herself in order for her to manage her ongoing pain and distress. In doing so, she may choose to distance herself or use rational reasoning to justify her difficult decision to leave her own children. This example draws attention to the connection between social construction of self-image, professional identity and coping behaviours. It may also be relevant to consider the relative force and influences of perceived traits, disposition and emotional intelligence in socially challenging working environments.

Type	Associated motivations and behaviours
'Rescuer' ('caring' individuals)	Gains self-value primarily by helping others. 'Selfless' types with a tendency to avoid their own issues by concentrating on others' needs.
'Ain't it awful?'	Describe how badly they have been treated or how 'victimised' they feel. This is often used to aid group cohesion, as others are often 'drawn' into sharing similar 'ain't it awful?'-type stories.
'Personal disclosure'	Sharing of significant personal information relatively quickly in order to make fleeting but intense (working) relationships that may hold more meaning.
'Holding pattern'	Use of same tried and tested formula for gaining group acceptance and attention. Various psychological complexities are repeatedly played out but in constantly changing relationships they can be happily repeated many times, without the expectation to 'move on.'
'Uniform used as facade'	As working alliances must be forged alongside social interaction while away from home/base, some crew change personas when in uniform. Whilst crew must adhere to corporate behavioural and personal display rules, if the divide between these and the 'essence' of the real person is significant, problems may occur.
'Stuck in limbo syndrome'	A tendency to avoid facing 'life' issues. Just when domestic or personal problems become too intense, the next rostered trip is waiting to provide an escape from the impasse.
'Avoiders'	Similar to type immediately above but includes people whose primary attraction to the job is the opportunities for 'escapism' offered from difficulties at home.
'Workaholic'	The job is seen as the primary focus. Invest little in their lives outside this single work dimension and so, when fulfilment wanes or retirement nears, they may realise that they have defined themselves too narrowly by the role.
'Infantile'	Regresses to an infantile state with the expectation that many personal needs will be provided for by the organisation. At some point, the 'parent' organisation will be perceived to let them down. When this happens, little responsibility is assumed in seeking resolution by emotionally mature means. Often manifests in a general avoidance of responsibility for the self and leads to an unhealthy degree of responsibility being transferred from the individual to the organisation.
'Glamour interject'	Carries out the job as a result of significant others' encouragement and/or expectations. Has been persuaded that the job is wonderful and glamorous. Consequently, this belief is interjected often at the expense of their own true inner, and perhaps contrary, experience.
'Addictive'	Many of the above behaviours are avoided or 'numbed down' by types who turn to readily available alcohol, or even drugs, in order to escape.

Table 7: Typology of airline cabin crew 'types' (Partridge and Goodman, 2007)

Csikszentmihalyi's (1996:113) depiction of the 'autotelic' personality type suggests that variations in human agency and disposition are connected to a combination of circumstantial and personality factors. In addition to our work environment, Csikszentmihalyi asserts that 'autotelicism' and the associated 'flow' state relate to our wider social and personal existence. In order to reach the utopian state of 'flow', Csikszentmihalyi (1996:111) stipulates that there must be a clear incremental understanding of the required goals, immediate constructive feedback, no worry of failure and a balance between task challenge and the skills possessed. In respect of airline cabin crew, Partridge and Goodman's (2007) longitudinal research presents a classification of personality types and behaviours (Table 7) which is, perhaps, more overtly focused upon coping mechanisms than Muff's (1982) stereo-typology of nursing types (see Table 5). Although their classification is more extensive than Muff's, there are, nonetheless, interesting correlations between the two typologies in terms of the categorisation of individual behaviours and motivations. The 'types' that Partridge and Goodman (2007:9, Table 7) identify may appear one-dimensional and not portray a credible, rounded behaviour pattern of one individual. They do assert, nevertheless, that these 'types' may also simply represent ways of 'acting out' in order to balance the competing expectations the airline has of them to be simultaneously emotionally available and emotionally resilient. It is emphasised that crew are expected to be responsive to and amenable with passengers and colleagues and yet security pressures and the more isolating aspects of the job demand resilience and independence of character.

Partridge and Goodman (2007) suggest that crew members' ways of 'acting out' may be combined in various permutations but that some of these approaches may be psychologically healthier than others. Significantly, it could be inferred that crew members' 'personality' and 'emotional resilience' represent just some of the intervening factors affecting their behaviour. Consideration could also be given to the significance of a range of other factors such as temporal, situational and physiological.

Groth and Grandy's (2012) and Keifer and Barclay's (2012) research studies discussed earlier each indicated the potential harm of negative exchange spirals resulting in 'toxic' relations with service users. The coping behaviours that result often serve to further sour agent-customer relationships. Indeed, it is surprising that Korczynski (2003:70) refers to his workplace groups' behaviours as communities of 'coping' as opposed to 'mis-coping'. The only example of employees actually 'coping 'with the demands of call centre service work in the four case studies is within a 'shared culture of customer antipathy' between call centre agents and junior management, where employees were unofficially permitted to 'get even' with difficult customers. Korczynksi (2003:73) asserts that his study 'underlined the ways in which communities of coping can inform resistance within service work'. In doing this, he associates agent 'resistance' with 'coping', providing a depressing emphasis on the 'pain' of emotional labour as opposed to the potential fulfilment of emotion-related effort at work. As Bolton (2005) suggests there is also a need to recognise that many service professionals are drawn to the job in the first place by the enjoyment of fulfilling service users' needs using a range of emotion skills. Bolton (2005:141) cites Callaghan and Thompson's (2002:250) research to provide us with a much more positive example of individual coping within a call centre environment, quoting an on-line banking operator who manages the tensions between commercial imperatives and her need to be polite, to engage and provide a pleasant service:

> 'We get a lot of people who are on their own, they're pensioners. They ask for a balance and then they will want a chat – 'what's the weather like?' I'm happy to chat to them, but it's always in the back of your mind, got to watch my average handling time. I think you're setting a better example for the bank.'

Stets and Burke (2003) argue that the self is reflective of society and that an individual's multiple component identities are socially co-constructed. This could be inferred from the two contrasting examples of call centre research just discussed. The downwardly spiralling and negative customer relationships occasioned by Korczynski's operators' short-term 'coping' strategies may ultimately contribute to a call centre agent's

diminished self-esteem. This will partially be created by the continuing stream of irate customers who project their feelings of frustration onto the operator by conveying their perceptions of his inferior professional and social identity. Conversely, Callaghan and Thompson's (2002) call centre operative may continue to build a positive self-identify which flourishes through the experience of self-esteem building and satisfaction which results from a bi-directional philanthropic 'gift exchange' (Bolton, 2003). There are aspects of the two typologies that have been discussed which support this argument of social co-construction of occupational identity. The saintly behaviour of Muff's (1982) 'angel of mercy' is, to an extent, a socially created expectation. Similarly, Partridge and Goodman's (2007) 'glamour interject' cabin crew type (Table 7) derives meaning and purpose from friends' and peers' expectations and impressions of the role. In addition, their 'workaholic' types that too narrowly define themselves within their role ultimately face the psychological impasse of a redundant 'working self-copy'. In such cases, the 'original self' has been neglected for so long it can only be resurrected with difficulty at the end of a long career in the air.

Nursing stereotypes	Airline Cabin crew 'types'	Shared Associations	Characteristic (coping) behaviours
Ministering Angel/ *(or Angels with pretty faces and empty heads)*	**'Rescuer'** ('caring' individuals)/ 'Glamour interject' 'Infantile'	Self-sacrifice Devotion Philanthropy	Self-value, meaning and fulfilment achieved primarily by 'saving' (helping) others. Consequently avoids addressing (own) personal issues.
Naughty nurse/idiot	**'Glamour interject'**	Sex Symbol Figure of fun Fantasy	Flirtatiousness and fun serve to distract agents from the perceived mundane reality of the role
Woman in White	**'Uniform used as facade'**	Anonymity, Aloofness, Impersonality, Falseness Insincerity	Rigid adherence to a persona constructed around an impenetrable façade. Close compliance with organisational behavioural and personal display rules. Divide between these and the 'essence' of the real person'
Nurse of the 'dark period' (Indolent, dishonest debauched)	**Avoider/ Addictive/ 'Stuck in limbo'**	Unreliable Self-serving Irresponsible Escapist	Self-denial of personal problems and issues Numbing of personal issues with drugs and alcohol

Table 8: *Comparison of some images and coping behaviours associated with nursing and airline cabin crew occupations (adapted from Muff, 1982 and Partridge and Goodman, 2007)*

Table 8 provides a representation of how caricatures and stereotypical depictions within both the nursing and cabin crew occupations share common socially constructed images and associated coping behaviours. In summary, it is suggested that the discussion of individuals' socially constructed and personal identities may be helpful to the understanding of agents' occupational roles and coping mechanisms. It has been seen, however, that there are also many other significant factors such as personality type, affective events and environmental influences that shape and influence individuals' agency and inclination to cope and self-manage in often stressful circumstances. It has also been observed that some individuals' actions in such circumstances continue to defy theoretical explanation, as discussed in the case of some flight attendants' actions during the 9/11 crisis. Such unanswered questions surrounding agents' emotions, motivations, coping behaviours do, in themselves, strengthen the argument for phenomenological research. This is because phenomenology, and in particular interpretative phenomenology seeks to understand each individual's perspective as a 'unique case' rather than a merely indicative behaviour within a pre-conceived conceptual framework.

3.6.3 Group and organisational-level communities of coping

Antoniadou's (2010:12) research with Cypriot cabin crew illustrates a considerable diversity of coping mechanisms adopted by crew in response to the various emotions experienced in their work. She segments various emotions such as anger, envy, jealousy, joy, guilt and embarrassment and maps these against their associated influencing factors, manifestation and coping strategies. For example, 'fear' in the context of physical danger often produced a knee-jerk reaction amongst crew when they would 'think of their family'. In order to dispel such fear, the coping strategies included use of humour and keeping busy. Interestingly, many of the crew's coping strategies with regards to any negative emotions relied on good working relationship, and interpersonal communication with their colleagues.

One of Antoniadou's (2010:12) respondents asserted that:

> 'cabin crew is united 'like a chain' (*with a)* friendly/protective
> attitude, compassion, provid*(ing)* help to the person in need'.

Equally, there was a tendency for individual emotions such as 'joy' to be shared with fellow crew members, conveyed via 'teasing, jokes and laughter'. Whilst reports of such positive levels of group solidarity are heartening, my (2012:110) research found that industry 'speed-up' pressures and turbulent employee relations, meant that:

> 'Increasingly crew members are turning to their fellow colleagues
> for guidance and reassurance *(but)* because of their own depleted
> 'psychological reserves', […] *(other)* cabin crew are less inclined to
> involve themselves with supporting colleagues.'

Many larger organisations now provide some form of occupational health or counselling support service. The licensed retailer, JD Wetherspoons, brands their occupational health program 'Call Tim' (after its founder Tim Martin). Employees have access to a range of services including a telephone helpdesk which seeks to resolve both minor concerns and urgent problems. Similarly, British Airways has a well-established occupational support programme dedicated exclusively to its global flight and cabin crew workforce. This service is staffed by trained counsellors who combine flying duties with an on-the-ground counselling roster. These formal occupational support services may offer valuable support to employees; however, in times of industrial unrest when management might be mistrusted, it was reported that some agents felt unable to rely on the organization's support systems for their psychological well-being (Sheehan, 2012). In addition to formalised support programmes, Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) suggest that many organisations attempt to control the experience and manifestation of their employees' emotions by employing a range of considered strategies. They propose that four types of organisational intervention are used to do this, namely the 'buffering', 'prescribing', 'normalising' or 'neutralising' of workforce emotions.

Menzies Lyth's (1960) research within a healthcare context suggested that buffering or neutralising nurses against workplace anxiety, guilt, doubt and uncertainty was attempted through the creation of prescriptive rules, tightly defined tasks and working procedures. She indicated, though, that such attempts were largely unsuccessful and indicative of an organisational failure to deal positively with the emotionally intense nature of nurses' work. Hospital administrators set up a series of so-called 'social defences' relating to structural design, division of work tasks and prescribed behavioural standards which were intended to prevent anxiety. These included the splitting up of the nurse-patient relationship, depersonalisation of the patient, the denial of feelings and the recommendation that nurses detach themselves professionally from their patients. Menzies Lyth's (1960:117) view on the creation and containment of anxiety was highly critical of the strategies employed by UK hospitals to manage nurses' anxieties and concluded that:

> 'The social defence system *(employed by hospitals)* represented
> the institutionalization of very primitive psychic defence
> mechanisms, a main characteristic of which is that they facilitate
> the evasion of anxiety, but contribute little to its true modification
> and reduction'.

Chernomas's (2007: 382) critique on Menzies Lyth's work suggests that she fails to apply the principles of 'liberal traditions' to the specific occupational context of nursing which her research concerns. He argues that her hypothesis on the fragmentation of nursing duties at the expense of a holistic therapeutic relationship with a single patient:

> 'does not seem to be able to confront [...] that primary nursing
> gives patients and nurses control and containment and hence an
> opportunity to relieve primitive anxiety in a thoughtful way'.

Chernomas's (2007) assertions are puzzling as he seems to conflate the inadequate support systems that Menzies Lyth (1960) documents with her own view of a desirable alternative whereby nurses can carry out their primary duties and engage with patients as 'whole people'.

Lees et al (2013: 543) also express concern relating to continuing inadequacies in modern organisations' approaches to the emotional support of their staff. They cite Munro's (2010) review corroborating Menzies Lyth's (1960) findings, which asserts that deficient practices have resulted from 'defensive process (es) of risk management' and that there was a serious need for the acknowledgment of the emotional dimensions of caring work.

Conclusion to Chapter and summary of key themes covered

It has been argued in this chapter that there is much still to be explored and understood about the dynamics of social exchange in service work and how emotionally 'toxic' situations develop and, more critically, what can be learnt from hearing the stories of those who experience them. Emotion literature often focuses upon service agents' job demands and constraints in addition to the influences of overall occupational context upon emotional self-management and well-being. Holistic pictures of agents' private and working lives are offered less frequently and thus more complete understandings of the affective events that influence individuals are less evident (Ashkanasy and Humphrey, 2011). This absence often relates directly to the methodological approaches adopted in which snapshots in time of social exchange and interaction are offered, as opposed to fuller, more rounded accounts of agents' lives. Larger-scale quantitative or qualitative research on emotions at work, such as Hochschild's (1983) and Heuven and Bakker's (2003), may deliberately avoid collecting such data or edit it out later in order to avoid dealing with unmanageable sets of data not fully related to the research objective.

It has been seen, though, how Theodosius's (2008) vignettes make nurses' narratives 'come alive', providing glimpses of how their dispositions and private worlds may affect their emotions. Such a 'close range' approach provides a more contextualised perspective and brings the reader closer to experiences of a small number of individuals.

This study is also concerned with investigating further how emotions are managed at an 'individual' level, through the exploration of close range idiographic accounts. Its aim is to create a more rounded, holistic picture of agents' lives and how they navigate the liminal spaces between private and working life. This review of the literature has suggested some significant themes for further research. These included the need for further study of how emotions are managed by individuals (Ashkanasy, 2003, Ahkanasy and Humphrey,2011), the need for more cross-sectoral analysis in the study of emotion studies (Hunyh et al, 2008, Korczynski, 2009, Scott and Barnes, 2011, Wharton, 2011,) and the need to understand more about customers' disempowerment of service agents and their 'toxic' effects upon emotional self-management and well-being (Young et al, 2003, Kiefer and Barclay, 2012). Thus, it was critical that the research approach adopted could capture the subtleties and idiographic complexities about what service agents wished to reveal about their emotional experiences in their working lives. The next chapter explores the methodology which was employed to capture and analyse respondents' accounts data in an appropriate, experience-close way.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1   Introduction

The first three chapters have been concerned with exploring the theoretical focus and occupational context of service agents' emotional self-management and well-being. The literature has indicated the complexity of this study's subject and the wide-ranging individual responses to the experience of private and workplace emotions. Because of the number of possible approaches to realise this research's objectives, this chapter's main purpose is to explain the epistemological, ontological and axiological perspectives and why 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis' (IPA) was chosen as a methodology. The philosophical underpinnings of IPA are analysed and compared briefly with other methodologies. The ethical considerations inherent in research design are then considered from both deontological and consequentialist perspectives. The chapter proceeds to address the various considerations associated with sampling, participant selection, data collection methods and analysis before discussing issues of research credibility and rigour. It concludes with a brief summary and evaluative reflection on the entire research process.

4.2   Epistemologies, ontologies and theoretical perspectives and their relationship with the methodological approach employed

4.2.1 The Research Paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994:107) suggest that a paradigm:

> 'represents a *worldview* that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world,' the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts [...] the beliefs are basic in the sense that they must be accepted simply on faith [...]; there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness'.

Thus, a research paradigm may be viewed as a selection of core convictions as to how the world is perceived which 'then serves as a thinking framework that guides the behaviour of the researcher' (Jonker and Pennink, 2010 in Wahyuni, 2012:69). Weaver and Olson (2006:459) explain that these assumptions and beliefs are then:

> 'shared by communities of researchers, which regulate inquiry within disciplines'.

Jonker and Pennink's (2010) definition implicitly refers to the ontological, epistemological and methodological differences which distinguish approaches to the conduct of research, and ultimately its particular contribution towards the construction of knowledge. The research design literature is characterised by alternative conceptualisations, definitions and nomenclatures relating to the various paradigms, ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies to which Weaver and Olson refer above. This can present the researcher with a bewildering array of choices, not least because of the ambiguity and interchangeability of key research terms and constructs. For example, the term 'phenomenology' is referred to alternately in different contexts as a 'philosophical tradition' (Husserl ([1936] 1970, Heidegger ([1926], 1991), a 'research approach' (Cresswell, 2013:76), 'interpretative research' (Wood, 1990 in Brotherton, 1999) and a 'data analysis technique' (Colaizzi, 1978, Sanders, 2003, Abu Shosha, 2012). Wahyuni (2012:69) aptly refers to this fluidity within research terminology as the 'research design maze'. For clarity, it is therefore important to appreciate how certain key research constructs may be viewed differently and, more importantly, how they have been specifically interpreted in this study. Guba and Lincoln (1994:105) emphasise the researcher's need to make sense of a specific paradigm of inquiry before work on research design takes place:

> 'Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways'.

Phillimore and Goodson (2004:21) also emphasise that philosophical issues lie at the core of a paradigm and that these are superordinate to issues of method. Tribe (2005:6) and Denzin and Lincoln (2011:50) also assert that we need to be critically aware of our positionality as embodied researchers whose lives, experiences and worldviews impact significantly upon our studies. This view resonates with the discussion in Chapter 1 concerning my positionality and axiological perspective. My experiences and those of others have prompted important questions relating to the enablement, protection and support of agents at the 'front line'. I would not consider such factors as significant were it not my belief in the individual's fundamental right to dignity and fulfilment at work. Symon and Cassell (2012:5&7) suggest that methodological 'straitjackets' imposed by journal editors may compromise the contemporary researcher's philosophical persuasions. Paradoxically, yet reassuringly, they assert that:

> 'the prospects for qualitative researchers are rosy and […] the distinctive insights that qualitative research can provide into the organisational arena are increasingly being recognised'.

Thus, in adopting a qualitative approach in this research study, it was intended that significant aspects of individuals' emotionality in their working lives could be presented and interpreted consistent with the philosophical stance of the inquirer. The message that clearly emerges from the research design literature is that while qualitative researchers should not be constrained by standardisation, they should be able to make a robust defence of their chosen methodology. Therefore, the coherent articulation of their ontological, epistemological and axiological stance and how these align with the overall research design in this study is important. Duberley et al (2012:15) claim that such philosophical alignment with methodological approach needs, though, to be counterbalanced by sufficient objectivity in order to avoid being seduced by the appeal of a particular method without appraising it against other possibilities. Duberley et al's (2012:16) also suggest that a given method does not automatically expose the researcher's philosophical stance.

This may only be revealed by studying how the method is actually applied and how the findings are interpreted. Guba and Lincoln's (1994: 108) reference to 'inquiry' paradigms explains how these prompt the researcher to define 'what it is they are about', what they are researching and what lies outside the legitimate domain of their field of inquiry. They assert that the researcher needs to consider three fundamental questions carefully at the outset of the inquiry: the 'ontological' question, the 'epistemological' question and the 'methodological' question. As the 'five circle' model below (Figure 3) suggests, these three questions are interconnected in such a way that the answer given to any one question, taken in any order, constrains how the others may be answered.
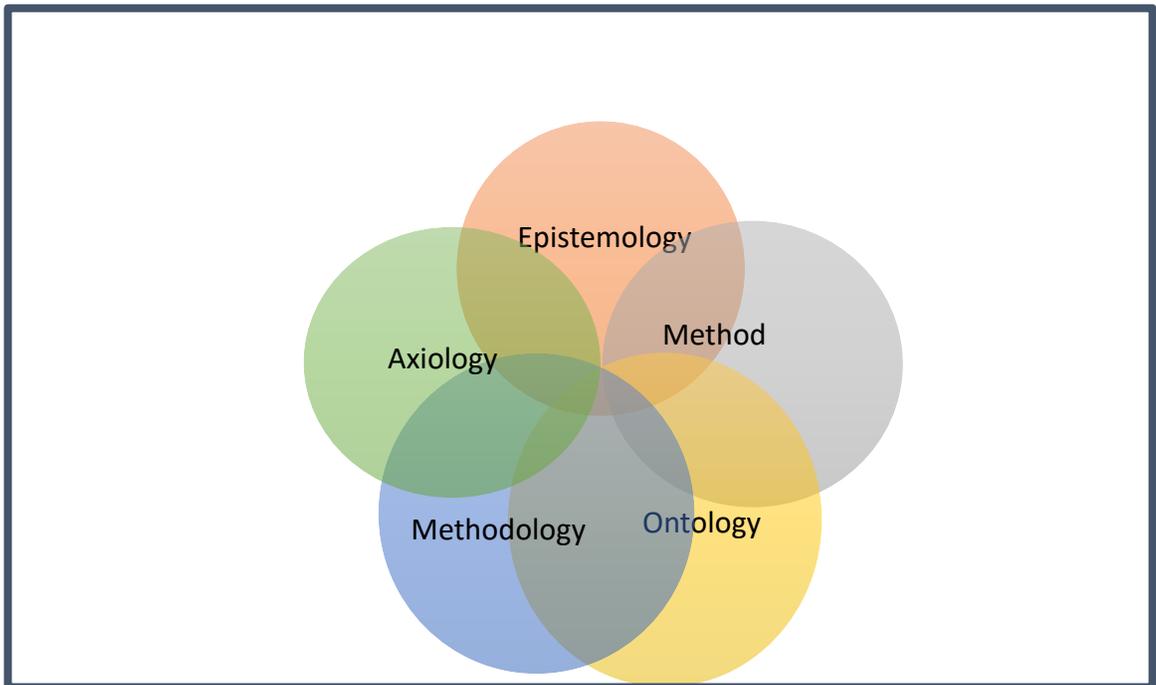
Figure 3: The research paradigm *(adapted from Carter and Little, 2007)*

The 'ontological' question must address the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what there is that can be known about it. For Guba and Lincoln (1994:108), if one assumes that only a 'real' world exists, questions relating to moral or aesthetic significance in this case would have no place in legitimate scientific inquiry. The 'epistemological' question relates to the nature of the relationship between the 'knower' or 'would-be knower' and what can be known.

Duberley et al (2012:16) explain that epistemology is essentially the criteria by which we can know what does and does not constitute warranted or scientific knowledge.

Research Paradigms

Fundamental beliefs	Positivism (Naïve realism)	Post positivism (Critical Realism)	Interpretivism (Constructivism)	Critical Theory	Pragmatism
Synonym	**Verify**	**Predict**	**Understand**	**Emancipate**	**Dialectic**
Ontology: the position on the nature of reality	External, objective and independent of social actors. One truth	Objective. Exist independently of human thoughts / beliefs/ knowledge of their existence, but is interpreted through social conditioning (critical realist)	Socially constructed, subjective, may change, multiple, co-constructed, relativism	Historical/virtual realism shaped by outside forces, material subjectivity	External, multiple, view chosen to best achieve an answer to the research question. Constructed, based upon world we live in
Epistemology: the view on what constitutes acceptable knowledge	Only observable phenomena can provide credible data, facts. Focus on causality and law-like generalisations, reducing phenomena to simplest elements	Only observable phenomena can provide credible data, facts. Focus on explaining within a context or contexts. Reality is never fully apprehended	Subjective meanings and social phenomena. Focus upon the details of situation, the reality behind these details, subjective meanings and motivating actions. Co-created multiple realities and truths	Findings are based on values, local examples of truth	Either or both observable phenomena and subjective meanings can provide acceptable knowledge dependent upon the research question. Focus on practical applied research, integrating different perspectives to help interpret data
Axiology: the role of values in research and the researcher's stance	Value-free and Etic. Research is undertaken in a value-free way, the researcher is independent of the data and maintains an objective stance	Value-laden and etic. Research is value laden; the researcher is biased by world views, cultural experiences and upbringing	Value-bound and Emic (how 'local' people close to the experience actually think). Research is value bound, the researcher is part of what is being researched, cannot be separated and so will be subjective	Value-laden and etic (scientific or 'expert' opinion is predominant in analysis & development of understanding)	Value-bound and etic-emic. Values play a large role in interpreting the results, the researcher adopting both objective and subjective points of view
Research Methodology: the model behind the research process	Quantitative. Primarily experimental or quasi - experimental	Quantitative or Qualitative. Experimental with threats to validity	Often qualitative and/or quantitative	Usually qualitative but also quantitative	Quantitative and qualitative (mixed or multi-method design)

Table 9: *The Major Research Paradigms (Based on further adaptations of* Weber, R (2004) *Guba and Lincoln (2005), Saunders et al (2009, p.119), Hallebone and Priest (2009) Wahyuni, (2012)*

In attempting to answer this question, we are constrained by the way in which we have answered the ontological question. If the researcher assumes that only a 'real' world

exists, then an objective, value-free position must be taken in the quest to discover 'how things really are' or 'how things really work.' The methodological question asks how can the 'would-be knower' proceed to learn about what is wished to be known about? The answer to this is also constrained but this time by both the ontological and epistemological stance adopted. If 'reality' is being investigated by an objectivist researcher then there will be some limitations as to the choice of methodological approach which is congruent with a 'real' and objective view of the world. In this case, control and the removal of confounding factors may be mandated in the selected methodology.

Table 9 provides a brief overview of how this relationship relates to the principal research paradigms, each of which is underpinned by a different set of philosophical beliefs about the nature of human existence, knowledge, values and how to further understanding of these. In essence, a research paradigm suggests the conceptual framework within which a shared understanding of reality can be constructed by one researcher or a community of researchers. Referring to this table, it is not difficult reach a judgment that a qualitative research approach would be most appropriate to realise this study's aim, which was to explore service agents' lived experiences of emotions but not to search for a universal truth about how they could or should be managed. Its emphasis was upon understanding subjective meanings as social phenomena whilst acknowledging their temporal, ephemeral and elusive qualities. I wished to play an active part, not just in the collection of the data but in the construction of a shared understanding of it with participants. Guba and Lincoln, (1998:197) assert the critical importance of collecting individual voices and viewpoints in social research:

> 'Human behaviour, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities.'

A phenomenological perspective places importance upon what is not necessarily seen but may be talked about by social actors who have undergone a particular experience.

Therefore, the 'positivist' and 'post positivist' paradigms and their associated quantitative approaches to inquiry are incompatible with the objectives of my research. As Table 9 highlights, a 'qualitative' phenomenological approach within an interpretivist paradigm was methodological choice and the sections below explain why this was the case and how it fitted with my philosophical position as a phenomenological researcher. Rossman and Rallis (2012:5) emphasise that the researcher is 'the means through which the study is conducted' and the 'end' of such studies is 'to learn some facet of the social world'. Thus, using their analogy of the researcher as a conduit of knowledge, it was important to understand and remain critically aware of the extent to which my own philosophical position impacted upon my choice of subject, how data were collected and how sense was made of it.

4.3 Research philosophy

Although the philosophical beliefs and values may remain implicit, they also exert an important influence upon the practice of the research. This section discusses my philosophical positioning and its influence upon my orientation and agency as a researcher. In order to decide upon the socio-psychological and the micro-sociological perspectives adopted in this study, there was a considered reflection on my ontological and epistemological stances and how these influenced the formation of my research philosophy. These stances then determined the initial theorisation and focus of the study, the subsequent approaches to data collection and interpretation and how inferences and conclusions were finally drawn. Table 9 provides a summary indication of the philosophical positionings researchers may adopt. Nonetheless, an explanation and possible justification for my personal position in this study as a researcher and as a human being warrants further discussion.

4.3.1   The ontological and epistemological questions

Guba and Lincoln, (1994: 108) express ontology's fundamental question as:

> 'What is the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it?'

The interpretivist paradigm represented in Table 9 reflects an ontological perspective which acknowledges the presence of a socially constructed, subjective and changeable reality. Interpretivism subscribes to the philosophical principles of 'social constructionism', which asserts that reality is constructed by social actors who contribute to its ongoing creation through their different backgrounds, assumptions, experiences and perceptions. Whilst the terms *'constructionism'* and *'constructivism'* are often (and somewhat confusingly) used interchangeably in philosophy and sociology, Young and Collin (2004) argue that there is an important difference between the two. In epistemological terms, social constructionism creates a socially constructed framework for knowledge and its acquisition by individuals. Constructivism is then concerned with the understanding of how individuals make unique sense of their knowledge of the world, having acquired such knowledge through a socially constructed reality which will be, in turn, influenced by a society's language, history and culture. Constructivist and constructionist philosophical perspectives are both underpinned by a relativist ontology, which holds that different observers may have different viewpoints and that there is no one universal truth but, that truths are susceptible to temporal and contextual factors (Collins, 1983: 88).

A subjectivist ontological stance would position both 'emotions' and 'well-being' as social phenomena created purely by our 'consciousness and cognition' with no real existence outside of our own conscious perceptions of them (Symon and Cassell, 2012; 18). A realist perspective would hold, however, that emotions and well-being exist *independently* of our own perceptions or cognitive structures and that they are there 'awaiting inspection and discovery by us'.

I argue that, from an early age, we all become aware of ourselves as separate entities from the rest of the world and the nature and extent of our emotions and well-being become part of our perceived realities. We later validate these realities through comparison and social interaction with others. While these realities arguably remain subjective, they are continually tempered, reinforced, repudiated, and challenged not only by our personal interactions but by indirect sources of psychological and scientific information which further inform our perceptions and beliefs. Conversely, a purely subjectivist perspective may view emotions and our experiences of them as unique 'virtual' realities conjured up solely within ourselves as individuals. In my view, the adoption of such a perspective would be incongruent with this research's core concern with the emotions and well-being of our fellow beings. However, an interpretivist perspective reconciles the potential subjectivity of the researcher with a co-constructed social reality, where each has a legitimate existence although they cannot be separated from the other.

Interpretivism offers the researcher the opportunity to transcend the individual subjectivity of the immediate self and to explore a domain of multiple social realities based upon shared lived experiences and interaction. Thus, interpretivism offers a more coherent fit with the aim of this study, which acknowledges these multiple independent realities and enables their interpretation through a lens of social concern which seeks to understand the emotional experiences of service workers. Ontologically, a purely subjectivist perspective might offer the researcher a reassuring refuge from the discomfort of recognising disturbing emotional phenomena as 'real' outside the self. I argue that, in this project, a meaningful and useful study of workplace emotions would be better conducted when conceptualised as phenomena having independent reality and existence *for those who are experiencing them*. Thus, I propose that the adoption of an interpretivist stance in this research is congruent with my emic values which reflect a concern with revealing service agents' experiences and perceptions of their well-being.

4.3.2 A note on my perceived ontological and epistemological positions

My interpretivist stance relates to an ontological view that 'nothing is real' unless such a reality is meaningful and is experienced by a person. As a child, I was sometimes reprimanded for failing to notice certain 'everyday' objects, events and experiences such as 'makes of motor car' and 'football match scores'. For me, these held no interest and so they were not 'real'. I would be unable to recall having even seen such objects and events but would remember the fine-grained details of experiences that engaged me, such as an exciting film or a St. Patrick's Day parade. I am now aware of certain shifts in my own thinking and my perceptions of what is important have been significantly influenced by the views of others and their interaction with me. Epistemologically, I continue to be primarily concerned with the subjective meanings of phenomena as perceived from my own viewpoint and others' individual perspectives. In reality, the IPA approach actually 'chose me' as it allowed me to pursue my preferred style of learning, which is based upon 'experience closeness' and being able to react and engage openly with what I am trying to understand, making it very difficult to simply 'stand back' and observe or record findings. The complexity, ambiguity and 'messiness' of qualitative research has drawn me towards it as these are the features that I find most intriguing.

4.4 Consideration of alternative methodological approaches

Rapley (2011) in Silverman (2011:273) highlights the potential quandary that a qualitative researcher faces when trying to identify an 'appropriate' theoretical approach to the analysis of data. He is cynical about an apparent contemporary concern with identifying the right 'tag' to categorise such an approach and Silverman (2013:427 and 2014:111) concurs with him, suggesting that labelling one's research can simply be a form of 'window dressing' to obtain credibility within an academic community but that doing so is no guarantee of rigour.

There were a number of inductive approaches that could have been adopted and it was important to choose one most likely to fit best with the study's objectives and my skills and philosophical orientation. Some methodologies were initially considered but subsequently rejected which included:

1. **Grounded theory** (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Charmaz, 2000/2002, Mills et al, 2006, Strauss and Corbin, 1998, Kenealy, 2012, O'Reilly, 2012) has similarities to IPA in terms of how data is collected but its key differences relate to how it is analysed and the nature of the enquiry itself. This study had no objective to build further theories 'per se' in an area already saturated with theoretical constructs. Rather, its intention was to add knowledge and understanding to existing theoretical ideas by focusing upon micro-level perspectives of service agents' self-perceptions, multiple identities and views on their emotional self-management.

2. **Discourse analysis** (Powers, 2001, Ledema, 2008) is concerned with the socio-cultural and political contexts in which textual and verbal communication occur, as opposed to the interpretation of individual lived experience. One of my principal aspirations was to gain insight into the 'conscious' worlds of my respondents and to uncover the unique and particular aspects of individuals' lived emotional experiences, as opposed to mapping these within wider social structures.

3. **Ethnography** (Agar, 2008, Lynn-Hamilton, 2008) as a form of naturalistic enquiry and data collection initially appeared attractive. There were, however, many obvious barriers to the adoption of an ethnographic approach, including the need to engage with respondents in a neutral setting free of work distractions, my lack of qualifications to perform in either occupational area being studied and the unfeasible time investment required for immersion in the work setting.

A note on hermeneutics:

Hermeneutics occupies an important place in the science of interpretation and in interpretative phenomenology (Alvesson and Skodberg 2000:53) and some of its key ideas were incorporated within this study's IPA design. Its key principle relates to the idea that the meaning of a 'part' can only be understood if it is also seen in the context of the 'whole'. The conceptual representation of this principle lies in the 'hermeneutic circle', where the analyst may first identify subordinate themes and ideas and then begin relating them to others that s/he observes before finally moving to a subsumption of all of these, viewing all the 'parts' relating to a research question or inquiry together. This was an effective approach in my analysis not only for 'bringing' subordinate themes 'together' but also for 'travelling back around' the hermeneutic circle to check and confirm that the initial subsumption of subordinate themes did actually resonate with the core and subordinate themes previously identified. This iterative and circular approach helped to ensure a more rigorous approach to data coding and categorisation. The hermeneutic circle prompted me towards a recursive analysis of my findings, and to reflect upon, re-order and re-appraise these in a way that helped to minimize any 'hasty' and over-subjective interpretation (Symon and Cassell, 2012:21).

4.5 Descriptive Phenomenology and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA): Methodologies and their philosophical underpinnings

Phenomenology is associated with inductive qualitative research methods aiming to reveal insights into how individuals, in a given context, make sense of a particular 'phenomenon'; their 'emotional self-management' in the case of this project. This project's research design was underpinned by this inductive approach, which Bryman (2008) asserts does not endeavour to prove theory, rather to add knowledge to it with the data collected. Deductive approaches were incongruent with this project's research aims because the data generated would be unlikely to capture the complexity of the respondents' lived experiences and feelings.

Descriptive Phenomenology

Both descriptive and interpretative phenomenology are associated with an inductive qualitative research tradition initiated by the mathematician and philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), evolving in protest against the prevailing 19th century positivist paradigm. Husserl's ([1936] 1970) linked human experience, perception and emotion with the concept of 'intentionality', referring to an individual's consciousness of an object or event. He believed that human consciousness should be a legitimate focus of scientific study and that the understanding of what human beings might perceive as being 'real' could lead to insights into their motivations and actions (Lopez and Willis, 2004:727). At the heart of Husserlian phenomenology lies the belief that the study of lived experience behoves the researcher to cast away all prior knowledge and personal biases. Husserl accepted that no researcher could be completely objective but maintained that the acquisition of a heightened awareness of one's own biases could assist with their 'neutralisation'. This would achieve 'transcendental subjectivity', meaning that the researcher's thoughts, pre-conceptions and actions would not unduly influence the object being studied because of a continuous process of vigilant self-awareness. This approach is associated with the 'bracketing' technique, involving the withholding of preconceived ideas whilst gathering data in order to capture the unadulterated 'essence' of the phenomenon investigated. Many critics are sceptical of the practical realities of implementing 'bracketing' in qualitative research, claiming that it is either difficult or impossible to be completely objective and suspend all prior knowledge and beliefs (Crotty,1996, Chan et al,2013)). A more balanced view would suggest that a researcher's awareness and an ability to monitor his emotional involvement and influence, for example when interviewing, is a more realistic indicator of his skill and rigour.

Merleau-Ponty (1962:414) expresses the view that our perceptions develop from our perspectives as single embodied individuals and thus our relations to others will begin from a position of difference. He believed that our bodies were not merely worldly objects but our direct means of communicating with it.

This implies that the phenomenological researcher can never completely share another's experiences because these can only be displayed to him while the subject actually 'lives through' them. Despite the inherent difficulties of obtaining experience-closeness, Smith et al (2009:19) assert that:

> The lived experience of being a body-in-the-world can never be entirely captured or absorbed, but equally, must not be ignored or overlooked.'

This issue is returned to at the end of this thesis when the methodological limitations of undertaking IPA research are discussed. There is also difficulty reconciling Husserl's 'scientific' perspective with the interpretivist alternative, where the possibility of multiple realities is acknowledged and even welcomed. This study's intention was to explore respondents' experiences through inductive and subjective means. Data were gathered reflexively with the intention of presenting rich idiographic pictures of respondents' experiences whilst also developing understanding of commonality and difference across occupational contexts. The research was interpretative because of how findings were created and analysed. Subjectivity and the particular context were valuable contributors to the creation of insights into respondents' experiences and perceptions. Understanding and meaning-making was a dynamic process, evolving through our interactions and was co-constructed between researcher and participant. This approach contrasts with Giorgi's (1997) descriptive phenomenological approach, which is more concerned with defining the general 'structure' of the various experiences within a particular group under examination. Interpretative phenomenology places greater emphasis on the importance of individual cases and collecting the fine-grained detail of their experiences.

Interpretative Phenomenology

A key question for the methodological design of this project relates to the perception of my role. Barbour (2007 in Pringle et al, 2011) suggests that descriptive phenomenology (DP) limits this role to that of 'witness' rather than that of 'analyst and interpreter'. The choice of interpretative phenomenology related to the study's aim,

which chiefly concerned the 'idiographic' aspects of emotional experience and the subjective realities of the participants. The interpretivist phenomenological (IP) research paradigm has its theoretical origins in philosophy, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Shinebourne, 2011). IP itself is, strictly speaking, a philosophical approach as opposed to a research methodology (Smith et al, 2009:40). It draws upon Weber's (1946[1958]) concept of '*verstehen'* and related ideas from Husserl ([1936] 1970), Heidegger ([1926]1991), Giorgi (1975) and Gadamer ([1975] 1996) which aim at an empathetic understanding of the actions and motives of a subject and their 'interpretative examination as social phenomena'. A point of difference between descriptive and interpretative phenomenology related to Heidegger's belief that we are not capable of separating and 'parking' our pre-understandings. Laverty (2003) suggests that Heidegger claimed that nothing could be observed or explained without reference to our background understandings because they are already 'part of us' and provide the essential tools of interpretation in research. Laverty (2003:17) further asserts that, in an IP context:

> 'the researcher is called, on an on-going basis, to give considerable thought to their own experience and to explicitly claim the ways in which their position or experience relates to the issues being researched'.

Thus, IP has evolved to indicate the systematic interpretative process whereby an external researcher succeeds in relating to and interpreting the words and actions of a culture or sub-cultural group from their own standpoints as opposed to conceptualising these through his social or cultural lens. It is important, as a researcher, to acknowledge one's own assumptions, preferences and beliefs when defending a chosen methodological approach. The IP perspective legitimises such acknowledgment and accepts the researcher's background as a key contributor to the co-production of understanding. This is an important reason why the selection of an IP perspective fitted with my preferred approach as it enabled me to engage with research participants and to develop a relationship based on mutual understanding and collaboration.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Tracy (2000) argues that in some social research, different discourses associated with human experience can be presented as polarised opposites. For example, De Visser and Smith's (2006:686) study on male self-identity and health related behaviours suggested that:

> 'the dominant discourse of masculinity (is) characterized by physical and emotional toughness, risk taking, predatory heterosexuality (and) being a breadwinner'

and, by implication, that the absence of such qualities and behaviours would often be perceived as effeminate. Their use of IPA in a single case study of one 19-year-old man's self-perceptions and behaviours indicates that neither of the above polarised characterisations would have been either accurate or helpful. In their study, the clear benefit of adopting IPA as a research approach related to its propensity to capture the complexity, ambiguity and apparently contradictory nature of the respondent's feelings and unique perceptions. In my study, the IPA approach facilitated the collection of fine-textured idiographic data for each case and allowed the acknowledgment of the co-existence of certain feelings that might normally be considered mutually exclusive, e.g. the state of 'emotional engagement' with that of 'emotional burnout'. The debate continues as to whether IPA is actually a separate methodology to that of Interpretative Phenomenology or whether, in fact, merely a model for analysis *within* Interpretative Phenomenology.

Van Manen (2017) actually queries whether IPA is a form of phenomenological enquiry at all and proposes that its preoccupation with the single person experience represents a psychological focus. Smith (2010:9), the developer of IPA, robustly defends it as a qualitative methodology in its own right whilst firmly connecting it to its theoretical roots in hermeneutics. He argues that while phenomenological philosophers converge on the need to conduct detailed examinations of individuals' lived experiences, IPA 'recognises that there is not a direct route to experience and that research is really

about trying to be 'experience close' instead of 'experience far'. He suggests (2010:10) that what is distinctive about IPA, compared with other phenomenological approaches, is that it is based on the belief that:

> 'experience cannot be plucked straightforwardly from the heads of participants [...] *(but that)* it requires a process of engagement and interpretation on the part of the researcher'.

Smith refers to his earlier work (Smith, 1996:261) where he claims that IPA embraces the principle of:

> 'a chain of connection between embodied experience, talk about that experience and a participant's making sense of, and emotional reaction to, that experience'.

It would be imprudent to rely solely upon the view of a researcher on IPA who is, after all, directly responsible for its inception. There are, however, a wide range of scholars who recognise IPA as both a philosophical and methodological approach in its own right (Van Manen, 1997, Moran, 2000, McAuley, 2004, Van Manen, 2017) although there remains considerable dissension about the coherence of its connection with philosophical phenomenology (Finlay, 2009, Giorgi, 2010, Shinebourne, 2011). Some scholars nonetheless remain concerned about its representation as a fixed set of prescribed stages (Giorgi, 2000:11). Pringle et al (2011:21) suggest that IPA does not follow a fully developed critical interpretative framework for hermeneutic phenomenological studies. They stress, therefore that in the absence of such a prescriptive framework as that advocated by Koch (1999:20), IPA:

> 'needs to remain firmly rooted in what the participants are actually saying, with direct quotes being used widely to substantiate findings'.

Laverty (2003:2) draws attention to a blurring of distinctions between different forms of phenomenological research. In the context of hermeneutics, one of the key

theoretical perspectives underpinning IPA, she expresses concern about qualitative methodologies that lack sufficient rigour for their ethical application. Despite some concerns surrounding the ambiguities of an IPA approach in terms of its philosophical underpinnings, implementation and dependability, Smith (2010:9) claims that it continues to increase in popularity amongst qualitative researchers. It is now viewed not solely as a method of analysis but as a framework within which to conceptualise, develop and implement an entire research project.

4.6 The Application of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methods in this study

The practice of IPA was congruent with an interpretivist position and my personal values and beliefs and prompted me to give voice to important human experiences of dignity, respect, fulfilment and well-being at work. IPA has been increasingly applied in emotion research studies in the social and medical sciences. Shaw (2001:50) asserts that, in common with the 'grounded theory' method:

> 'researchers can investigate phenomena from a new perspective by learning from those who are experiencing it, rather from theories that may be many years old'.

Shaw (2001: 48) also posits that, in cases where the research emphasis is upon the quality of the participants' lives, the focus will be upon the uniqueness of each person's experiences and how these are made meaningful, suggesting that these experiences may reveal valuable insights about the many cultural roles that participants may occupy, such as 'flight attendant', 'nurse', 'mother', 'sister', 'partner', 'friend' or 'volunteer'. Outside the fields of physical and psychological health, IPA and more general qualitative approaches remain underrepresented in conventional service work research. IPA has, however, been applied to other business contexts such as commuter transport research (Mann and Abraham, 2006) and gendered research studies (Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh, 2008).

Sandiford and Seymour's (2002, 2005) ethnographic works on emotional labour and emotional self-management in the licensed retail sector form part of a small but developing literature. They observed that qualitative research was less frequently reported upon in service management journals and that when such research did appear, the processes of qualitative data *analysis* seldom received rigorous attention. Notable exceptions to this include Wijesinghe's (2007/2012) ground-breaking work on the interpretation of the lived experiences of hospitality receptionists' work. In the introduction to her later work, though, Wijesinghe (2012:110-111) supports Sandiford and Seymour's (2007) views claiming:

> 'The rich insightful knowledge that can be gained from understanding practitioner experience is rarely a central focus of scholarly writings about the workplace in hospitality and tourism contexts [...] Descriptions of practitioner experiences are often isolated from existential contexts in most hospitality and tourism research and they tend to be devoid of the emotions and meanings that made up the lived experience. '

Wijesinghe's (2007/2012) methodological approach is clearly underpinned by a hermeneutical and phenomenological commitment. Although she makes no explicit reference to 'IPA' her work shares many significant features, the most notable of which is to:

> 'express the lived quality of an experience in order to 'show what an experience is really like' rather than 'tell what it is like' (2012:109)

Wijesinghe's (2012) ideas in addition to those of Clark-Ibanez (2004) and Sweeney (2008) provided inspiration as to how this study's respondents could 'show' their experiences by finding alternative ways of expressing them. For example, nurse respondent Ivor used poetry as a way to better convey and understand his own uncertainties about the paradoxes and contradictions implicit in some aspects of his own care work. Other respondents used 'expressive text' and 'metaphor' to convey feelings (Eatough and Smith, 2006). For example, cabin crew member, Gareth, referred to his paradoxically inhibited yet reassuringly familiar lifestyle as his

'protective and constraining bubble'. The few illustrations of the application of IPA to emotion and other research indicates that its application and utility is potentially broad and appropriate in many contexts. Thus, it is not the specific nature of the research questions that necessarily determines IPA as a suitable qualitative approach but whether focussing upon the understanding and interpretation of the uniqueness of individual experience is relevant in the inquiry (Smith and Osborn, 2003). IPA methods are distinctive and each case's idiographic complexity must first be explored in its own right before the study explores similarities and differences of further cases (Smith et al, 2009:11).

It is proposed that the adoption of an IPA approach in this study will facilitate an exploration of *who* the service agents are and what an 'idiographic' research emphasis might contribute to our understanding of individuals' emotional self-management and its influence upon their sense of well-being. IPA endeavours to link such interpretations directly back to participants' own direct accounts and 'lifeworlds' (Van Manen, 1997, Moran, 2000, McAuley, 2004). The 'life world' (Heidegger [1926] 1991, Habermas 1987) relates to the 'background' environment of competences, practices, and attitudes representable in terms of a cognitive horizon within a person's subjectively experienced world. The 'lifeworld', however, is not an unchangeable backdrop but a dynamic shifting horizon which alters as individuals navigate their way through their lived experiences. The 'lifeworld' concept is appealing in IPA because it acknowledges the complexity, ambiguity and temporal volatility of human feelings and what these may suggest about the nature of experience. Law (2004:2-6) asserts that there is an increasing acceptance of methods which:

> 'no longer seek the definite, the repeatable, and the more or less stable *[but instead imagine the world as]* 'vague, diffuse or unspecific, slippery, emotional, ephemeral, elusive or indistinct'.

Rolfe and Gardner (2005: 297) assert the need for a 'science of the unique' in qualitative research which is 'concerned with "persons" rather than "people" ' where the individual practice encounter is the site of reflexive research and the emphasis is upon the collection of 'wet' rather than 'dry' data in 'swampy lowlands'. They suggest that social exchanges in service environments could still be perceived as 'a series of individual and unique encounters *(and not as)* a science of large numbers'. So, I propose that IPA was a suitable method of searching for possible meanings of subjective phenomena such as emotions and well-being in complex and often unpredictable workplaces. It was also congruent with this study's overall aim, which seeks to understand how individuals make sense of their lived experiences through their meaningful interpretation (Pringle et al, 2011:21).

The application of an IPA, approach required the practice of reflection, reflexivity and self-reflexivity as three interrelated activities (Botterill, 2003, Tribe, 2005, Ateljevic, 2005) and it was necessary to *reflec*t upon the meaning of a respondent's account of his experience both with him and separately from him. In addition, there was a need for us both to be aware of the *reflexive* effects of our respective actions and words upon how we each interpreted the participant's story. Shaw (2010:43) emphasises the importance of this in IPA and argues that:

> 'by engaging in reflexivity,[…], proactively exploring our self at the start of our research inquiry, we can enter into a dialogue with participants and use each participant's presentation of self to help revise our fore-understanding and come to make sense of the phenomenon anew'.

Finally, it was also important for me to be '*self*-reflexive' in order to maintain a truthful and honest ongoing conversation with myself about what I was experiencing as I was experiencing it and the influences 'within myself' that had caused me to make sense of the respondent's experiences in the way that I did (Nagata, 2004:139).

4.7 Ethical considerations and the process of ethical and research governance approval

This research project involved prolonged and deep levels of reflexive interaction with respondents on subjects of considerable sensitivity and confidentiality. It was important to understand how the conduct of the research and the ways in which the findings were reported might affect those whom it concerned. Where any possible adverse consequences were identified, it was essential to ensure that the potential effects were neutralised to protect respondents from any consequent psychological distress or harm. Symon and Cassell (2012:90) highlight the tensions that may exist between the deontological view of 'proper' research conduct that is 'ethical' and the consequentialist perspective that 'unethical' research may sometimes yield findings that can be claimed to have 'done good'. Many researchers, therefore, tread a 'deontological-consequentialist tightrope' balancing these often contradictory imperatives for respondents' protection with the need to generate new insights that may have positive overall impacts for society. In order to ensure that such imperatives were suitably balanced in this study, it was necessary to prepare a detailed ethics proposal application to the University's Faculty Research Ethics Governance Committee (FREGC). FREGC considered that it was necessary to demonstrate how vulnerable participants would be protected from any potential harm as a consequence of their participation. Relevant ethical 'measures' adopted relating to key stages in the research are reported upon in the appropriate sections later in this chapter.

The interview experience often provided therapeutic opportunities for respondents 'to reflect on, reorder and give new meaning to past, difficult experiences' (Birch and Miller, 2000:190). It was, nonetheless, important not to cross the boundaries between conducting sensitive research and acting as an untrained counsellor. Therefore, it was critical to avoid the development of inappropriate relationships where respondents might see me as 'confidant' and potential problem solver. There was an inherent danger that this might result in my 'unleashing' rather than 'collecting' respondents'

experiences (Birch and Miller,2000:195) where I would be placed in the precarious position of an unqualified therapist who might cause more harm than good. At the volunteer recruitment stage, any evidence of the potential vulnerability of a respondent would have led to a decision to decline that individual's offer to participate. Contingency measures were identified for protecting and supporting vulnerable participants who might suffer from unanticipated distress during or immediately after an interview. Advice was sought from qualified healthcare academics from the University's School of Health Professions on making necessary arrangements for referring participants to professional counselling services if appropriate. Whilst many respondents displayed emotion and conveyed strong feelings about recent experiences or past events, none expressed or displayed distress to the extent that a need was perceived for any counselling support. While it was important to protect respondents, Marvasti (2004:136:7) asserts that:

> 'it is impossible to anticipate every risk […] your study might affect respondents in different ways […] Even if your respondents voluntarily take part in your study, they may not be in a position to fully appreciate the potential harm they could suffer from their participation.'

It was also pertinent to consider whether the 'unleashing' of their emotions may actually have been therapeutic. This was evident in some cases where it appeared that participants gained deeper insights into the depth and complexity of their feelings. In turn, this enhanced understanding on their part and contributed to our mutual sense-making of their lived emotional experiences providing rich data for further interpretation.

4.8 Participants; sampling, selection and recruitment; inclusion and exclusion criteria

Identification, recruitment and selection of suitable participants
This study gathered respondent data within two related, yet, very different, occupational arenas and therefore the respondent 'homogeneity' often associated with IPA research initially raised some questions on this.

It was decided to approach Professor Jonathan Smith (the originator of IPA, whose work was discussed earlier) on the potential issues associated with homogenous sampling. Professor Smith (2014) advised that there was no issue, in principle, with comparing different groups, provided that:

> 'there are not clear differences between the groups on other variables age, gender etc. unless of course they systematically occur as primary differentiators between the two groups'.

Thus, it was decided that the best way forward was to aim for substantial homogeneity within each of the two distinct occupational groups from which data would be collected. The detailed rationale for choosing participants from two areas of service work been already been provided in Chapter 3. Following the recruitment phase, careful consideration was given to the 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' criteria relating to the eventual choice of participants. Inclusion criteria related to factors such as high interest levels, clear willingness to participate, high responsiveness, good communications ability and, ideally, a service record of at least 5 years. The principal exclusion criteria were the reverse of the inclusion criteria plus evidence of the potential vulnerability of a volunteer respondent (based upon the researcher's assessment or other relevant feedback)**.** It was also important to avoid the over-selection of respondents with very similar profiles (e.g. age, professional seniority). So, informal conversations by telephone or face-to-face with all individuals who responded to the recruitment call were essential to reach final selection decisions. A purposive sampling strategy that aimed to select six respondents from each of the two occupational groups was designed. A general selection criteria was developed in consideration of the need to gather data from respondents possessing significant work experience and whose role involved high levels of customer or patient interaction (see Table 10).

Nursing Participants – *Inclusion criteria*	Cabin Crew Participants – I*nclusion criteria*
1. Respondents to have approximately 15 years' experience and be at 'mid-career' stage (Nursing grade 5/6/7) 2. Working in adult nursing 3. Desired gender ratio: 2M/4F or 1M/5F (reflecting the gendered nature of the role and associated social history *ref. NHS Employers, 2017*) (Achieved gender ratio: 1M/5F)	1. Respondents to have approximately 15 years' experience and be at 'mid-late career' stage 2. Employed with 'full-service' or 'legacy' carriers 3. Desired gender ratio: 2M/4F or 1M/5F (reflecting the gendered nature of the role. ref. *Statista, 2017*) (Achieved gender ratio: 4M/2F)

Table 10: *Research Participant Selection Criteria*

A further rationale for a cross-occupational comparative approach related to the relative scarcity of studies that consider the emotion work of these groups together. Even where these two occupations are discussed simultaneously, they are seldom afforded equal prominence. This is particularly true in relation to the work of airline cabin crew (e.g. Bolton, 2003, Theodosius, 2008) where emotions in nursing work are usually depicted as infinitely more complex and involving highly skilled emotion management. The preliminary phase of the research consisted of the recruitment and selection of a purposive, non-random, non-probability respondent sample. Symon and Cassell (2012:39) assert that such a selection approach is congruent with research aims that seek to collect rich understandings within relatively small samples. They further explain that prescriptive rules concerning actual sample size are difficult to establish in the case of such forms of qualitative research. They do suggest, however, certain minimum non-probability sample sizes which differ according to the precise nature of the study. Smith et al (2009:48) assert that sampling should be theoretically consistent with the qualitative paradigms in general and IPA's orientation in particular. They argue that the principal concern in selecting appropriate participants relates to their perceived abilities to provide a particular perspective on the phenomenon (or phenomena) under investigation. In terms of respondent sample sizes for an IPA study, they recommend a number of between three and six.

Smith et al (2009:107) qualify this recommendation by stating that a larger sample is acceptable although it is almost inevitable that the analysis of each case cannot be as detailed. They claim that the emphasis shifts more to assessing what the key emergent themes for the whole group were as opposed to those for one individual within it. Smith (with Eatough in Lyons and Coyle, 2016:54), appears to have further revised his judgement on appropriate sample sizes in IPA. Here, it is emphasised that there is *no* right answer to the question of how many participants should be included in such a study and that making the right decision is contingent upon:

> 'the degree of commitment to the case-study level of analysis and reporting, the richness of the individual cases and the constraints under which […] *(the researcher)* is operating'.

In this study, it is suggested that, despite the slightly larger sample number, the prolonged and recursive nature of the data collection allowed for depth in addition to greater breadth of findings. It was decided to select 12 respondents in total, as this number would represent a 'best-compromise' with their range of recommendations for 'phenomenological' studies focusing upon a largely homogenous population. The quota numbers of respondents from the two key occupational groups was not predetermined though; the proportion of participants from each was decided as data collection progressed according to contingent factors (e.g. participant availability) and the identification of a point in time where it appeared that 'sensible meanings, free from inner contradiction' were capable of being extracted (Kvale, 1996 in Laverty: 2003:30). A 'snowball sampling' word-of-mouth (Smith et al, 2009:49) technique was adopted via a previously identified group of principal 'gatekeepers' for recruitment comprising:

1. Professional and social contacts who occupied health administration, nursing, airline training, occupational health or air cabin crew roles and who had connections with healthcare or airline sectors;
2. Academic and professional contacts (e.g. through the University's School of Health Professions) whose work was related to either occupational area.

4.9 Methods of data collection

An investigation into the nature of social interaction and the management of socially constructed emotions presents researchers with a variety of methodological and conceptual challenges. These include the gathering of deeply felt 'genuine' and intelligible testimonies from respondents who, for any number of reasons, may not be equipped with the appropriate self-reflective tools. The importance of sustaining respondent interest over the extended interview timeframe also generated further methodological challenges in the gathering of rich data necessary to assist with the understanding and explanation of emotions.

4.9.1 *Description of the data collection process*

The methods of data collection selected combined in-depth, semi-structured (round 1) and loosely structured (round 2) interviews with purposively selected respondents. In respect of IPA studies specifically, Smith and Eatough (in Lyons and Coyle, 2016:55) assert that semi-structured interview method of data collection could be considered the 'exemplary type' for this form of enquiry. This is mainly because this method allows the researcher to directly follow-up interesting and important issues that may come up during the interview. This assertion fits with one of the central tenets of IPA, which advocates a mutual form of sense-making between the researcher and the researched. It also allowed me to develop relationships of trust with my participants in a way that would have been considerably more difficult using 'remote' electronic forms of communication. This phase of research involved two rounds of face-to-face interviews with each respondent over an extended timeframe between the beginning of July 2014 and the end of July 2015. Typically, the time interval that elapsed between the first and second interview was six months. In the case of two respondents, the intervals between interviews were different; these were one month and one year respectively and in both instances this was because of logistical and availability reasons. Each interview lasted a minimum of one hour but most were considerably longer, the average time being 1.5 hours.

The intention was that after the first meeting, participants would have ample time to reflect upon particular aspects of their emotion work which they wished to discuss further at their second interview. In addition, this time interval would allow respondents to consider some memorabilia or 'personal artefacts' (for example photographs) they might choose to bring to their subsequent interview. Although not all respondents chose to bring any such artefacts to the second interview, it was noticed that those who did drew on these at several stages in our later conversations to explain and explore their past experiences and current feelings. Although the 'photo-elicitation' method comprised a relatively small part of the (second) interview, it was a catalyst for further enhancing rapport between researcher and participant, providing respondents with an additional avenue of self-expression to convey thoughts, events and felt emotions more readily in circumstances where they might have struggled to convey these through words alone. Clark-Ibanez (2004:1512) reminds us that, in addition to improving social rapport, the information provided by photographs can act as further question prompts for the interviewer. She also believes that some of the 'awkwardness of interviews' is diminished because there is something else to focus on. The 'visual representation' method (Sweeney, 2008) used to complement the loosely structured conversations was not restricted to the use of photographs.

Participants chose to bring many other forms of personal artefacts with them in addition to or instead of these. Examples of such artefacts included nurses' badges, degree certificates, collections of children's and adult books and the complete score from a Broadway musical. Elements of the 'storytelling' method (Gabriel, 2000) also supplemented the 'elicitation' approach and this was applied during the second round of interviews to further prompt respondents' recollections and expression of their experiences. Gabriel (2000:2) argues that:

> 'stories open valuable windows into the emotional, political and symbolic lives of organisations'.

I suggest that this assertion applies as well to those who work within organisations. Gabriel further asserts that stories, in themselves, offer an interpretation of events:

> 'infusing them with meaning through distortions, omissions, embellishments [...] without however obliterating the facts'.

Morgan and Dennehy (1997:494) also concur that 'storytelling' enables the researcher to better understand respondents' feelings. They claim that it can propel the researcher in a way that s/he can be:

> 'pulled into the scene and feel the emotions the characters feel'.

Antoniadou (2010:2) incorporated the storytelling approach effectively in her study of Cypriot flight attendants' accounts of their work. She argues that:

> 'there is still relatively little known about all the everyday emotions people feel at work in terms of their subjective meaning'

She posits that storytelling provides a fruitful means to relate to the feelings of others which are familiar to them but may be less accessible to the researcher. She encouraged her respondents to recall critical incidents in order to articulate specific emotions 'felt in the moment'. This approach both enabled her respondents to connect more readily with their feelings and also her own ability as a researcher to empathise and understand the less obvious social demands of such service work. The benefits of integrating storytelling within the data collection process were also evident in this study and the loosely structured elicitation method, adopted in round 2 interviews, helped to learn more about respondents' true feelings. All meetings were conducted away from the respondent's workplace. Initially, the earlier interviews from the first round were conducted on University premises. This then became inconvenient for some respondents and it was necessary for me to travel to their homes. It was noticeable that the social exchange dynamics during meetings in respondents' homes appeared remarkably more relaxed and, perhaps coincidentally, were of longer

duration, allowing me to gather more data and explore attitudes and experiences in greater depth. It was because of these observed differences that I decided to conduct all of my remaining interviews in 'homely spaces' either in respondents' homes or my own. It was also evident as the rounds of interviews progressed that respondents appeared even more at ease when invited into my own living space. The offering of my hospitality helped them to connect with me as a human being and not to a detached critical enquirer. In addition, the creation of more time within a conducive atmosphere allowed me to explore and make sense of participants' experiences in more depth Thus, these approaches to the conduct of interviews assisted with respondent validation and potentially assisted with the data's 'accuracy', 'credibility', 'validity' and 'transferability' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

4.9.2   *Management and organisation of data*

A schedule and record of interviews was maintained throughout the data collection period and this held information on each respective participant. All interviews were recorded on an audio device and later transcribed in full, and the transcriptions were stored securely in electronic form on a password-protected computer. My initial preference was to work exclusively with electronic versions of transcripts within the computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) program, QSR 'NVivo' (see Appendix 6). At a later stage in the analysis, I reverted to a physical table-top method which involved detailed manual annotation, coding and analysis of the data (see Appendix 8). The reasons for this are explained in the section below.

4.10 Analysis and interpretation of data – details of process followed

The research findings were recorded in the precise words of the participants. There was a need to be aware of the interconnections between respondents' expressed thoughts, their social context and other factors affecting their situations and circumstances (Taylor, 2011). It was equally important to differentiate between testimony that respondents intended to offer as part of their negotiated participation

and other information they imparted that was 'off limits' (Lugosi, 2006, Halkier, 2010). As indicated above, subsequent analysis of the data included progressive and summative member-checking to confirm with respondents that the data gathered accurately reflected their testimonies. Data were subsequently analysed using the IPA approach (Smith et al, 2009), which involved initial open analysis and subsequent identification of thematic, clustered and hierarchical relationships. The initial focus was upon each respondent 'in their own right' and I was mindful of the need to avoid using results arbitrarily from one interview to guide my subsequent conduct of a meeting with another respondent. A more detailed account of the IPA method and how it was applied in this study is offered below.

4.10.1 *The IPA method of data analysis*

The IPA method of analysis is underpinned by considerations relating to both the treatment of respondents and its epistemological perspectives. Firstly, the need to privilege and give prominence to individual respondents' accounts is foregrounded (Smith et al, 2009). Epistemologically, it is believed that knowledge generated may contribute to a heightened understanding of applicable theory as opposed to subscribing to an approach that aims for theory generation or substantiation (Bryman, 2008). Secondly, IPA acknowledges the researcher's background, beliefs and judgments as an influence in the generation of understanding. Thus, the key differences between IPA and other qualitative approaches relate mainly to the subtleties of the researcher's administration of IPA methods and how closely they fit with the above considerations. Smith et al (2009:81) are emphatic that IPA is:

> 'an approach and sensibility, as much a way of thinking about and seeing, as of doing something '.

4.10.2 *Experience of using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software'* *(CAQDAS) for this IPA study*

Smith et al (2009) assert that a researcher may well develop a way of working which remains true to the principles of IPA yet departs from the sequence of steps suggested by them. They maintain that analysis is an iterative and inductive cycle which may incorporate many strategies including close, line-by-line analysis of the experiential claims, concerns and understandings of each participant and the identification of emergent patterns and themes within such experiential material. I was mindful of the fact that a considerable amount of data would be generated through the cycle of 24 extended interviews so I initially sought ways to adapt the IPA approach most efficiently. It was for this reason that my first efforts to analyse and interpret the data involved trialling the use of the CAQDAS program 'NVivo' (see Appendix 6).

Sinkovic and Alfoldi's (in Symon and Cassell, 2012) suggestion that the 'messiness' of qualitative data may be dealt with effectively by the application of a CAQDAS program such as NVivo was encouraging. Despite an initially positive impression, it soon became evident that the 'NVivo' program prompted me towards the use of a progressive coding system for the transcript data. Although each new case had theoretically been examined in its own right, in reality there was a tendency to view each new case in the context of thematic codes that had already been established for previous ones (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). While I was not attempting to fully 'bracket' my impressions from studying previous transcripts, it began to appear that 'NVivo' was not conducive to the idiographic examination of each participant's experience of emotion management and well-being in its own right. I found myself 'shoehorning' quotations from each new transcript into coding 'nodes' that I had previously created. It was also evident that the program seemed less compatible with my own preferences for sorting and reviewing data in a tactile and less visually constrained way. For these reasons, an alternative manual 'table-top' approach for the analysis of data was developed, better suited to the examination of my respondents' life experiences in a way that focused equally upon the recognition of individual differences and the identification of patterns across

cases. The section below outlines the method that was adapted from Smith et al's (2009) illustration of analytical method in IPA.

4.10.3 Thematic Hierarchy and Manual 'table-top' approach for the analysis of transcript data

The data were analysed using an interpretative approach that was adapted from the IPA methods illustrated by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009: 79-107) and Adams et al (2015:434) involving the stages outlined in Appendix 8. It was important to establish a coherent and meaningful analytical framework in which a clear relationship was established between the various 'levels' in the 'thematic' hierarchy. Whilst Smith et al's (2009) recommended approach to the analysis of data was clear and detailed, it was felt that there was a need to introduce an additional (i.e. 'constituent') thematic level in order to maintain an auditable and transparent link from the highest level themes (i.e. 'superordinate' and 'core') back to the initial 'meaning units and the original transcript data itself. Appendix 7 briefly explains the 'thematic' nomenclature used in the study and should be referred to in association with Appendix 8 ('Data Analysis Method: IPA thematic coding'). Appendix 8 provides suitable examples of each stage of thematic analysis. Individual summary tables were constructed, illustrating the meanings identified for each participant. These meanings were then collated across participants to identify significant subthemes of the data. Next, patterns were identified from the subthemes, which allowed for identification of constituent themes. Constituent themes were then extracted, structured and formed into a master summary table that allowed for identification of core superordinate themes.

The research findings were written up and presented according to the clustered and hierarchical categories that emerged during the key stages of IPA identified above. Opportunities to present the voices of the respondents were taken wherever appropriate as it was believed that their testimonies could richly illustrate the analysis of their experiences, attitudes and perceptions.

The coding system of identified 'meaning units' facilitated a clear link back to relevant sections in the transcripts where such illustrations were required.

4.11 Issues of credibility and rigour

Coyle (in Lyons and Coyle, 2016) assert that an assessment of the worth of a qualitative research study cannot be made by applying traditional positivist criteria such as internal validity, generalisability, reliability and objectivity. She argues that the use of inappropriate traditional criteria to evaluate qualitative naturalistic inquiries will inevitably result in the research being found deficient. One of the earliest and best known criteria lists developed to gauge the merits of qualitative studies was developed by Guba and Lincoln (1989). A considerable range of alternative and/or complementary approaches have been developed since then (Elliott et al, 1999, Yardley, 2000.) One of the attractions of Guba and Lincoln's (1989) criteria framework is that it signals quality criteria that are 'parallel' to their positivist counterparts (see Table 11). There have, however, been criticisms of Guba and Lincoln's (1989) criteria which claim that their derivations were informed by the very quantitative criteria that they wished to replace and that they had been simply adapted for a constructivist epistemology (Symon and Cassell, 2012:206).

Positivist term	Naturalistic term
Internal validity	Credibility
Generalisability	Transferability
Reliability	Dependability
Objectivity	Confirmability

Table 11: *Guba and Lincoln's (1989) Parallel Quality Criteria reproduced from Symon and Cassell, (2012:207)*

Denzin and Lincoln (2000:17) assert that a 'legitimisation crisis' may exist that problematises the traditional criteria for evaluating and interpreting qualitative research. Silverman (2014:76) questions whether credibility in qualitative research actually matters and suggests that many evolving theories promulgate a belief that 'anything goes' in qualitative research.

Despite such contentions, in relation to qualitative research criteria, I suggest that the researcher has a responsibility to appraise his work critically using the best combination of quality indicators that seem appropriate to his ontological position and epistemological beliefs. By adopting such responsibility and positioning, I offer a brief explanation of how my research meets the qualitative criteria in a way that is appropriate to my field of study and methodological approach:

i. **'Credibility'**

Prolonged engagement

All of my participants were interviewed twice over an extended timeframe and every opportunity was taken to establish the necessary 'rapport' and trust with them to develop a rounded understanding of the context of their working and emotional lives. This also helped with facilitating the co-construction of meaning between researcher and researched, which is critical to the appropriate application of IPA methods. The extended interview timeframe also assisted with accounting for contradictions and distortions that were initially evident in the data.

Persistent observation

The opportunity to identify respondents' characteristics, viewpoints and beliefs that were most relevant to the principal research questions was facilitated by the 'prolonged engagement'.

Triangulation

This is problematic in IPA as often only one method or source type is used in the research. Smith et al (2009:52) proposed that there is a form of triangulation that fits with IPA's experiential emphasis which involves exploration of the experiences of respondents who come from different groups (e.g. the experience of risk from ecstasy users and bungee-jumpers viewpoints).

In the case of this research, I propose that the gathering of perceptions on emotional self-management and well-being from two related yet distinctly different occupational groups provides an element of triangulative credibility.

Peer debriefing

Working within an academic community, there were multiple opportunities taken to present and discuss my approach and tentative findings with my peers. This helped to uncover some of my 'taken-for-granted biases', for example in relation to, respondents' self-perceptions and identities.

Negative or deviant case analysis

The research uncovered a number of polarised or contradictory aspects of respondents' testimonies which worked against a tendency to jump to conclusions. The consideration of such data helped to inform and refine the broader patterns that eventually emerged from the data.

Member checking

Member checking provided participants with opportunity to correct or challenge what they perceived as inappropriate interpretations of testimonies. This formed an integral part of the research design.

ii.   'Transferability'

'*Thick description*'

Instead of attempting to show that the results are generalisable to all other contexts, I provided 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1975) on all 12 research cases. Geertz (1975:17) suggests that, in so doing, the researcher harnesses the power of his 'scientific imagination' to bring himself in touch with the lives of strangers. In this study, words and gestures of one respondent initially appeared similar to those of others but a deeper analysis often revealed a specific meaning that was peculiar to that one participant.

These descriptions were based upon detailed reflective 'case-by-case' notes and 'emergent theme-by-theme' analysis and were in sufficient detail for a reader to gauge the transferability of the findings to other times, contexts and individuals.

iii.   '*Dependability*'

Inquiry Audit

In order to provide evidence that the findings were consistent with the data collected, it has been necessary to prepare detailed transcripts of each interview which themselves link back to a complete set of audio recordings. In addition, a complete record of 'case-by-case interviewing and analysis work' was maintained and updated throughout the data collection period. Detailed reflective case notes by participant were also prepared as from such documents it would be easier to judge why certain operational and analytical decisions were made and how an eventual understanding of the entire dataset was achieved. The need to 'prove' that the findings in this study could be repeated as Lincoln and Guba's (1989) criteria suggests is debatable. Shenton (2004:63) proposes this dependability criterion is difficult in qualitative work but suggests that researchers should at least attempt to facilitate a future investigation of the study.

iv.   'Confirmability'

This criterion is similar to that of 'dependability' and is concerned with clarifying where the data came from; loosely structured recursive interviews in the case of this study. Whereas 'dependability' relates to establishing consistency between the data and the findings, 'confirmability' is directly concerned with verifying the *existence* of the data (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:243).Thus, the 'dependability' evidence fulfils the twin purpose of demonstrating both the dependability and confirmability of the data.

Yardley (2000) proposes that 'sensitivity to context' represents a valuable feature of qualitative research. In the case of this study, 'context' related specifically to 'occupational' context and it was important for the building of rapport and respect that I could demonstrate knowledge of and interest in the working environments of both participant groups. Contextual sensitivity also related to the need to be aware of the feelings and dispositions of respondents as these were influenced by a range of variable factors such as the time of day, perceived levels of respondent fatigue or stamina and recent affective events. Tracy's (2010) framework also cites 'sincerity' as a desirable feature of credible qualitative research and she holds that researcher reflexivity, honesty and transparency directly underpins this. The nature of 'reflexivity' and its application in this study is discussed in the section immediately below.

4.11 Reflexivity issues and impact upon interpretation and credibility of data

Reflexivity essentially relates to the researcher's awareness of his or her role in the practice of research and the ways in which this role is affected by what is being studied. It is concerned with the extent to which the researcher affects the ways in which research is carried out and, more significantly, the outcomes of a research project. Haynes (2012:73 in Symon and Cassell, 2012) refers to reflexivity as 'the process by which research turns back upon and takes account of itself'. There is a suggestion here that a bi-directional relationship exists between researcher and the researched. Therefore, it is possible that the understandings and outcomes that emerge from a particular enquiry are often the product of the symbiotic relationship between the researcher and the participant. Coyle (2016:20 in Lyons and Coyle, 2016) suggests that the investigator's 'speaking position' represents a critical influence in the ultimate analytical account emerging from a study. She suggests that while in quantitative research a 'speaking position' is often viewed as a 'contaminant' of validity, the qualitative researcher is often expected explicitly to declare their actual positioning and that this in turn contributes to the total transparency of the research programme.

There are difficulties associated with conceptualising the difference between 'reflection' and 'reflexivity'. Hibbert et al (2010 in Symon and Cassell, 2012:73) offer a useful explanation of the distinction between the two:

> '[R]eflection suggests a mirror image which affords the opportunity to engage in an observation or examination of ways of doing, or observing our own practice, whereas reflexivity is more complex, involving thinking about our experiences and questioning our ways of doing'.

Haynes (2012:74 in Symon and Cassell, 2012) explains that conceptualisations of reflexivity will vary according to our epistemological and ontological assumptions. An objectivist view that assumes a form of 'pre-existing social reality' will contrast with a subjectivist view that questions the 'independent existence of reality' and the researcher's role in researching it. My 'interpretivist/social constructivist' perspective is appropriate to my personal ontological and epistemological positioning and is also congruent with the philosophical underpinning of the IPA methodological approach which I have adopted. Thus, I share the view that, as a result of our interactions, my respondents and I have affected each other throughout the research process in different ways. I have become aware of other people's lives and experiences and have shared my reactions and interpretations of these with my respondents. This, in turn, has prompted some participants to reflect upon and re-evaluate the significance of what they have shared with me previously. We have, in many respects, moved together from a point of departure to which we can never completely return because new insights and understandings have been created which affect the ways in which we each view each other's respective 'emotional worlds'.

I suggest that many of our meetings have embraced the true 'spirit' of IPA, where the iterative sense-making activities have resulted in a 'co-construction' of understanding as, for example in nurse respondent Sally's case. Our discussions of her busy working life, private relationships and care responsibilities for her elderly mother revealed how little time she had spent reflecting upon her own emotional needs. I expressed great admiration for her apparently selfless commitment to her patients and to her own

mother, and at our subsequent meeting several months later, she told me she had made some important life decisions. These included the reduction of her nursing hours so she could attend better to her own well-being and that of her mother. She had reconsidered what 'well-being' actually meant to her and whilst previously she viewed it as being 'busy' and 'important to others', she had realised that it also meant acknowledging her own support needs and the consideration of how others might nurture her. One of the artefacts that she chose to bring to our second interview was a recently renewed passport which she presented as a symbol of her perceived newfound freedom. These exchanges between us are indicative of reflexivity in practice. In our discussions, both of us came to reflect, interpret and reconsider what well-being actually meant to each of us (Alvesson and Skoldburg, 2000). Reflexivity has been an important aspect of the researcher-researched relationship and, although it has resulted in some unexpected and rewarding insights, it also presented some cognitive and emotional challenges. Maintaining reflexivity has required an ongoing sense of awareness about my own theoretical assumptions and presuppositions about what my research is actually about. In addition, it has prompted consideration of how the core research questions may have been affected by the emergence of new understandings.

5   Summary and conclusion of chapter

My ontological positioning and the IPA methodological approach are both congruent with this study's aim to develop further understanding of emotional self- management and well-being in service work. The approaches to research design and application discussed required close monitoring and consideration during the key stages of the project. The experience of designing and carrying out the research itself was simultaneously engaging, frustrating and demanding on many levels. As a novice user of IPA, the process of applying its methods required persistence and determination in order to remain true to its underpinning philosophical principles. The preparation for and conduct of interviews was an important learning experience; a sensitivity towards

respondents' communication preferences and moods progressively developed. The considerable time initially devoted to gathering contextual personal background information was well invested as it placed participants at greater ease and allowed me to learn about what was meaningful in life to them. Building this rapport was critical to obtaining their genuinely felt testimonies and the two-phase interview process enabled respondents to reflect, reorder and prioritise areas that they wished to explore further. It also facilitated the building of trust between researcher and the researched and at many second meetings, there was a sense of respondents' perceptions of me as 'researcher as friend', somebody who genuinely wished to learn about how things had been with them since we last met. IPA requires the researcher to sensitively juggle the roles of 'witness', 'interpreter' and 'analyst', and my ability to maintain a careful balance between subjective interpretation and respondents' views of their 'life worlds' was key to the credibility of the findings.

Chapter 5: Findings

Introduction

This chapter presents an initial thematic analysis of the main findings, drawing upon observations derived from both the close analysis of individual cases and the ways in which these have informed the study's superordinate cross-case themes. It reflects this study's idiographic commitment to present both fine-grained and contextualised analyses of service workers' lived experiences in their performance of emotional self-management and how they make sense of these in relation to their well-being. The loosely structured interviewing approach led to the collection and analysis of data where four predominant 'constituent' themes in relation to participants' 'emotional self-management' and 'well-being' emerged, namely:

i.   'Focus on life experience and learning'
ii.   'Focus on social and emotional exchange'
iii.   'Focus on the person'
iv.   'Focus on emotional replenishment and reward'

Although some semi-structured questions were used in the first round of interviews, the above themes emerged mainly from the time and emphasis many respondents chose to give to discussing certain significant aspects of their emotional lives and well-being.

This chapter moves progressively though an identified thematic framework (Figure 4 below), offering individual perspectives on workplace emotions and well-being whilst linking these, where appropriate, with broader 'cross-case' themes. The thematic hierarchy illustrates the 'emergent', 'constituent', 'superordinate' and 'core' themes that were identified following an in-depth analysis using the method outlined in Appendix 8. It shows how the four constituent thematic areas and their associated emergent themes relate to the two superordinate themes *'Offering my service'* and *'Serving myself well'* each of which ultimately relate to the core themes of *'Truth, Trust and Pride'* in self and in others.

In order to support the interpretative narrative below, each of the sections is supplemented by an appendicised 'thematic panel' (Appendix 9). Each panel relates to a corresponding section of the 'thematic map' (Figure 4, below) and presents very brief researcher notes encapsulating how different respondents' perspectives resonated with the specified theme. Before moving to the main analysis and in keeping with this study's idiographic concern, a very brief individual biographical profile is offered below (Table 12) for each of the 12 respondents who participated in this study.

Nursing Respondents			
Name *(Pseudonym)* **Age/Gender**	**Occupation/Seniority**	**Personal/Work Backgrounds**	**Personal keywords/ 'highlights'**
Angela **46/F**	NHS Ophthalmic Nurse (Band 6), large provincial teaching hospital	From the Philippines. Has worked in UK for 20 years. In long-term relationship with British partner. Misses home and family dearly. Interests: Gardening, walking, cinema	*'There is no place like home'* *'I am bubbly'*
Ivor **40/M**	NHS Ophthalmic Nurse (Band 6), large provincial teaching hospital	Scottish but spent most of his childhood in Africa. In long-term relationship. Worked as oil engineer and retrained as a nurse aged 27. Interests: Running, jujitsu, philosophy	*An 'extra mile' runner* *'Shuns the mediocre'*
Kirstin **48/F**	NHS Ophthalmic Nurse (Band 6), large provincial teaching hospital	From Romania. Trained as nurse there then immigrated to Iceland during Bosnian war. Left her family behind. Has occupied a number of nursing roles before ophthalmology (paediatrics, palliative care, psychiatry, and obstetrics). Also lived in Australia. Married to British engineer with 5-year-old daughter. Interests: Rumba, belly dancing, swimming,	*'I cannot see myself without seeing a nurse […] it just becomes part of you'*
Margaret **72/F**	NHS Ophthalmic Nurse (now Band 5) large provincial teaching hospital. Worked as Band 6 nurse before retiring at 60. Came out of retirement at 62 and returned to nursing	Brighton-born, spent her early professional years in US. Has had many nursing careers before ophthalmology (geriatrics, psychiatry, district, obstetrics). Has a 75 year old British husband (who is retired) and 40 –year-old adopted son with special needs Interests: Rambling, comedy club, cinema	*'we have endured and survived and we are all well'*
Maureen **48/F**	NHS Ophthalmic Nurse (now Band5) large provincial teaching hospital.	Born in Manchester. Nursing career has mainly been in geriatrics and plastic surgery. Has older French partner. Lives in Brighton. Interests: French culture, walking, alternative therapies, cinema	*'A hexagon personality with pointy bits'*
Sally **48/F**	NHS Ophthalmic Nurse (now Band 6), large provincial teaching hospital.	Brighton 'born and bred'. Trained at St. Thomas' Hospital in London. Wide range of nursing experience including paediatrics, neonatal care and obstetrics. In relationship with British partner. Interests: Cinema, genealogy, swimming	*'Just call me Sal'* *'The slightly bossy older sister'*

x

Air Cabin Crew Respondents			
Name *(Pseudonym)* **Age/Gender**	**Occupation/Seniority**	**Personal/ Work Backgrounds**	**Personal keywords/'highlights'**
Alan **48/M**	Cabin Service Director (CSD) long-haul routes) Major UK based international airline	Born and brought up in Hampshire. Conventional 'strict' upbringing. Worked in import/export business for three years prior to joining airline as crew at age 23. Has been a CSD for 17 years. Not in a relationship. Devoted to his 13 year old dog Lulu. Interests: Dog walking, gastronomy, Mediterranean cruising.	*'a nice lifestyle'* *'I like being surrounded by nice things'*
Gareth **35/M**	Cabin Crew Member 'Main Crew' European short-haul routes. Major UK based international airline	Ukrainian nationality. Travelled extensively during childhood with his grandmother. Moved to Sweden from Ukraine as a teenager. Worked in travel agency reservations call centre for three years before joining the airline as cabin crew at 22 years of age. In relationship and has three year old child. Interests: Leisure pursuits with his child, cinema, sightseeing and exploring.	*'I am very negative to be honest'*
Julian **39/M**	Cabin Crew Member 'Main Crew'- long haul routes. Major UK-based international airline	Born and raised in Sussex. Became an Air Cadet and was flying powered aircraft at 14 years of age. Studied aeronautical engineering before moving to airline to work in a variety of roles (reservations, brochure production, and marketing) before becoming cabin crew at 24 years of age. Lost very close childhood friend soon thereafter. Not in relationship. Interests: Aircraft engineering, gym, running, cycling, travel	*'Butterfly independence'* *'A dreamer'*
Justin **39/M**	Purser (European short-haul routes) Major UK-based international airline	Born and brought up in Durham. Travelled extensively as a child in UK and Europe in family caravan. Studied Travel and Tourism in college and subsequently worked in travel agency until joining airline at 24 as cabin crew. Flew short haul and then long haul routes until 2009 when involved in major safety incident. Subsequently returned to short-haul. In relationship. Lost close friend and companion eight years ago. Interests: Travel, camping/caravanning, Mediterranean cruising, food and entertaining.	*If someone says 'it is going to rain today', I will say 'well, the sun might come out later'*

Air Cabin Crew Respondents (-ctd.)			
Name *(Pseudonym)* **Age/Gender**	**Occupation/Seniority**	**Personal/ Work Backgrounds**	**Personal keywords 'Highlights'**
Mairead **54/F**	Cabin Manager (ex.) Short and long-haul routes Ireland-based international legacy carrier	Born and brought up in Limerick town, Ireland. Summers in childhood spent on a farm. Catholic convent education and subsequently trained as a nurse. Worked in obstetrics and oncology before moving to airline. Has worked as cabin crew and cabin manager for 30 years. In relationship. Interests: Irish folklore, food and entertaining, travel, animal welfare, farming	*'the happiness in your childhood kind of stands to you in later life.'*
Sandra **49/F**	Cabin Service Director (long-haul routes) Major UK based international airline	Born and raised in Manchester. Studied languages and business studies. Worked in mother's hairdresser and dress shop and later for French retail company. Joined the airline at 22 and promoted to Cabin Service Director at 34 years of age. In relationship. I nterests: Cycling, sailing, 'hot' yoga, domestic improvement, building and construction, travel, food and entertaining, theatre.	*'Try to do your best to park it. […] and get busy '*

Table 12: *Research Participants' Profiles*
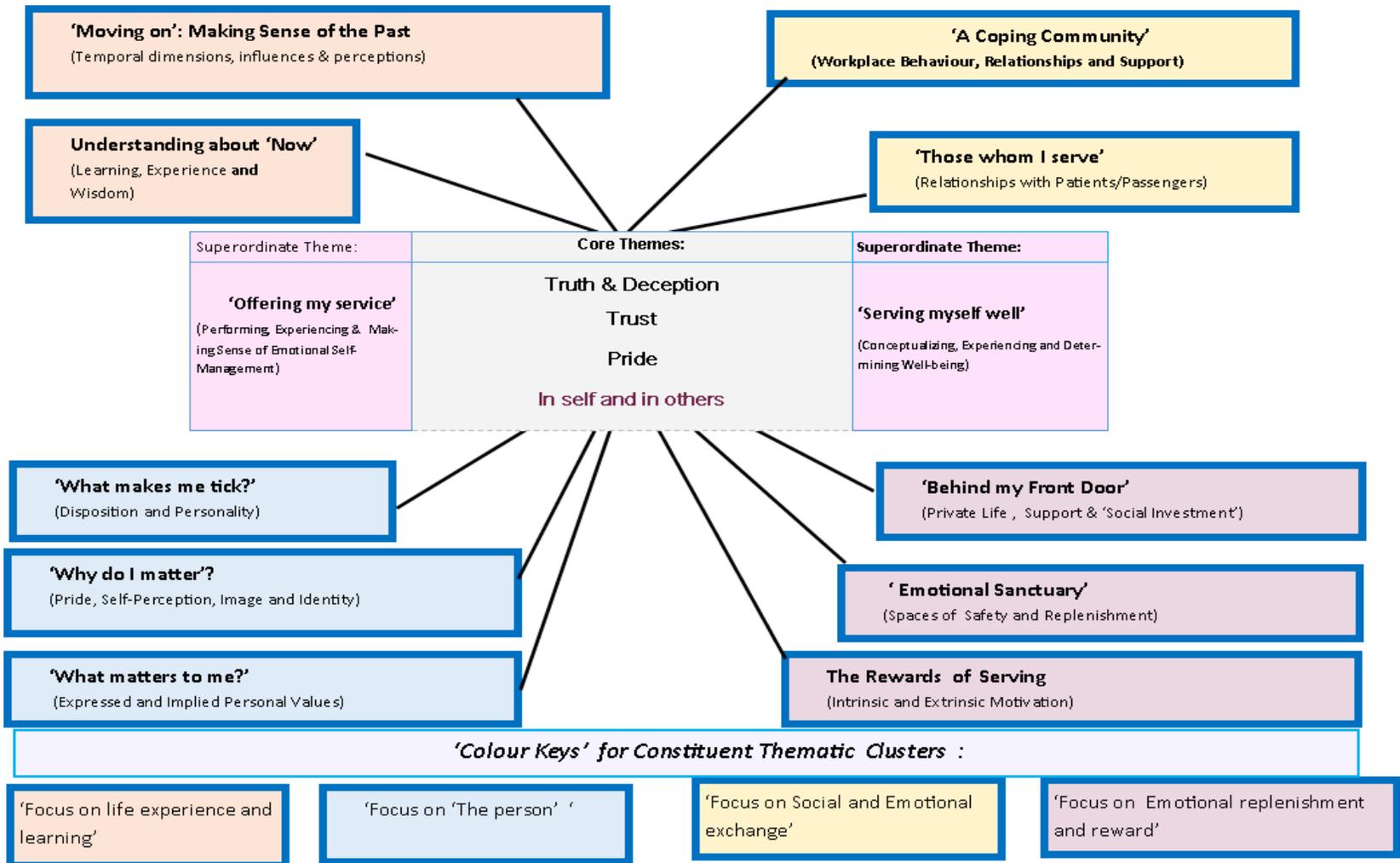
Figure 4: *Thematic map:* Key themes from the data relating to emotional self-management and well-being

5.2 Thematic discussion of Findings

The 'emergent' themes (see figure 4 'Thematic Map') relating to each of these four constituent thematic clusters are discussed in sequence below.

5.2.1   Constituent Theme: 'Focus on life experience and learning'

Many participants embraced the opportunity to share their personal and work histories in detail, enabling them to 'relax' and allow us get to know each other, enabling them to consider some of the significant events in their past and how these may have contributed to shaping their personal view of the world and their professional lives.

Emergent Theme: 'Moving on': Making sense of the past (Temporal dimensions, influences & perceptions)

All but one participant recalled their clear determination to follow a career in either nursing or aviation from a very early age. The predominant motivations expressed by respondents in both groups related to the desire to 'care for' and 'matter to' those they looked after. There were, nonetheless, numerous perceptions that were peculiar to smaller numbers of participants from both groups. All respondents, however, were interested in reconciling the perceived truths behind their initial career choices with the subsequently experienced realities of performing their work. For some, the choice of career represented more than a decision to train for a professional role and the need to find work; there was also the severe disruption associated with being uprooted from their homeland. In a few cases, the concept of 'vocation' emerged as a driving motive for a nursing career. Sally reminisces nostalgically on the legacy of caring within her own family and her early memories of accompanying her mother as she toured the county on her district nursing visits:

> *'I look back now and I think 'yes that is how I was'. I was the slightly bossy older sister that wanted to look after everybody and organise everybody [...] wanting to be the carer, the nurturer'*
>
> Sally Interview 1: Cell ref.: SAL (1) 43

Sally's vocational role model was the fictitious nurse heroine 'Sue Barton' from the series of novels by Helen Bore Doylston ([1936]-1967). She talked proudly of her background and the *'handed-down guidance'* she received on understanding patients' emotional needs. Justin's early certainty about his career choice was rooted in his self-identity and interests in the mechanics and wonder of flight. His childhood aspirations to become a cabin crew member were fuelled by his perceptions of excitement, adventure and his businessman father's 'tales from far away'. His preoccupation, however, was not simply associated with exotic destinations but with the experience of the 'journey', which he describes as the 'travel bug'. He remembers the start of his cabin crew training course:

> *'For me, it was so exciting I didn't care where I went and what I had done I was just happy to fly'*
>
> Justin Interview 1: Cell ref.: J (1) 169

He recalls feeling strongly attracted to the intrinsic rewards of 'service' and 'caring' roles, such as simply: *'getting that smile out of people'*. Gareth, Julian, Justin and Sandra all speak of their childhood wonder and fascination with aircraft and its influence upon their subsequent career choice. All four vividly recalled being taken to the airport by their parents to watch the aeroplanes take off and land and their sense of wonder at the technological miracle of air travel. Julian refers to this as: *'the sheer awesomeness of flight itself'*. His early belief that flight bestowed what he termed a form of *'butterfly independence'* endured long after his time as an air cadet. He recalls, much later, sitting in the cockpit of a Boeing 747 aircraft admiring a beautiful sunset over India:

> *'It was so peaceful and… epic, I suppose. It just has an epic feel to it.'*
>
> Julian Interview 2 Cell ref.: Jul (2) 261

Gareth talks animatedly about his childhood in Russia and the excitement of travelling to many cities with his grandmother as a young boy and his subsequent move to live in Sweden. Like Justin, Gareth admits to his early acquisition of 'the travel bug' and how this fuelled his desire for a career in the air. From an early age, Gareth could speak six European languages and,

apart from linguistic ability, he attributed this to an inherent wish to communicate and 'fit in' within the community in which he lived:

> *'I always picked up local dialects. The place where I lived-after a few years I spoke like a local. Nobody could actually tell the difference.'*
>
> Gareth Interview 1: Cell ref.: GA (1) 37-

Gareth is nostalgic about his earliest years flying, the excitement of new destinations, meeting people from different cultures and the fun and friendship of his workplace relationships. He keeps some parts of his old uniform and other artefacts and memorabilia, which represent for him a happier and freer time at work.

Angela's motivation to become a nurse appears to be rooted in her desire for a legitimate and credible identity in addition to providing for a better future for herself and her parents in the Philippines. She refers to her childhood inclinations to 'play the role' of nurse in school events. She talks of the material artefacts of nursing, such as syringes, uniforms, thermometers and blood pressure monitors as having been a source of fascination. Although not initially referring to the psychological rewards of caring for patients, she articulates her concern to look after her ageing parents and to provide for a future for them and for herself when she retires to the Philippines. She admits that she *'wants to earn dollars'* to secure this future. The desire for her homeland is of deep emotional significance, and her life here in the UK initially represented the means towards an end of a happy retirement and return to the motherland. She expresses a deep desire for her parents' approval, which she now feels that she has achieved:

> *'my parents are proud of (me): which I never thought I would reach this.'*
>
> Angela Interview 1: Cell ref.: ANG (1) 262

Angela initially learned to project an acceptable impression of caring for her patients by adopting a 'performative front' (Goffman, 1959:22). Now her socially induced behaviour has given way to a genuine value change whereby she now cares "about" in addition to caring "'for" her patients. Angela now accepts a new reality that 'everyone has value' and no longer strongly differentiates her care of others with that of her parents. This more equitable view has both changed her treatment of others and has prompted her to apply the principles of

equality to herself which boosts her self-confidence and professional credibility.

In contrast to Angela's adoration of her family, Ivor expresses profound regret about his parents' misplaced priorities, which he perceives inhibited his development. His early fascination with nursing was nurtured during prolonged periods of hospitalisation. Ivor saw hospitals as mystical sites of unfolding drama enacted within a contained, different, *'safe world where broken people get fixed'*. He believed his parents under acknowledged the advantages of a 'good education' and his later academic achievements which only strengthened his resolve to develop further his knowledge and skills. Ivor's view of his past as socially disadvantaged has influenced his need for emotional reinforcement and replenishment from friends, colleagues and patients. Glimpses back in time serve only to confound him and cause resentment. His perception of an educationally deprived past has served as a catalyst for both pride and 'regret' and continues to frustrate his ability to take ownership of his life and realise his professional aspirations. Ivor's perpetual search for 'rules as to how to live one's life well' and the 'holy grail of being in the world' has led him to study a wide range of philosophical literature. He seeks reassurance through others' proverbs, rules and principles of life but often finds himself at crossroads of contradictory guidance. He more recently turned to 'poetry' as both a metaphor and a way of understanding the seemingly inexplicable. This, however, appears only to fuel his ontological uncertainty and 'mixed feelings' of pride and shame for what he has achieved and lost. Paradoxically, these feelings appear to drive two equally significant but opposite needs to 'shine and stand out' and to socially 'fit in'.

Maureen and Kirstin also appear to have viewed education and nursing as a threshold to a better life. Maureen admits that nursing did not represent a burning ambition for her but that she perceived it as a sensible choice and a means to become independent.
She had been affected by dyslexia during childhood and was keen now to achieve a credible professional status. In addition, she claims that decent values were inherent within the nursing profession at the time with which she strongly identified, particularly those relating to the respect and autonomy of the individual. Kirstin's 'escape' was, perhaps, more dramatic as it involved an exit from the Serbia-Croatian war. Her decision to emigrate allowed her to start

her career. She explains how her turbulent past contributed to 'burnout' in her early work in palliative care nursing, and her move to another field was influenced by this:

'I just couldn't face the death every day.'

Maureen and Kirstin both demonstrate a nostalgic realism about their past, in Maureen's case the childhood joys combined with recognition of significant learning difficulties, and, in Kirstin's, the grim realities of the war followed by an adventurous escape. They are both frank and honest about the extent of their early commitment to their nursing roles and see the truth that neither of them were 'born nurses' but that they have willingly grown with the role. Other nursing respondents seemingly separated the facts from the fiction in their aspirations and self-constructed identities. For example, Sally, who turned a fictitious role model into a lifelong career through her own moral convictions and perseverance whilst also acknowledging that her idealism might not align with others' less philanthropic views of the nursing role. Extrinsic rewards loom large in the earlier parts of conversation with Alan who reflects upon his early ambition to work as cabin crew being influenced by his parents' neighbours:

'You know, they had nice homes and they had nice cars, and so I kind of thought 'well, that can't be a bad life' – because, you know, these people have got [...] they are surrounded by nice things and they seem to enjoy their work so much, it doesn't seem like a job, it seems more like a sort of [...] something you would enjoy and wouldn't be so much of a chore.

Alan associates his early years in the role with excitement, adventure and 'lots of fun', which he remembers with fondness and nostalgia. Whilst he celebrates the enduring nature of his initial work friendships, he laments the more recent change in his feelings about working relationships. These have been driven by changing conditions and working patterns and the development of an increasingly 'transient' culture. Mairead also acknowledges significant changes during her 30 years as a flight attendant and subsequent cabin manager. Despite the industry 'speed-up', she claims that she enjoyed the 'people side' immensely 'right up until the end'. She talks of her pride in working for the airline and the continuing spirit of solidarity

amongst the crew. She attributes her perspective to her happy childhood, with 'two lives' as a well-looked-after city child and a summer time 'farm girl'. Like Alan, she later enjoyed generous material rewards from her work although she, emphasises:

'I appreciated […] (them) but I was never seduced by […] (them)'.
Mairead Interview 1: Cell refs: MA (1) 282-284

Mairead believes that her interest and concern for people grew from her childhood relationships and her earlier career experiences in 1970s Catholic Ireland as a maternity nurse, which she claims were:

'very tough […] like something in the dark ages […] unmarried mothers' babies were taken from them and put in the nursery and you would see them at night trying to see their babies'
Mairead Interview 1: Cell refs: MA (1) 81 & MA (1) 122

Her concern for others is evident from her recollections of many 'adventures' during her long career at the airline, most notably her decision immediately post 9/11 to volunteer as a member of the 'rescue team' sent to Gander Island, Newfoundland. She makes light of her experience of repatriating 550 stranded passengers and being forced to live on an aircraft for two days with them.

This section has provided some glimpses of the respondents' past lives and experiences. It has been seen here that, for some, the truthful reflection upon their experiences paid dividends in terms of how they positively viewed their working world. It also helped in making sense of their personal 'philosophy' of offering their service (i.e. the rationale underpinning it) and recognising the ways in which they needed to attend to their own emotional needs. For others, accepting the truth and realities of their pasts was difficult and remained a source of frustration and puzzlement. The latter group faced similar challenges with suppressing the truth about their feelings during their exchanges with service recipients. There were a number of motivations underpinning respondents' choices of their working roles. The most significant and common reasons appeared to relate to a desire to care or serve combined with the need for pride and self-identity. Discussing respondents' pasts enabled them to reflect upon some

of the intervening temporal factors influencing their feelings about how they interacted with both colleagues and service recipients

Emergent Theme: 'Understanding about 'Now', (Learning, Experience & Wisdom)

This section focusses upon the contribution that past experiences have made to how respondents make sense of their contemporary world and their perceived relationships with others. Unsurprisingly, individual respondents' interpretations of their past experiences varied considerably, with some believing that past challenges had enhanced their understanding of colleagues, patients, or passengers' social exchange needs. For example, Angela now dismisses her early struggles with the English language with good humour and is proud of how she ultimately managed to conquer her lack of confidence by forcing herself to engage with others.

She reflects:

> *'You know, sometimes you have to face the reality - this is your life now'.*
>
> Angela Interview 2 Cell ref.: ANG (2) 368

In consequence of her drive to communicate, she has developed a heightened sensitivity to the expressive needs of partially sighted and blind patients. For Kirstin, focusing upon the temporal aspects of her life learning involves 'looking both ways'; back into her past through the lens of her cumulatively acquired wisdom and into her present and future through a retrospective window of her 'past' experiences. She makes sense of her past through what she knows now, often seeing 'what she should have done' or 'what she should have been feeling' at the time. Her struggle with palliative care in the wake of leaving her war-torn home country is an example of how she manages to reconcile her regret in 'abandoning' her patients for another sphere of nursing with her realisation that attending to her personal needs was legitimate at the time.

Respondent attempts to make sense of the present through the learning and wisdom acquired from past life experience did not always result in enhanced insight. In some cases, they confounded and highlighted paradoxical aspects of their past. As discussed above, Ivor

believes that his 'disadvantaged' educational history has frustrated his capacity to reach his full potential. Paradoxically, his difficulty acknowledging significant personal and professional achievements suggest an inability to recognise his success. Paradox manifested itself differently in respondents' stories relating to the care of others. Margaret claims that she experiences difficulty coping with moral dilemmas whilst nursing. She talks about being a 'health visitor' and an impoverished young disabled mother who she suspected of child abuse. Margaret's allegiance was torn between her responsibilities to care for the child and to attend to the mother's needs. Paradoxically, in this situation, Margaret's attention to one patient could frustrate the care of the other. Her later move into ophthalmic nursing was partly influenced by the desire to avoid dealing with such social issues but she is truthful about such areas of practice where she feels she cannot be successful. Nonetheless, she celebrates her own resilient characteristics, which allow her to concentrate on what she feels she is good at.

Maureen suggests that her childhood learning difficulties and her sense of 'being different' have taught her to be more determined and resilient. This has also sensitised her to the needs of vulnerable patients. Paradoxically, her own self-perception as 'different' has propelled her towards a view of modern society where *'everyone is trying to be different'* and difference is normalised to the extent that individuals are disinclined to make any appropriate efforts to *'fit in and take pot luck'* or make a collective contribution to society. Unlike Maureen, Mairead's life as a child was happy and privileged, but she expresses deep regret at her hesitation as a junior nurse in exposing the harsh and insensitive treatment of unmarried mothers. She claims, nonetheless, that this subsequently led to her firm resolve to speak up for those who were vulnerable or disadvantaged.

Sally also believes in individuals' moral obligations to contribute to others' well-being. When younger, her idealised view made her prone to think the best of others and their motives. Whilst Sally's desire to serve and care for patients has not diminished, her experience of social interaction has led her to develop a healthy cynicism towards certain colleagues and patients she refers to as 'passengers', using this term of those who make few contributions at work or who accept minimum responsibility for their own health. For some respondents, experience

has led towards feelings of cynicism about both personal and professional life. Alan has learned and moved on from his early years as a cabin crew member, where much of his work seemed exciting and adventurous. Whilst such excitement was initially appealing, he began to perceive it as 'unsafe' and signifying his being 'out of control'. Alan's and Gareth's initial excitement and sense of adventure associated with flying conveys treasured memories of old friends whom Alan refers to as *'real people'* in stark contrast with their current world-weary views of colleagues and passengers. They associate their present world with self-preservation, familiarity and material comfort, where natural social curiosity has been extinguished and their rose-tinted recollections of the past misalign with the harsher realities of the present. Gareth struggles to identify the truth about his current feelings about work and has difficulty accepting the realities of organisational changes to his own role. He appears lost in a liminal space of indecision about whether to 'break free' from airline work. Julian also appears confounded by his continuing personal, but perhaps blinkered, construction of the truth in relation to what constitutes a 'good' working environment. He believes that the 'ideal' working environment is built upon sound policies, robust systems and plentiful material resources, and that positive social interactions and relationships are subordinate to these. People and their actions appear to disappoint him continually instead of providing solace and support when things go wrong. This predisposes him to a bleak view that values protocols, procedures and resources in organisations as determinant of his well-being more than the people who work within it.

In order to self-manage his recreational life 'down-route', Alan has needed to change to the extent that he now asserts: '*excitement does not feature any more'*. He shared his insights with others, and became a voluntary counsellor in between his flying duties. This helped him to understand himself better, although he still perceives the need to guard his real feelings and is 'afraid of really letting [himself] go'. For Sandra, also, time has dulled the thrill of her work as a cabin service director but she has found ways to 'even out' her perceptions of her role which enables her to maintain an even level of enthusiasm for it. Like Alan, she has learned to alight from what she alludes to as 'the big dipper' and recognises and attends responsibly to her physiological and psychological needs. She does this using the tried and trusted techniques developed during many years of service. For example, after initially resting, she joins her

partner in his world of construction, where she is expected to make a physical contribution. Sandra also refers to her many interests including outdoor pursuits. While Gareth shows insight into the historical influences that have brought him to his present career, he indicates 'mixed feelings' about the extent to which he is still engaged by his work:

> *'I am quite happy doing this job, because you (sigh) you [...] if I describe [...] When I come into work many times, you just [...] you are on your own. Sometimes you see familiar face and they go: 'Oh hi Gareth how are you?' 'I haven't seen you for ages', which is nice. And then, two minutes later, they have moved on and I have moved on and that is it. And (then) you do a flight together and you talk and then:*
> *'Nice to see you', 'Have a nice life', 'See you in five years' time'.*
>
> Gareth Interview 2: Cell refs: GA (2) 1729-1738

On the other hand, he claims that:

> *'Flying is now just a job' […] and […] it is a very hard job now and it is very busy.* […] *since we spoke last, I am even more tired. I feel more and more and more exhausted to an amount* [i.e. 'extent'] *that I am beginning to be concerned about my health and my well-being.*
>
> Gareth Interview 2: Cell ref.: GA (2)1137-1141

Gareth conveys a sense of being lost within a liminal space, where his job offers the notional freedoms of transience and escape without providing any promise of progress or arrival at a more meaningful 'destination'. Taking this metaphor further, Justin has a very positive perception of his life as a journey and not arriving at final destination. He claims, however, that each stage of this journey is enhanced by new insights developed from previous experiences and, in particular, his own achievements. Justin has used his experience and reflections upon 'mixed feelings' in a constructive way to make sense of his emotional self-management. His vivid recollection of an emergency on board a smoke-filled aircraft has allowed him to understand the emotions and feelings he encountered at the time in a perceptive and helpful way:

> *'I kept thinking […] It is hard to describe it […] I was playing it out – "this isn't happening. Everything is going to be fine" […] I thought "even if this aircraft catches fire now, I am going to blow that slide and we are going to get out". So that maintained my calm, knowing that everybody else would have known our situation and be ready to act: hopefully! [laughing slightly hysterically]'*

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Justin's further discussion of this event with me allowed him to consider its significance for the understanding of his emotional self-management. In essence, Justin was playing out his lived experience from three perspectives:

1. the 'physical' self, where he was directly engaged in dealing with the emergency following prescribed protocols automatically (the Freudian 'ego'-realistic practical self-mediating between 'id' and 'superego')

2. the 'emotional' self, where he allowed himself (or was compelled) to feel the shock, anxiety and trauma (the Freudian 'id', primitive instinctive self)

3. the 'mental' detached self, where he managed to look on more dispassionately at the occurrence as it played out, providing remote reassurance back to his 'emotional' self that "everything was going to be all right" (the Freudian super-ego-moral conscience-'guardian angel')

By allowing himself to reflect truthfully, Justin has been able to learn from this experience and make sense of the 'mixed feelings' he encountered at the time. His sub-conscious coping mechanism of separating the 'physical', 'emotional' and 'mental' self has now become part of a conscious awareness to draw upon in the future. His conviction about the value of what he does has also fostered an ontological security that enables him to accept working life's limitations and imperfections. He constructively addresses these, taking every opportunity to resolve them. Sandra also demonstrates the ability to accept the limitations of working life and shuns the 'golden runways' image promulgated by the airline and some employees. She accepts the truth surrounding the diminished thrill and allure of working in the air. An honest reflection upon this has allowed her to rationalise what she can gain from her work and to even out her positive and negative perceptions. She recognises the importance of a different lived reality at home to that experienced in the rarefied and artificial world of her work.

There are questions relating to moral ambiguity, ontological positioning and ambivalent perceptions of fulfilment that persist and remain unanswered for some participants, which could be collectively summarised by the phrase 'mixed feelings'.

The next three sections explore, amongst other perspectives, such 'mixed feelings' from the predominantly first-person viewpoint (how participants see themselves).

5.2.2 *Constituent Theme:* 'Focus on the person'

Respondents were encouraged to talk openly about how they saw themselves in terms of their personalities, dispositions and self-identities and how these related to their personal values. They were invited to consider how all of these factors might influence their inclination and ability to engage in the emotion work associated with those for whom they served and cared.

Emergent Theme: 'What makes me tick?' (Disposition and Personality)

In keeping with the philosophical positioning of IPA, participants were first asked about their self-perceptions of their thoughts, feelings and behaviour when alone and whilst engaging with others. When these perceptions had been captured, the reflexive sense-making process could begin. The following three sections convey the outcomes of these interpretative exchanges.

Angela claims that her default personality is 'bubbly' with a tendency to be *'positive and to avoid moaning'*. Her explanation for mood fluctuations and negative feelings is biological, rather than any reaction to perceived adversity. She deals with feelings of sadness or frustration by often crying in situations where she feels that she has lost control. The process of crying acts as a quick release mechanism, after which she feels ready to 'move on'. She recalls her first arrival in the UK and her reception in the nurses' home:

> *'They gave us some food – one plastic bag of economy Sainsbury's food, like sardines, rice and milk, and then they gave us a £5 voucher phone card to phone home. Every time I called, I always cry. And my sister said: 'You know what, you are wasting your money, - call next time when you are not crying'*
> <div align="right">Angela Interview 1: Cell ref: ANG (1) 60</div>

She found, however, that she was drawn towards and felt concern for her patients but simultaneously felt guilty about this:

> *'You know, my first patient when I came here, the patient died. I cried with that patient. And then I said to my God- why am I crying? I shouldn't be connected to my patient [...] I have these guilt feelings like [...] why do I look after these people here? I am a nurse-I should be looking after my parents'.*
>
> Angela Interview 1: Cell ref: ANG (1) 60147

Thus, crying appears to have both a 'signal' and 'coping' function for Angela. Her emotions of happiness, frustration and sadness are often felt in the moment, and by allowing herself to experience and express these instantaneously, she can manage her emotions in a way that works for her.

Ivor asserts that he has a naturally optimistic take on life, which he refers to as the 'glass half-full' perspective. He believes in the potential for continuous improvement and is constantly asking himself: *'how can I make it better?'* He describes himself as a perpetually 'busy' person so he can avoid excessive rumination about disruptive forces that frustrate his sense of well-being. As discussed in section 5.2.1 above, his belief in the multiplicity of possibilities for 'leading a better life' has caused him frustration and self-doubt. He appears to possess urgent needs to both 'be different'' and 'to make a difference'. He has a philanthropic drive to do the utmost for his patients and likes to be seen as offering an exemplary standard of care. As with other participants, Ivor's personality suggests paradoxically polarised attributes; his self-confidence and yet his chronic uncertainties about 'the life well lived' are both evident. Kirstin is also driven by a desire for continuous improvement in the care of her patients. She perceives herself as a highly conscientious 'perfectionist'. Her deep commitment to the well-being of others makes it difficult to suppress her anger at inadequate care standards. Margaret combines Kirstin's convictions with that of an 'adventurer', comparing herself to the explorer and philanthropist Dr Albert Schweitzer. She says she often *'rushes in where angels may fear to tread'.* Paradoxically, her inclination to plan shrewdly appears polarised against her professed desire for adventure and unpredictability.

Maureen proposes that a natural and honest approach to sensing and experiencing emotions is 'what makes her tick'. She is confident and at ease with herself, claiming that her resilience is peppered with cheerfulness and healthy cynicism. Like Ivor, she shuns *'mindless conformity'* and emphasises that she is not a *'stamped out'* version of anybody else:

> *'I don't want to be some sort of robot [...] you are switched on, you have got a pre-programmed* [function] *and you go in there and you have this stick-on smile. And you deal professionally, dah-dah-dah-dah'*
>
> Maureen Interview 1: Cell ref.: *MAU (1) 492*

Sally adds the qualities of dedication and meticulousness to the profiles of other nurses. She asserts that indifference 'bugs' her and she asserts:

> *'the one thing that drives me absolutely nuts is hearing my colleagues refer to patients as [for example] 'bed seven'.'*
>
> Sally Interview 1: Cell ref: 1164

Sensitivity and dedication to others was not exclusive to nursing respondents' views of themselves. Alan self-depicts as a skilled, resilient and observant manager. He is intensely frustrated by underperformance caused by indifference but highly supportive of those in need of emotional reinforcement. Gareth also possesses a high emotional tolerance threshold developed with experience as opposed to an element of his innate personality. He has learned to *'avoid making dramas in the sky',* thus minimising emotional wear and tear for himself and others. He self-perceives as a 'wanderer' embracing freedom and flexibility but, paradoxically, shunning aspects of work that disrupt a more stable personal life. Similarly, Julian prefers order in his domestic and professional life. He sees his 'environment' (but not the people in it) as the key determinant of his happiness or frustration respectively, and this perspective inhibits his ability to engage socially. Justin self-portrays as a positive and resourceful individual, encapsulated in his phrase *'sunny side up'*. He is, nonetheless, reflective and reflexive in his approach to interacting with others. He sees himself as a carer and an adventurer and *'looks outside the box'* for solutions and opportunities to resolve challenging or unusual situations.

He finds 'spaces for being human' (Bolton, 2005: 133) that are neither confined to social nor professional situations, which largely obviates his need to feign feeling.

Mairead displays many of Justin's attributes and also claims to embrace challenges enthusiastically. She is quick on her feet to deal with the challenges inherent in emotional and social interaction, viewing these as an enriching part of her job. She is driven by her own 'moral compass' and rebels against social injustice. Sandra also depicts herself as emotionally resourceful and resilient. In her management role, she combines self-confidence with a reluctance to display vulnerability. She is rarely bored and her own interests are inspired by her curiosity about others and the wider world.

In keeping with the stereotypical perceptions associated with thoughtful and effective service, many respondents self-identified the classic criteria of tolerance, sensitivity, interest in others and resourcefulness. Nonetheless, perceptions of the emotional costs of harnessing these attributes varied considerably. Some participants referred to the significance of conscious 'unwinding' after challenging interactive situations, whereas others claimed that they had a natural disposition to 'walk away' from such encounters without feeling pressure or stress. Mixed, polarised or even contradictory feelings were also evident from the conversations with respondents. Self-confidence co-existed with deep uncertainty, adventurousness manifested itself alongside desired stability and claims of emotional resilience were juxtaposed against those of frustration within accounts of one exchange.

Emergent Theme: 'Why do I matter'? (Pride, Self-Perception, Image and Identity)

This section focuses more specifically upon the significance of self-identity for respondents.

Angela's stories of hardship and adversity early in her nursing career are testimony to her determination to succeed, providing the backdrop for the legitimate celebration of her achievements and resilience.

Angela recalls travelling to the UK for the first time:

> *'We didn't even know the seat belt, […] we had this blanket and then the food and I didn't know what is the food and everything. And then they said: 'Don't worry' […] and even the television we didn't know how to use it!!'*
>
> <div align="right">Angela Interview 1 ANG (1)158</div>

The adversity experienced is presented in the form of a detached narrative. It is conveyed in a 'Chaplinesque' (Chaplin, 1936) manner, an amusing story of the 'hapless out-of-towners' and their clumsy progress. Angela appears to use this form of storytelling to distance herself from this time in her life and the way she feels now as a respected professional. Status and recognition are important to Angela, and this partly explains her quest to become a 'specialist' nurse in ophthalmics as she felt that this would bestow status and 'make her a more interesting person'. Her 'badges' as symbols and status of 'rank' are proudly presented to me as testimony to her professional achievements.

Polarisation and mixed feelings characterise Ivor's self-perception. Self-affirmation coexists with uncertainty, deep pride with profound regret and feelings of self-confidence alongside self-doubt. Ivor feels the need for constant reinforcement and recognition of his value as a capable agent. Paradoxically, he wishes simultaneously for the positive, inclusive feelings associated with belonging to a professional group but also yearns for the distinction of being perceived as the 'front runner' who outpaces colleagues in expertise and high standards of patient care. Kirstin, although also seeking the respect of her colleagues, appears less conflicted in her self-identity. She claims that 'she knows who she is' and this has brought her a sense of purpose, meaning and positive self-image:

> *'I cannot see myself, like myself, without being a nurse'*
>
> <div align="right">Kirstin Interview 1: Cell ref.: KIR (1) 945</div>

Margaret also possesses pride in both her personal knowledge and expertise, although there are fleeting glimpses of her self-doubt concerning more complex technical aspects of her work. She feels secure in her identity, which comes from her association with an established group of professional, resourceful and caring nurses who all trained in the 1960s.

She feels no need to eclipse her colleagues in terms of the quality of care she offers and reminisces fondly on her long-lasting friendships:

'We were all […] out of the same mould, so to speak, and [...] terrific friends […] honestly, we would do anything for [each other]*'.*

<div align="right">Margaret Interview 2: Cell ref: (M (2)225</div>

Margaret's colleague, Maureen asserts that finding out 'who she is' has become increasingly important with age. She observes:

'When you get to your fifties, maybe it is [time to get to know yourself] [...] *the train slows down a bit.'*

<div align="right">Maureen Interview 2: Cell ref.: MM (2) 420</div>

Maureen views her self-worth in terms of her caring contributions and is confident about her abilities or degree of commitment to her role. Sally is equally proud of her traditional nursing background and refers to being *'stamped out from a blueprint of a 'good' nurse'*. She is pleased with her reputation for the voluntary enhancement of her patients' care, including for example, her altruistic practice of washing her patients' feet as a therapeutic 'extra treat' on a quiet Sunday morning. Sally thus enhances her own well-being because of the pleasure she witnesses from patients, and the emotions she portrays to them represent a genuine reflection of how she feels.

Alan's needs for self-esteem, recognition and self-advancement have led him down avenues outside airline work. His inclination to help others drew him towards a voluntary counselling role. Despite this proactive move to enhance his feelings of self-worth, Alan remains disillusioned and regrets the dumbing down of his cabin crew role and the public's perception of it. He has become disenchanted with his work and its diminished novelty, expressing a feeling that *'life is history repeating itself'*. He views 'age' as the enemy of dignity and self-esteem and partly accredits this to the presentational requirements of his job. It is also a reason he offers for remaining single as he feels he would be unable to 'age gracefully' together with a life partner:

'You see old men creeping around together and stuff and […] I don't want to be one of those […].'

Similarly, Gareth senses a diminished pride in his work occasioned by deteriorating working conditions and public attitude changes. Nonetheless, he feels that his uniform bestows reassurance and self-confidence, while where donning it making him feel like *'a person who somebody will approach and ask for help'*. In contrast, Julian perceives himself as *'an extension of one of the airline's product lines'* and sees his role in terms of following protocols and procedures to ensure a satisfactory customer experience. The challenge of resolving difficult situations, however, no longer sustains him and, equally, he finds the routine aspects of customer service uninteresting.

Justin's and Mairead's strong professional role identities are balanced with an ease with themselves with minimal needs to 'act' at work. They proudly perceive themselves as 'brave', supporting these claims with anecdotes indicating skilled emotion management in both routine and safety-critical situations. Although confident and proud in her professional role, Sandra claims her identity is not simply defined by this but by many other interests and pursuits. She sees dangers in being too narrowly defined by her job and points to stories of others who have allowed this to happen.

She believes that people should be more honest with themselves about their life priorities and work relationships. She refers to her recent experiences of a turbulent industrial relations period:

'People [i.e. crew] *out there pretend they don't give a toss about flying. Yet all of a sudden they are prepared to lose their best friend to stand their ground over something that once upon a time they perhaps didn't even care about.'*

It has been seen that participants' perceptions of their working roles contribute in varying degrees, to the creation of an important self-identity and sense of pride.

It is notable that respondents who could be as engaged by routine aspects of work as with the less predictable elements, appeared more secure in their feelings of pride.

Emergent Theme: *'What matters to me?' (Expressed and Implied Personal Values)*

Developing the theme of self-identity from above, this section explores the personal values that participants associate with identity and how they express these.

Angela's expressed values are firmly rooted in her 'real family' associations. Her treatment of others relates to the connections she makes between patients, colleagues and family members back home. She talks of a recent exchange with an elderly patient:

> *'Oh I want you to be my Nan you are so lovely.'*
>
> Angela Interview 2 Cell ref.: ANG (2)341

She claims that she herself would *'like to be treated like a daughter'* and associates positive interaction with family life, this being a frame of reference in her care for patients. Other respondents, also made connections, between family and their expressed values and beliefs. Ivor appears committed to the principle of enhancing patients' experiences and their need for empowerment so they can share responsibility for their health. He believes in a perhaps utopian world where principles, not policies, guide moral behaviour with the prevailing assumption that all individuals are competent and caring human beings. Kirstin also believes in her responsibility to care for others and to be equitable in her approach. She regularly checks herself to ensure her adherence to her own moral standards and is determined to fight the injustices of poorly coordinated patient care. Unlike Ivor, she encounters moral dilemmas relating to kindness over honesty with patients about their prognoses. Margaret also struggles with applying her value system to those who may have mitigating reasons for transgressing and even harming others. Her altruism propels her to treat patients as, *'friends and real people',* even when their behaviour is challenging. Maureen, although equally committed to patient care, remains unsentimental in her approach and believes in accountability and honesty on both sides of the patient-nurse relationship.

She resents views of people as 'human resources' as opposed to 'human beings', observing wryly:

> '*So we have the gas and the electricity and we are* [now] *just a human resource like everything else.'*

In common with other colleagues, Sally cherishes loyalty and trust in her supportive relationships and finds unkindness and coldness difficult to tolerate. She sometimes asks herself whether she is simply doing too much in her quest to set a good example in order to convey high expectations of others. The commercial context of Allen's work presents him with dilemmas where 'class' of travel determines passenger treatment. Nonetheless, his conviction that all passengers should be treated fairly has earned him a reputation within the airline as a campaigner for dignified and respectful service. Similarly, he feels a moral duty to offer support to his more junior colleagues, when needed, and at all pre-flight briefings he offers crew reassurance:

> '*Please don't feel alone, we are all coming from different places today and we have all left different things at home. If […] you have left something at home that is on your mind […] if […]something has happened to you recently that means you need a bit of extra support, then you can now build that network in on the flight. Come and see me or one of the pursers.'*

Gareth also perceives that his moral duty of care transcends the airline's minimum service requirements. He laments employee exploitation, asserting that it is now a *'global disease',* and he is increasingly uncomfortable in this '*inhuman'* environment. While Justin admits to attempting to micro manage some aspects of his life he still appears comfortable with his expressed values, which mainly relate to the principle of 'others above self'. He expresses his desire for *'everybody to be happy'* and the fulfilment of his daily quest *'to get that smile out of people'.* Mairead is equally secure in her altruistic convictions and is also committed to address situations of perceived wrongdoing. Sandra's values appear to relate mainly to the principal of fair-mindedness and the need to avoid rushing in judgement or demonising groups of people.

She avoids making *'snap judgments'* about individuals and, like her cabin service director colleague Alan, is aware that everyone has a *'back-story'*. She talks about her sometimes lonely experiences down-route, where she is marginalised by fellow crew simply because she is their manager. She asserts:

> *'But you have to work at it […] at not having 'breakfast for one' in terms of people liking you […] and respecting you. Not **just** respecting you but wanting to have your company as a person.'*

<div align="right">Sandra Interview 2: Cell ref.: S (2) 255</div>

It has been seen that there are many shared perceptions of the importance of personal and professional values to how respondents manage their working relationships. It is also evident that some participants struggle, where they remain fundamentally uncertain as to their moral positioning or where they find themselves in situations of moral ambiguity.

5.2.3 Constituent Theme: ' 'Focus on social and emotional exchange'

It was most evident that the nature of the social exchanges between service agents, their colleagues and their service recipients acted as a pivotal influence upon the ways in which respondents perceived their working world.

Emergent Theme: 'A coping community'
(Workplace Behaviour, Relationships and Support)

The dynamics of working relationships and support networks were perceived and reported in contrasting ways. Most individuals valued solidarity, respect and mutual understanding in their quest to cope with the complex and varied demands of their work. Making sense of the social and emotional realities in their exchanges represented a significant step in the development of ways to cope with service, which included the support of those who worked alongside them. Immersion, escape, seclusion, delusion and distraction represented just some of the many forms of coping behaviours that provided release from concerns at and away from work.

Several nursing and cabin crew respondents referred to the difficulties in finding appropriate 'off-stage' spaces within which they could 'emotionally vent' with colleagues and escape from the pressures at the agent-recipient interface. Angela refers to her cultural predisposition to hide frustration and concerns from fellow colleagues and patients. She relies upon a select few of her team to take into her confidence but regrets the lack of private spaces within the hospital where she can really 'let off steam'. Ivor acknowledges his need for colleagues' reassurance but, as discussed previously, his wish to 'stand out' as an exceptional nurse can inhibit supportive relationships. He becomes exasperated with those who continually underperform and, especially, as Andrew expresses it, with colleagues who do so because *'of a lack of will and not a lack of skill'*. Kirstin often feels unheard by her medical team in her quest to improve standards of care. She refers, however, to an ethos of mutual support for emotionally depleted colleagues and practical measures such as 'swapping' care responsibilities when dealing with the challenging emotional demands of a particularly ill patient. Margaret sees teamwork and support as key to a happy workplace. She does not differentiate between friends, fellow workers and patients in terms of the need for positive social exchange. Like Sally, she possesses a great interest in the lives of others and creates common ground by making connections with those she meets for the first time. She is affectionately known as 'Mrs Fixit' by her colleagues because of her sympathetic listening ear. Maureen describes communication and support at work as 'sloppy' and 'not joined up'. She is, however, direct in her own exchanges with colleagues and patients and her belief in truth and accountability has earned her much respect. Sally is also critical of the lack of mutual support, claiming that *'nurses do not always stick together'*, and that:

> *'People say that in the medical profession the doctors stick together. And people say that in nursing often some groups of nurses can be very, very quick to criticise others, and I do see that.'*
>
> *Sally Interview 2 Cell ref.* SAL (2)361

She claims that nurses can often be unkind and ostracise a colleague unfairly, constructing a reality about a nurse's performance based more upon their own attitudes and preconceptions than the actual quality of a person's work. This sometimes has serious consequences for the nurse's sense of well-being.

Airline working relationships are often distinguished by their transience, where a number of social interaction conventions are suspended, reportedly creating trust and support-related difficulties. Alan and Gareth talk of a perpetual cycle of self-disclosure as the prevailing norm amongst crew. All may need support in one respect or another but this is usually offered within a forced and false social environment. Working with new crew members on every trip is the norm, and meeting, bonding and letting go represents the typical cyclical pattern of working relationships. Personal biographies and 'back stories' may be tweaked or dusted off by crew members for each new trip. Distinguishing truth from falsehood is difficult because it involves interpreting feelings on many different levels within 'deep-shallow' transient friendships. Feelings of solidarity may be deeply felt in the moment but just as quickly dissipate at the end of a flying duty. Alan comments on the irony of the 'Angel Fleet' (a 'Facebook' page for deceased crew members), where cabin crew eulogise virtually unknown colleagues who have died whilst continuing to discard transient friendships at the end of each trip.

Julian reinforces this unconventional image of cabin crew life, claiming that it is *'all about escape from reality'*, played out within a fantasy world that is *'definitely not a job for grown-ups'*. This perspective has isolated him and he now chooses to avoid close disclosures with colleagues he mistrusts. Alan now believes that work-related friendships are neither sustainable nor 'investable, regardless of any 'click and fit' social imperative on flying duties. He points to the airline's progressive abandonment of its occupational care responsibilities and cites 'deep-shallow' crew bonding as one of the few avenues colleagues can visit in order to feel supported. Justin and Mairead accept the fragile and transient nature of work relationships but their positive dispositions still allow them to enjoy social exchanges with fellow crew. Mairead asserts the crew lifestyle is not the glamorous one perceived by the public, claiming that many crew have 'real problems' that are often worse than those experienced by others else in public contact roles. She refers to:

> *'...young mothers who are halfway across the Atlantic who experience acute distress at being separated from their babies.'*

and:

'people whose husbands are having affairs and real poverty,-yes, completely broke'

Mairead Interview 2: Cell ref.:454-456

Sandra points to the challenges with the blurring of work and social boundaries, but while she lives her life in a less conventional pattern, she does not shun the practice of acquiring 'new best friends' whilst on a trip. Unlike Gareth's cynical farewells at the end of each trip, when his relationships with fellow crew become *'shadows disappearing into the mist'*, Sandra acknowledges her regrets but she does not see this as a reason to avoid making connections. Instead, she views transience as an important reason for actually offering and receiving support instead of perceiving it as a legitimate reason for not engaging in a meaningful 'human' way.

Emergent Theme: 'Those whom I serve' (Relationships with Patients and Passengers)

Workplace relationships also apply to the interactions between agent and service recipient. Support can be bi-directional here, and there are complex dynamics in these relationships. Searching for 'common ground' to enhance mutual understanding, empathy and respect was a recurrent idea. Angela referred to her sense of humour and desire to exhibit her 'bubbly personality' with patients. Despite the line of relative affection she initially drew between 'real family' relationships and others, she reflects on her growing fondness for patients:

'I think it is … with nursing, it is… because you get more attached […] and you see them every day and you see how they improve. […] sometimes […] you know they go are going down and that is the time that I feel sad […] she used to be OK when she first came and then she is going downhill.' Cell Ref.: ANG (1) 262

She becomes particularly attached to patients that treat her with respect and that actually converse with her as a person rather than a 'cultural curiosity'. For Ivor, reflexive relationships with patients are vitalising rewards in themselves and key to his overall well-being. Ivor believes that patients *'give back to* [him]*'* through their emotional displays and stresses the importance of seeing their needs *'through their eyes'* in order to anticipate their concerns and particular priorities.

Whilst Ivor is attempting to deliver exceptional care to all, Kirstin is sometimes torn between the care she is expected to deliver to all and the need to deliver exceptional care to specific patients she perceives as being needier. Kirstin's truth may alter according to how she believes patients are suffering and whether they possess more acute needs than others. She apportions her working time according to her socially constructivist views. Kirstin believes in transparent and open relationships with patients and does not pretend to be super-human. Like Ivor she sees the *'whole person'* and not just the *'patient's eyes'*. She proudly remembers individual patients' to whom she offered exceptional care.

Margaret and Sally perceive vulnerability as the distinguishing feature in the nature of the nurse-patient relationship and that the ability to make connections with them on a more personal level is also important for their own emotional self-management. They occasionally feel frustration at their inability to connect with patients who resist their help but are persistent in their care of them. They see themselves as a 'shock absorbers' of patients' misdirected frustration, which is often with the institution or their own shortcomings in taking responsibility for their health. Maureen also believes in developing insights into the patients she cares for. She builds relationships in many ways, including the adoption of Angela's approach to conceptualising patients as more distant members of her own family. Her natural curiosity about patients has sometimes caused difficulties when she has pushed acceptable boundaries between courtesy and disrespect to break down social barriers. She recalls one recent encounter with an incommunicative and poor-tempered patient:

> *'I looked at him and I thought: You look like trouble! He had one of those faces that is misery. So I called him in and then I said: What part of the North are you from? and he said: I am from Preston.*
>
> *I said: You are the right side of the Pennines. I am from Manchester and you are from Preston so we have got that and we are level pegging.*
> *Oh, you are looking a bit of a miserable type! […] You have got a miserable face! (laughing)'*
> Researcher: '*And how did he respond?*'
> Maureen: '*He laughed.*'
>
> <div align="right">Maureen Interview 1: Cell ref.:   *Cell ref. MAU (2) 480*</div>

Taking a social risk on this occasion bore fruit, making the connection that Maureen had hoped for. Maureen also becomes exasperated with patients' unrealistic expectations:

'People will queue for hours for a 10p valuation of an old vase on the 'Antiques Roadshow' but they won't wait 10 minutes for an orthoptic examination, this is A&E not Tesco Express.'

Maureen Interview 1: Cell ref.: *Cell ref. MAU (1) 224*

Sally experiences mixed emotions caring for patients with poor prognoses and, like Mairead on the oncology ward, she struggles to balance kindness with truth. She willingly offers psychological support but finds this simultaneously *'draining'* and *'enriching'*. She gets *'choked'* when minor miracles occur such as when a patient's sight dramatically improves or is unexpectedly restored. She navigates a fine line of changing patients' social interaction expectations, relating to sensitivities as to '*when to shake hands, when to touch and when to hug'*. While honesty in agent-recipient relationships is important for Sally and her fellow nurses, forms of deception for legitimate moral reasons are accepted as justifiable in some cases in order to deliver the best quality care or service, as in Sally's account below of her tea round:

'If I am looking after a group of patients having cataract surgery, the first thing I will do is… I will go into the day room there, and say: 'Hello, my name is Sally. Is everybody alright? I am just going to do a tea round'. And it is almost like: 'Hooray, she is going to do a tea round!

'and while I am going round I am checking up on all the patients. I am looking to see which one has got the name band on. When you have got a group of people […], they are not all patients, some of them are relatives or carers. So I will go around and I will try to read the name band (if it is the right way round). They should have an arrow on their forehead if they are having eye surgery'.

'[…] and I have a quick look to see if they have got the dilating drops and if they have been effective. I am writing this down ... as far as the patient is concerned, I am just doing a tea and coffee round, but I am actually doing an assessment of that patient e.g. "so that is (giggle) tea + one sugar"*. I can also find out who has got hearing problems, and who has got a walking stick.*

They are very grateful for the tea and coffee. And whether or not I do it subconsciously, whether I do that deliberately because I know they are going to be grateful and [...] I am going to be praised for that. There is always somebody who asks for a whisky or a gin and tonic when I am doing my [...] rounds. You always have a bit of banter going on as well.'

<div align="right">Sally Interview 1: Cell ref: SAL (1) 1505-1529</div>

Sally's technique may be deceptive but it provides her with valuable patient information, reducing anxiety and enhancing patients' sense of well-being. Sally sees hospitality as an integrated and inseparable component of care, subtly combining clinical observation with support and reassurance. Alan, Justin and Gareth expressed regret at their increasing inability to meet passengers' less-obvious needs for social interaction, reassurance and advice. Each one has responded to the efficiency pressures in different ways. Alan's human and compassionate side disposes him to override organisational display rules. He cites an example of this when 'Isolde', a young passenger boarded to return to South Africa to say good-bye to her terminally ill brother. Her immediately visible distress prompted Alan to offer 'Isolde' a hug, defying the airline's policy on physical contact with passengers. He devotes some of his 'rest' time on board to interact with passengers, asserting he does so *'not for the airline but for the passengers as human beings'*. He asserts the importance of fine-tuned social antennae in his role:

'...you really need to 'read' the people that want that relationship and the rapport [as opposed to those] who would just rather read their Kindle or [...] be on their laptop.'

<div align="right">Alan Interview 1: Cell ref ALAN (1):363</div>

Justin also claims to be proactive and has an ambition to ensure that his passengers and fellow crew are happy. He is resourceful in reclaiming time from operational duties so that he can devote attention to passengers' social needs. Gareth's interaction with passengers is now driven by his finely tuned sense of moral duty and obligation. Previously, he was more inclined to engage with them because of his innate human interest. He has become emotionally weary from prolonged exposure to passengers' antisocial behaviour, expressing his frustration to me as if I was one of his disruptive passengers:

'But again, you know, we are human beings – I am a human being. You know you might be stressed […] worse things can happen in your life, but again don't take it out on me. It is not my fault. I will help you; I will reassure you and I will do anything I can, but don't take it out on me.'

Gareth's impassioned plea is poignant, capturing the challenges of simultaneously dealing with operational problems and an irate, unsympathetic passenger. Kiefer and Barclay (2012) suggest that such destabilising experiences cumulate in 'toxicity', where the agent becomes preconditioned to anticipating negative experiences. Whilst Gareth clings to his sense of duty to combat his emotional weariness, Julian has succumbed to a progressive toxicity from experiences of rude or whimsical customer behaviour, such as a hissing first-class passenger who prodded him in the ribs to indicate she wished her coat hung up. Julian recounts many such small but unpleasant incidents that have progressively eroded his sense of professional pride. Similarly, Gareth's previous feelings of pride have been undermined by fatigue, where he increasingly desires invisibility from a public he perceives as *'grazing cattle without situational awareness'* where his own needs appear invisible to them.

Sally's experiences of abusive and inconsiderate patients in A&E triage also resonate with the concept of the erosion of pride. Interestingly, her approach to dealing with thoughtless patients preserves her overall sense of self-worth. She temporarily 'parks' her instinctive reactions on such occasions and relies upon well-developed emotional resources to deal with them diplomatically. Her 'transactional analysis' approach (Berne, 1964) enables her to re-conceptualise patients' thoughtless behaviour as vulnerability where a genuinely anxious 'child' (patient) lurks behind hostility. Placing herself in a 'parental' role psychologically removes her as a direct target of abuse and preserves her own well-developed sense of authority and pride. Justin's way of viewing his cabin crew role also positively influences his self-worth and pride. He performs similar duties to Julian although he perceives that he offers an important service attending to passengers' emotions, safety and more immediate well-being.

A simple but significant reward in his work is *'getting a smile out of people'.* He also observes:

> 'I think when people are in the environment on an aircraft, they are different. They change.'

<div align="right">Justin Interview 1 Cell ref. (J (1)293.</div>

He implies that he is observant and sensitive towards passengers' routine needs which can become more complex in the air. This has the effect of creating a pride in himself that is generated from within, corroborating Curley and Royle's (2013:107) view that:

> 'Workers may derive pleasure from serving customers and receiving a positive response […], positively identifying with work roles when the required emotional display rules are consistent with their self-identity and personal values.'

For Maureen, honesty and humour was critical to her emotional self-management and helped her to conceptualise patients as *'distant members of [her] own family'* in order to create a sense of personal association. In contrast with Kirstin's and Maureen's vivid memories of particular patient encounters, Julian claims his recollections of passenger interaction are now *'parked in a big bag somewhere'*. He has a mechanistic view of the passenger-flight attendant relationship and sees his interaction from a commodified perspective. In his early career, he viewed passenger exchanges as opportunities for performative experimentation and characterisation primarily driven by his own curiosity and need for entertainment. Passengers are now viewed as part of the *'cycle of service'* and Julian rates them in this cycle:

> *'I would rather stand there and chat with people than clean the toilets' for example.'*

<div align="right">Julian Interview 2: Cell ref. JUL (2) 325</div>

While it appeared that many respondents indicated that 'acting' displays sometimes comprised a necessary part of their work, only one claimed there was a need consciously to 'switch on' or 'switch off' an organisationally prescribed outer countenance at the beginning of a duty. Most agents made little distinction between their public and private exchanges and were content with leading a less-complicated existence as a single 'persona'. For example, Margaret's value systems did not delineate between 'private' and 'working' life and she was content to simply 'be herself' at all times.

Justin sees his clear mission to please passengers as *'a form of compulsion'*, underpinned by a need to have meaning in others' eyes. He cites many incidences, nonetheless, of *'biting his tongue'* but he draws emotional nourishment from feelings of positive closure at the end of many flights. Mairead reminisces about the differences in the nature of social exchange whilst working as a nurse and, later, as a flight attendant. She recalls the bittersweet pleasure as a private oncology nurse of having the luxury of time to converse with patients in situations where she knew many of them would not recover and compares this to her 'mercy dash' to Gander Island to rescue stranded passengers post-9/11. Both situations necessitated economies with the truth, but in her view these were morally justifiable. Mairead summarises these mixed feelings of fun, joy, sadness and excitement:

> *'I was as happy as you like, really, even though it was emotionally draining.'*
>
> Mairead Interview 1: Cell ref.: *MA (1) 170*

Mairead contrasts her nursing experience with the fast-paced 'buzz' of being a flight attendant, where there is less time to make connections, claiming that she still enjoys passenger exchanges and usually *'finds a level of understanding with all of them'* despite the transience of the encounters.

It has been seen that there are some pronounced differences in respondents' perceptions of relationships with their service recipients, and while some draw emotional sustenance from their encounters, others approach these with guarded trepidation and some anxiety. A theme that recurs throughout is the series of questions relating to the nature of honesty and trust that prevails in agent-customer exchanges and the relative importance attributed to these by respondents.

5.2.4 *Constituent Theme:* 'Focus on emotional replenishment and reward'

This final 'constituent' theme explores how participants make sense of the experiences of reward, respite and replenishment from their emotion work. This exploration progresses to a discussion of the 'core themes' in the 'discussion' chapter, which concerns nurses and cabin crews' holistic interpretations of the enablers, inhibitors and total experiences of their emotional self-management and well-being.

Emergent Theme: 'Behind my front door' (Private Life, Support & 'Social Investment')

Participants' inclinations to disclose aspects of their private lives varied considerably. Some emphasised the importance of personal relationships in supporting them during and after challenging emotional experiences, whilst others shunned social interaction in their quest to 'emotionally recharge' their depleted psychological reserves outside work.

Angela's private life allows little time for the simple pleasures of leisure pursuits because of her need to work overtime in order to support her parents back home. Her perception of 'a full life' close to her family in the Philippines is currently unattainable because of time and distance. She still perceives her existence in the UK as a 'second life' but she now experiences love and support from her British partner. Similarly, Ivor's partner acts as a sounding board for discussing work-related frustrations. He is often unable to 'switch off' but his partner's objective perspective helps him to achieve some balance between his concern for work-related issues and need for respite. Paradoxically, Ivor claims he is not unduly stretched by job-related emotional demands and is more enriched than frustrated by these. Much of his ruminations about work when off-duty are related more to the improvement of his own performance than that of others. Kirstin experiences a similar 'tug of wills' between her personal relationships, family life and professional ambitions. She has struggled with reconciling these with her partner's career aspirations which has led to tension at home. As seen earlier, Kirstin draws much reinforcement from her personal self-identity, which she sees as closely related with a professional role. For Margaret too the boundaries between private and working life are not

so clearly delineated. Her desire for 'a purpose' and 'being needed' transcend these two areas. Unlike some of her colleagues, this blurring between personal, social and professional life spaces poses little conflict for her and she claims that she experiences a sense of coherence in her 'joined-up' life.

Whilst Maureen has a clearer view of private and professional boundaries, she sees her personal life challenges as catalysts for the development of her emotional resilience at work. For example, she cites her care of her partner as he has moved through progressive stages of cancer-related illness and treatment. Sally reinforces this perception of a nurse as more than just a professional carer, in her role as live-in carer of her frail, elderly mother and claims this equips her with insights regarding her relationships with her patients. With all nursing respondents, there are indications that their propensity to care applies on both sides of their respective 'front doors'. Alan's private off-duty time, however, is demarcated by what he refers to as his *'selective reclusiveness'*:

> *'The job drains me emotionally and I just can't be bothered to meet new people and invest time in them.'*
>
> *Alan Interview 2 Cell ref.: ALAN (2) 935*

He sees social interaction at work and privately as forms of 'investment' which he is unable to sustain without extensive periods of self-imposed isolation. Superficial, transient exchanges at work drive his quest for a 'quality guarantee' in his private social engagements and suggests he has been unlucky in forming personal relationships:

> *'I don't know whether I am naturally attracted to gypsies, tramps and thieves or whether they are just sent to me for some reason.'*
>
> *Alan Interview 2 Cell ref.: ALAN (2) 1936*

This 'unluckiness' may signal his belief that fate should exonerate him from taking more responsibility for making his relationships work. He claims a deep attachment for his little dog Lulu and suggests that the episodic nature of his working life, lived out in timed segments of flying duties and respite, has made him acutely aware of her short life. He wistfully contemplates her days slipping away and seems to equate this with his own life.

Lulu appears as the embodiment of his own personal regrets in life and relationships but, in the meantime, she offers him a sense of continuity, albeit in fragile form. Alan's existence appears to be polarised between the professional individual who deals confidently with uncertainty at work yet shuns this in his private life. He expresses a wish to free himself from a self-limiting life pattern but he claims:

'…the good return for me is sitting on the sofa with the door shut.'
<div align="right">*Alan Interview 2 Cell ref.: ALAN (2) 1046*</div>

Gareth asserts that he is able to share work-related exasperations and discontent with his partner; however, this contradicts his claim that any angst and frustration immediately dissipates after a flying trip. He clearly delineates work and private life and, whilst treasuring old work friendships, he sees no potential for new ones now in his increasingly fast-paced role. Julian is also sceptical about the capacity for working relationships to become friendships and increasingly struggles to suspend his private life down-route. Similarly Justin, refers to the significant challenges associated with managing his personal life from a distance and his need for emotional reinforcement from his partner whilst he is away on a trip, maintaining that:

<div align="center">*'You are just waiting for that text to say "I miss you".'*</div>
<div align="right">*Justin Interview 1 Cell ref.: J (1) 887*</div>

but that:

<div align="center">*'relationships come and go and you just can't save them.'*</div>
<div align="right">*Justin Interview 2 Cell ref.: J (2) 31*</div>

Mairead values her close and supportive relationships immensely but like Justin acknowledges difficulties keeping them:

'God, it would be easier if that person had died really because I could grieve for that loss'
<div align="right">Mairead Interview 1: Cell ref.: *MAI (1)532*</div>

She expresses contentment now with her valued partner and the support he offers with her work-related concerns:

'I deal with it now but I need […] my [...] lover […]. He says I get into the car at Heathrow and I don't shut up until I get to the apartment.'
<div align="right">Mairead Interview 1: Cell ref.: *MAI (1)480*</div>

Sandra considers herself fortunate to have a similarly supportive relationship and claims that her builder partner listens to her but also supports her when at home by diverting her into a very different existence: helping him with his construction projects. This helps her with refocusing her mind and allows her to view the world through a different lens where she swaps *'face powder for dust'*.

Partners, escape, isolation and distraction represent some of the means by which respondents use their private life to recharge emotionally from the stresses of work. The next section explores further the significance of these 'spaces of safety and replenishment'.

Emergent Theme: 'Emotional sanctuary' (Spaces of Safety and Replenishment)

Angela's acquisition of British citizenship has bestowed feelings of safety and freedom and she asserts that, although life remains hard, she feels secure and content. Her humorous disposition means that she is never far away *'from her next good laugh'*. She refers again to her propensity to cry in adverse situations as a means of quick recovery from them. Ivor claims that immersion in work distracts him from his perennial struggle with philosophical questions about his existence. Work is a form of liberation from a personal *'web of reflection'* and bestows the self-respect, life purpose and self-identity that he struggles to find independently. Kirstin's release mechanisms include various hobbies, such as rumba dancing and are her way of:

> *'approaching things also from the funny side.'*
>
> Kirstin Interview 1 Cell ref. KIR (1)989

Margaret's joined-up perspective on professional and personal life means that respite can come from within the walls of the hospital or from *'the countryside around Seven Sisters and visits to ivy-clad pubs'*. A climate of fun runs in parallel with her serious professional environment.

Maureen's approach to emotional replenishment is as much about acknowledging difficulties as it is about escaping them:

> *'I try and dump work at the door and usually try to walk home and walk my day out of me.'*
>
> <div align="right">Maureen Interview 1 Cell ref. MAU (1) 426-428</div>

Her comment on well-being supports the practice of individual self-reflexivity and the need for acceptance and recognition of negative feelings before one can actually deal with them:

> *''I think […] people now […] forget that sadness is part of the human condition. And if you don't have sadness then you are not going to have joy because everything has got an equal balance.'*
>
> <div align="right">Interview ref. MM (2)231</div>

Like Ivor, Sally views work as an enabler of well-being, although recently she has acknowledged a need to look beyond work for emotional sustenance and to attend to previously neglected personal fulfilment needs. Alan believes that meeting personal needs by replenishing depleted emotional reserves is vital:

> *'When I get back from work, I think that pot of effort is now empty and I need to replenish that pot […] before I can do it again.'*
>
> <div align="right">Alan Interview 2 Cell.ref.: ALAN (2)262</div>

A pronounced form of social withdrawal in the safe space of home may not be fulfilling but his social risk averseness overrides his inclination to 'take chances' with a new friendship:

> *'The sad thing is, to get to that enriched stuff, you have to go through the superficial, transient stuff'*
>
> <div align="right">Alan Interview 1 Cell.ref. : ALAN (1)2142</div>

Gareth also expresses frustration with a sense of living within a contained work and personal environment, referring to his 'bubble', a space from within which he experiences everything. His bubble structures and supports him but, ultimately, it feels like a padded cage from which he cannot break free.

It represents a fragile yet confining container of his existence, which he simultaneously wishes to burst and preserve. He feels confounded by ambiguous feelings about his airline career and how this has shaped his life, which is lived within a cycle of relief and negative anticipation, reflecting his release from and return to flying duties. Like Ivor, Julian's rose-tinted picture of home as *'a breath of fresh air and a haven of peace'* is incongruent with his accounts of difficulties 'winding down' and his intense difficulties refraining from ruminating and predicting the next chapters of his life. Justin expresses a much greater sense of being in control of his planned relaxation. He developed his preference for the 'early bird' roster some years ago when assessing how he could best 'regularise the irregular' patterns of his work. This form of 'job crafting' (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001) is testimony to his active agency in making practical choices that suit his particular life rhythm.

Emergent Theme: 'Rewards of serving' (Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation)

In addition to exploring the realisation of their emotional replenishment needs, respondents discussed perceptions of their intrinsic and extrinsic work rewards. Angela asserts that patients' gratitude is important now despite her openness about her initial motivations for coming to work as a nurse in the UK:

> *'You have to remember I came here for money; I didn't come here to enjoy life.'*
>
> Angela Interview 2 Cell ref. ANG (2) 702

Ivor sees public service as a privilege and, like Kirstin, values the sustaining gratitude, viewing patients' 'emotional gifts' as highly precious. He also cites his fascination with technical medical developments and the 'thrill of the new' as prime motivators. Margaret recalls the initial feelings of freedom upon becoming a nurse, which she still experiences 52 years later. She refers to the spiritual and life-enhancing rewards of caring, such as the joy of witnessing recovery. Whilst valuing the philanthropic nature of some parts of her nursing work, Maureen looks more to the 'fun and interesting' aspects of the job to engage her. Her natural curiosity in human beings prompts her to seek out the exceptional or unique in those she cares for, and she relishes patients' unconventional viewpoints and lively exchanges.

Sally is more directly altruistic in her motives for being a nurse and asserts that *'all the small things'* she can do for patients make her day. She appreciates recognition from her colleagues and from patients as a quality care giver and looks always for ways in which she can improve.

Alan's motivations at work have changed over many years of service. With the dwindling allure of an ostensibly glamorous lifestyle, he now sees work principally as a means to a comfortable home life. Like Gareth's 'life bubble', he is trapped by the 'golden handcuffs' that restrain his life while offering handsome financial rewards. As seen earlier, he is conflicted within his socially stratified working world which prescribes levels of passenger care according to class. He is uncomfortable with the extrinsic rewards of his work, claiming to *'feel very blessed'* by the trappings of privilege and socially elite passengers on the one hand and the real distance from the person that he really is on the other. He simultaneously inhabits and orbits a rarefied service environment and struggles increasingly in his search for himself and his 'real' values. Gareth admits that 'escape', not ambition, was the primary motivator when he first joined the airline. He values recognition of his customer-care skills but claims he continues to remain underappreciated. The allure of travel and the associated excitement have diminished along with his social curiosity about the travelling public. He sees his work now in terms of obligation rather than pleasure and he yearns for more time to spend with his partner and his child. Like Alan, he feels constrained, trapped, and observes depressingly:

> *'I have got nothing to look forward to. I am not just saying it, it is a fact.'*
> Gareth Interview 2 Cell ref.: GAR (2) 1083

Like others, Julian's initial attraction to his cabin crew role related to the prospect of a glamourous lifestyle with the opportunity to inhabit a different, more-privileged social world. His interest in customers related more to their lifestyles than a more altruistic motivation. Like Alan and Gareth, he now finds the routine aspects of passenger interaction unfulfilling. Nevertheless, as they do, he remains professional in approach and feels a degree of moral obligation to care for them. Justin, however, continues to derive immense personal satisfaction through caring for passengers, although he has identified a shift in his early motivations when he saw himself as an *'adventurer'* to his current self-perception as a *'carer'*.

He places great importance on acknowledgement and appreciation, and asserts:

'I love being surrounded by people and seeing people makes me happy.'
<div align="right">Justin Interview 2 Cell ref.: J (2) 188</div>

Mairead asserts that she experienced a new form of liberty when entering the airline, which afforded her the freedom of 'time, space and place'. While her working pattern was irregular, like Justin, she managed to control the important parts of her life so that she could actually constructively use off-duty segments of time to her advantage. The 'people side' of the job continues to be of great appeal and she seeks out the extraordinary within the routine of each day believing that *'there is no such thing as an ordinary person'*. Sandra shares such perspectives and, while she did not always find her role fulfilling, she now *'loves her job'* and sees the need to continually *'grow with the job'* regardless of the impact of external changes.

In summary, agents have been drawn to their work for different reasons, which have changed for many since assuming their roles. Most still express feelings of fulfilment and reward relating to the service recipients they attend to. Many intrinsic benefits perceived appear to be linked to the other themes discussed earlier in this chapter, particularly those related to the understanding of personality, the sense of self-identity and the beliefs in the fundamental importance of meaningful relationships between those who offer service and those who are served.

Summary and link forward to 'Discussion' chapter

This chapter has moved progressively around the 'thematic map' presented at its outset. The purpose of this was to illustrate how the four constituent thematic areas and those emergent themes associated with each one, in turn, shed light upon their relevance to the two superordinate themes: *'Offering my service'* and *'Serving myself well'*. The first of these related to agents' performance and experience of emotional self-management and how they made sense of these. The second was focused upon participants' conceptualisation, experience and determination of their well-being.

Both superordinate themes resonate with this study's fundamental concern with agents' perceptions of their key relationships as they affect emotional self-management and well-being namely:

1. Relationship with self;

2. Relationships with working colleagues; and

3. Relationships with those who are served

Respondents raised many issues that resonated with the core themes of truth, trust and pride, such as:

- the meaning of truth about their own feelings for themselves, their passengers, patients and colleagues;

- the nuanced and ambiguous qualities of trust in their relationships and the need for spaces of emotional safety; and

- the relationships between self-generated and externally bestowed pride.

These issues have prompted questions such as whether 'service' fundamentally and inevitably represents a form of 'deception' which may, however, be justifiable in some forms of agent–recipient interaction such as in moral and safety-critical situations.

These issues have created uncertainties amongst respondents about their relationships at work and the consequences of self-deception for their perceived identities. The core theme of truth appeared to apply particularly to respondents who found themselves in positions in which they were unsure of their feelings towards their work roles, those they served or where service recipients' perceptions of them suggested that the authenticity of their feelings and motivations was in question.

The theme of trust has particularly resonated with the accounts of respondents' workplace relationships. The transient world of aviation has appeared characterised by issues of allegiance, loyalty and authenticity, where some crew members were collectively complicit in promulgating the illusion of friendship within a transient and superficial environment; neither was the hospital support environment depicted as exclusively benign.

Exasperation, victimisation and disregard for certain colleagues existed alongside the more supportive and caring interplay stereotypically associated with nursing and nurses. Relationships with passengers and patients have both been seen as complex, and trust appeared to play a major part in determining these dynamic exchanges. This is a reminder of the fundamental disjuncture at the service agent-recipient interface, where often both parties possess inherently different perspectives and yet remain complicit in maintaining a front of cordiality to preserve this fragile relationship. The theme of pride transcended the other core themes and respondents' initial career choices appeared to be underpinned by professional aspiration and the desire to be perceived as successful human beings. Pride and the perception of the importance of their interactive work evidently instilled a strong motivation to serve in the case of several respondents.

A progressive understanding of the thematic interrelationships underpinning respondents' perceptions of the significance of truth, trust and pride for their emotional self-management and well-being has developed in this chapter's analysis. This understanding has, in turn, generated more questions about this, which will be addressed in greater depth in the next 'discussion' chapter which deepens the analysis of the findings and discusses further interpretations of agents' accounts of their lived experiences of emotional self-management and well-being. It reappraises critically the significance of the superordinate and core themes and highlights how these relate to respondents' perceived agency and freedom. It also reflects upon how such existential aspects of well-being are significant for agents' perceptions of their identity and self-meaning.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1.1: Introduction: 'Mixed Feelings: half-measures and full hearts'

> *'The mind is its own place, and in itself can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n'*
> John Milton, '*Paradise Lost*' Book 1: 254-255 (in Burton, 2015: iv)

Milton's line above reminds us of the significance of personally and socially constructed realities for individuals' interpretations of their own experiences. It was seen in the findings chapter that respondents made sense of emotional self-management and well-being in their lives from their individually situated viewpoints. For many, work represented a place of fulfilment and self-identification whilst for others it symbolised a space of alienation and frustration. A complicated set of thematic interrelationships reflecting respondents 'mixed feelings' and struggles with contradictory emotions emerged from the previous chapter's analysis. This chapter offers a theoretically informed discussion on the meaning of the core themes' interrelationships and how these contribute to an understanding of the personal, social and emotional aspects of service agents' experiences and their influences upon their well-being.

6.1.2 Chapter structure

The inextricably linked core themes of truth, trust and pride were significant for agents' interpretation of their personal experiences and were also connected with many other emergent, constituent and superordinate themes within the identified thematic hierarchy. These core themes have served as a central part of the interpretative framework enabling me to make further sense of agents' observations, perceptions, and feelings. Figure 5 represents the interconnectedness of these themes and their symbiotic connection with agents' self-constructed identities and the nature of their relationships with colleagues and service recipients.
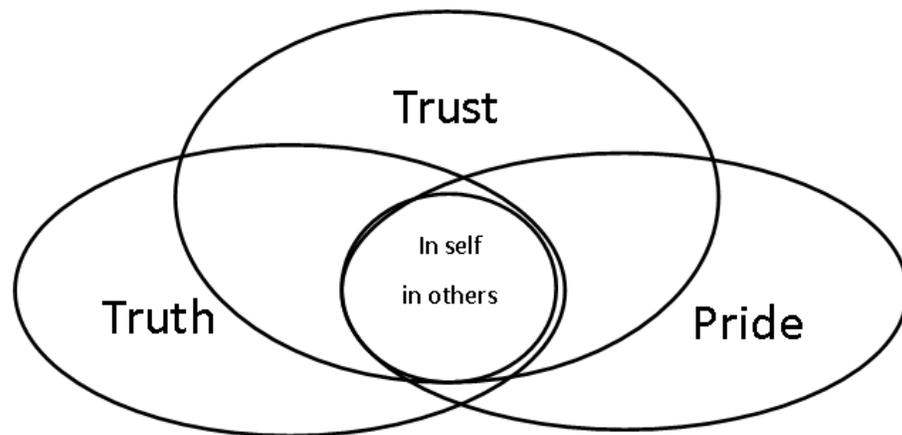
Figure 5: Core Themes' interconnectedness

Sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, and 6.2.3 of this chapter consider the various conceptualisations and interpretations of the phenomenological themes of truth, trust and pride in respect of the offering or receiving of service agents' perceptions of well-being. Subsequently, the significance and interconnectedness of these core themes are explored from theoretical viewpoints and individuals' experiential perspectives revealed in the findings. Many of these findings corroborated and developed, current theoretical insights into service agents' feelings and lived experiences.

The concepts of truth, reality, falsehood and deception are discussed in the context of the true nature of the feelings of those both providing and receiving service. The theoretical concepts of emotional labour and emotion management are reappraised critically in terms of how respondents made sense of the ways in which they served others and served themselves. The section reviews critically the extent to which such current scholarship on the psychology and sociology of emotion helps to explain the respondents' viewpoints and the broader themes that have emerged. The epistemological possibilities of re-conceptualising workplace emotions from more phenomenological and enigmatic perspectives are also considered.

The core theme of trust is next discussed in the context of its effects upon service agents' motivations, self-identities and sense of well-being.

The meaning of trust was multi-layered and governed by many temporal, situational and contextual factors. Trust was interpreted in the literal phenomenological sense of 'being

perceived as it appeared' from a range of respondents' perspectives. Three key relationships are considered here: trust with self, trust between self and colleagues and trust between self and service recipients. The section also explores the ambiguous, and often contradictory, conceptualisations of legitimate 'dishonesty' and 'deceit' in service transactions, together with the respective agency of customer and employee in the determination of 'trustful' or 'fruitful' exchanges. This idea is explored further in the context of power relationships, where agents reported that the inequitable nature of exchanges they experienced had frustrated genuine feelings of trust and warm regard between them and their patients and passengers.

The core theme of pride was also found to have many nuanced characteristics for agents, from fragility to deep–rootedness, with many of these features being mediated by participants' existential concerns in relation to their self-identities. The service recipient's critical role in the endorsement of service workers' efforts and their agency in the generation of pride is examined here. Theories of agent-recipient power relationships are applied to this study's findings and those of others. It is shown that many agents perceived their professional pride as fragile, being reinforced or undermined respectively at the whim of their organisation or service recipients. Both emotional 'nourishment' and 'risk' are seen to have played an important part in how service agents viewed their work. Thus, emotional 'risks', associated with agents' psychological disempowerment by those they ostensibly care for, are also examined in the context of their testimonies and relevant theoretical underpinnings. The impacts of these destabilising and unpredictable actions upon agents' emotional self-management and well-being are also discussed from individual and sociological perspectives.

The third section offers a reflection upon of the interconnectedness and general utility of the core themes and how they have contributed to the understanding of service agents' perceptions of themselves and their work. This prepares the ground for a critical theoretical reflection later in the chapter, which considers the resonance and relevance of truth, trust and pride to how agents make sense of the service they offer and the ways in which they 'care together' for their recipients.

The chapter then examines the meaning of different service contexts and the understanding of service agents' accounts of their emotional self-management and perceived well-being within them. Motivational and role identity theory are applied to explore service agents' assertions about their 'true' selves and their multiple conceptualisations of 'service' from commercial transaction to moral duty. It was seen that, while there were some shared views about the nature of service, it was evident that there were also divergent interpretations of its *purposes.* A discussion follows which highlights the perceived similarities and differences in emotion effort as perceived by nurses and cabin crew. It compares these to the wider views from the academic literature on the relative degrees of control and complexity characterising emotions in different occupational areas. This section questions specifically what has been gained and what has been learned by studying two separate occupational groups.

The summary then highlights how the themes discussed have developed understanding of respondents' agency and autonomy in their emotional self- management and how they perceive these impacting upon their well-being. It proceeds to reflect critically upon the existential aspects of well-being and their significance for the understanding of agents' perceptions of their freedom, self-determination and self-meaning. It concludes with a reflection upon how the constituent and core themes discussed have assisted with addressing this study's overall research question. A link is made to the final chapter and the statement of anticipated contribution to knowledge.

6.2.1 Core Themes: Truth and its significance for agents' emotional self-management and well-being

It was evident that the core theme of truth (and its antonym, 'deception') emerged as particularly significant for respondents who were uncertain about their relationships with themselves, their working colleagues, and particularly, those whom they served. Truth for many agents represented the alignment of their beliefs with their experiences of their socially constructed realities. Other positivist definitions that were discussed in Chapter 2 suggest the existence of 'objective truths', which are concerned with the 'facts of a person's being' (Kierkegaard, 1992).

As this is a phenomenological study, however, concerned with how emotions are experienced, it adopts a social constructionist perspective on the meaning of truth.

It has been seen that some agents experienced little difficulty in maintaining authenticity in both their personal and social relationships while others needed to perform emotional labour in order to carry out their professional duties in a manner that satisfied the social exchange expectations of those they served. The ability and inclination to display genuine, as opposed to synthetically induced, feelings at work related to respondents' individual worldviews, dispositions and many other personal factors. It was evident, however, that the ways in which agents perceived their working environments was significant in terms of the conduct of their relationships.

Hospitality and other commercial services have long been associated with performative work in which the emphasis is upon the delivery of a customer experience that is satisfactory and, on occasions, entertaining (Bryman, 2004, Seymour and Sandiford, 2005, Nickson and Warhurst, 2007). Implicit in performance is deception and passengers and patients who witness such performances may either be complicit in this or unwitting consumers of an ultimately false show. The perceived glamour and allure of certain service activities has served both employees and customers by offering them the opportunity to engage in or be delighted by them. It was seen that some cabin crew respondents were complicit with first-class passengers in co-constructing the rarefied atmosphere in which both groups were engaged by either offering or receiving an exclusive and 'glamorous' service experience. Here, cabin crew enjoyed conveying a scaled up, 'syrupy' version of their emotions but neither they nor their passengers were concerned about the absolute authenticity of their feelings. What appeared to be most important in such situations was the simultaneous reinforcement of both passengers' and crews' positive self-identities. The dynamics of 'deception' played a legitimate role in making both parties feel good, and while both passenger and crew member were subliminally aware that the 'below-the-surface' feeling might not completely match what was conveyed, the therapeutic value of the experience overshadowed any reservations about its complete authenticity.

Many respondents perceived their work as an opportunity to simply offer a 'professionalised version' of their real selves and claimed that, their predominantly positive and empathetic feelings meant that there was little or no need for pretence. These findings suggest that whilst service agents still needed to make emotional *effort,* this was simply required to release and convey what they felt already. Emotional 'labour' only appeared necessary for agents experiencing temporally or situationally related 'mixed feelings' or those who indicated more long-term unhappiness with their professional and private lives.

Tantam's (2014:160) research on the historical and contemporary significance of 'glamour' as an enchanting yet deceptive force in human interaction helps to explain why service work continues to be associated with falsehood and pretence. It could be argued that because of the common perceptions of caring professions as complex, compassionate and altruistic that these should escape such negative associations. Nonetheless, nurses' observations in this study present a more ambiguous picture, where it was frequently claimed that performative aspects of their work assumed great importance. In this environment, the 'performance' appears to centre less on displaying emotions that were not genuinely felt and more on impression management to ensure 'real' feelings were clearly conveyed to patients and colleagues. Most nurses claimed to possess genuine feelings of compassion and concern for much of the time but were aware of the need to allow such feelings to manifest themselves particularly when they were under pressure. They asserted that such emotion effort was vital for reassuring patients that they were *'in safe hands'* and that *'things were under control'* and that they could offer suitable and helpful treatment. Respondents' experiences illustrate how the term 'emotional labour' is sometimes confusingly applied to situations where the service agent did not need to feign or suppress emotions to comply with organisational feeling rules. Curley and Royle's (2013:107) apparent conflation of the term emotional labour with genuinely felt displays of emotion, courtesy and professionalism represents one of many examples of ambiguous categorisations.

'Mixed feelings' have predominated in this study in the reporting and analysis of respondents' emotional efforts and have also eluded definitive positioning within some of the key theoretical concepts of emotion management. Some respondents claimed that they would have difficulty specifying the nature and intensity of their feelings at any particular time or explaining how these might change exactly in a given set of circumstances. There were accounts of ambiguous feelings often incorporated into acts of care or service which could have been interpreted as 'half-hearted' or 'half-measured' but still not devoid of genuine concern. More significantly, in the context of service work and its possible association with 'falsehood', respondents did not see the nature of their emotion effort in a polarised manner, with deception positioned at one end of a continuum and truth situated at the other. There were reported expressions of 'half-truths' in agent-recipient exchanges as often as there was delivery of the service itself in 'half measures'. While truth itself might be viewed as a fundamental human virtue, it was clear that decisions to be truthful or deceitful were based upon a complex range of moral, ethical and practical criteria. In many instances, it was asserted by respondents that 'deception' of recipients was not only morally justifiable but practically essential in some safety, or health-critical situations. Respondents' accounts indicated that the ways in which they served were determined by their feelings, situational demands and their judgments as to what was appropriate to disclose to their recipients.

In relation to the superordinate theme of '*offering my service',* neither truth nor deception were seen to hold a monopoly over caring, genuine service and it was the nature of agents' intentions, commitment and concern that ultimately determine the recipient's experience. It has already been proposed that the dynamics of emotion effort are often represented in the academic literature according to their relative degrees of authenticity and fakeness, with the latter characteristic relegated to an inferior form of service. This phenomenological study acknowledges the value of conveying the experiences of individuals' emotional self-management on their own terms, asserting that there is as much to be learned by studying their diversity and uniqueness as could be revealed by their categorisation within more conventional conceptual models. McKenna et al (2011:149) endorse the benefits of studying phenomena as subjective occurrences and argue that a conceptual framework that is situated

outside a positivist ontology can move towards a more holistic and potentially useful body of knowledge. They refer to the understanding developed solely from positivist ontologies and methodologies as similar to 'the fishes knowledge of the water' and claim that certain researchers do not see that alternative paradigms can offer equally valuable insights. From this one could infer that the decisions that management must make to care for employees can be informed by an understanding of the particular experiences of individuals and small groups as much as by larger scale, quantitative data on the frequency, intensity and duration of felt emotions. Fineman (2004:719) is critical of the growing preoccupation with 'emotion measurement' in organisational behaviour asserting that:

> 'the epistemological and phenomenological consequences of psychometrically 'boxing' emotion are […] problematic and restrictive'.

He laments the apparent wish to 'pin emotion down' and provides an example of a typical posting from 'EMONET', a web discussion group of emotion researchers, epitomising this:

> *'Are there any empathy tests out there? We are looking for measures of the following: 1.Pride 2.Friendship 3.Generosity. Any help would be greatly appreciated.'*

This preoccupation with measurement and rigid classification may be because organisational decisions, may appear best informed by data representative of the majority view. Qualitative research does not offer this but, nonetheless, patterns emerging from smaller scale enquiries may provide initial indicators of workers' views and feelings. Therefore phenomenological findings could resonate with other quantitative research data from within a larger workforce community. This study has revealed the complexities and ambiguities surrounding truth and 'falsehood' in service intent and has further exposed the limitations of a polarised, one-dimensional approach to their categorisation. Some agents claimed to struggle with preserving initially authentic displays when positive feelings about their role and professional identity began to subside. Hochschild, (1983) and others (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, Abraham, 1998) refer to this state as 'emotional dissonance', where the agent experiences a clash between his inner feelings and the display of socially or professionally acceptable emotions.

Whilst the research findings would support theoretical views on the negative effects of 'emotional dissonance', there was considerable individual variation in the experiences of its intensity and duration. It appeared subordinate to other concerns agents expressed in relation to living with their personal 'truths'.

Some respondents associated their ability to display emotions more naturally with their personality trait characteristics and sense of positive service orientation. The accounts of Sally's tea round' and Sally's Sunday morning routine' in Chapter 5 represent notable examples of this. They suggest an agent's natural inclination and ability to display emotions that are both genuinely felt and consistently congruent with what patients would consider excellent care. The pleasure encountered is two-way and both patients and nurse benefit from the very 'human' interactive experience. Although some human effort is undoubtedly required to display felt emotion, there was no requirement evident on either of these occasions for the suppression, inducement or regulation of emotion normally associated with emotional 'labour'. Emotional 'self-management' in these situations simply involved the release and demonstration of genuine feelings of care and compassion for those who were being served. The nurse's actions naturally aligned both with organisational feeling rules and her own self-determined objectives and values. This convenient fit between personal feelings, values and recipients' expectations will not always exist and some agents reported that there were always occasions when they needed to 'juggle and synthesise' (Bolton, 2005) their feelings with varying degrees of success. Sally's' perspective is significant in that it was developed over years of service in which she was continually engaged in reflective and reflexive activity. She developed significant insights into the aspects of her work that she enjoyed most and became an active agent in creating opportunities for such rewarding interactive activities.

Summary*:*

The discussion of truth in this section has explored its significance for the understanding of the emotional efforts that service recipients invest in their work and how they balance these with their need for personal well-being. It has considered the extent to which these findings resonate with similar themes from the sociology of service literature. It has been seen how the true nature of the feelings of those providing service and their estimations of the real emotional risks of exposing their vulnerabilities to passengers and patients have played an important part in how service agents view the reality of their work. Some participants appeared to be confident about their emotional responsiveness, resilience and technical competence and were content to risk being judged by service recipients about this. Bolton (2005) asserts that some individuals are more naturally predisposed to service work and more confident and resilient when dealing with the complex demands of those whom they serve. Such agents may be more accepting of the inequality that generally characterises provider-recipient exchanges while still acknowledging their psychological need for the 'love and gratitude' to which Hochschild (1983) refers as the 'psychological rate of exchange'.

6.2.2 Core Theme: Trust in personal and professional relationships

'Trust in self and in others' manifested itself, alongside truth, as an important interrelated theme and helped towards an understanding of how respondents made sense of their personal, social and working relationships. This corroborates the research already conducted into the positive correlation between trusting working relationships, life satisfaction and well-being (Young and Daniel, 2003, Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006, Searle and Dietz, 2012, Rutherford, 2014). Helliwell and Huang (2011:748) assert that trust represents a critical element of 'workplace social capital' but what is more significant about their findings is how much their employees asserted they would sacrifice in monetary terms in order to work in what they perceived as a 'trusting' environment.

Since the seminal management works on organisational trust and communication (Moss-Kanter, 1977/1997), some academic attention has shifted away from the corporation-employee perspective on trust and has focused on the 'within person' and 'interpersonal' levels which Ashkanasy's and Humphrey's (2011) suggest should also be the focus for more emotion research generally. Young and Daniel's (2003) research was concerned with the dynamics of 'affectual' trust and relationship development in the workplace and it is this perspective relating to how respondents feel and experience trust that resonates with this study's findings and helps to make sense of them. Trust in these relationships is discussed in respect of agents' beliefs in themselves, their colleagues and those whom they serve. The focus upon 'trust in self' is concerned with what participants revealed about how they saw themselves as confident, reliable, competent and moral individuals and how factors such as moral ambiguity may have frustrated their ability or inclination to 'trust themselves'. The degree of trust in relationships between colleagues was reported as exerting significant influence over their alternatively positive or negative perceptions of their experiences at work. Similarly, the presence or absence of trust in relationships between service agent and service recipient were also viewed as critical factors determining agents' engagement and perceived well-being.

There were many accounts of respondents' struggles to reconcile organisationally prescribed, professional performance expectations with conflicting personal value systems, which Sayers and Monin (in Korczynski, 2009:11) refer to as the 'relentless external pressures of modernity on the individual self'. Such conflicts between organisational requirements and individual values amongst both cabin crew and nurses prompted the question as to whether the imperative to enchant passengers or re-assure patients and the 'performative front' (Goffman, 1963) required of them to do so is truly reconcilable with the notion of trust at all. It was reported that many agents desired to build trust with their patients or passengers but that these attempts could be hampered at times by a sense of 'them and us' disjuncture. While both parties often appeared complicit in maintaining a front of cordiality and collaboration, this was sometimes underpinned by a fragile sense of trust in which the relationship remained

under constant threat of disruption. The differences in provider-recipient perspectives appeared related to perceived motives and levels of authentic commitment.

Many respondents asserted the need to be able to depend upon colleagues, and indeed their patients or passengers, for reassurance and encouragement. It was evident that some respondents were regularly disappointed by the reliability and genuineness of support or by its total absence when most needed. Agents sometimes felt 'attacked from both sides' where a toxic encounter with a difficult patient or passenger was followed by an unsympathetic reprimand from management. Wijesinghe's (2012) research in relation to management support of service workers, demonstrates that the reconciliation of their intuition and personal values with organisational requirements represents a challenge for many service workers. Philanthropic reasons compelled some cabin crew to risk management's reprimands by 'hiding their cheapness' (Curley and Royle, 2013) and offering complimentary service items to needy passengers who did not have the means to pay.

Study participants often saw themselves as the 'face' of their organisation and that service recipients frequently treated them as directly responsible for any resource shortcomings or service failures, even those outside their control. Many had developed effective techniques to deal with difficult social exchange situations such as a 'transactional analysis' (Berne, 1964) approach whereby they found ways to avoid 'crossed transactions' between themselves and service recipients. Some reconceptualised vindictive recipients as vulnerable and anxious 'children' and diffused animosity by avoiding hostile reciprocation and offering reassurance instead. Dissatisfaction with service, however, often predisposed recipients to believe that their nurses or cabin crew did not genuinely care moving them into a 'default zone of mistrust' for any subsequent encounters. In these situations recipients were sensitised to expose any 'deceit' in agents 'performances' and:

'pounce on trifling flaws to reveal the whole show *(was)* false'
(Goffman; 1959: 59).

Goffman (1959:59-60) reminds us of the fragility of any social interaction and maintains that even individuals predisposed to believe, appreciate or admire what they are experiencing may be:

> '…momentarily disturbed, shocked, and weakened in their faith by the discovery of a picayune discrepancy in the impression presented to them'.

Thus, some participants with genuine concern for their recipients who make inadvertent, but brief, 'unmeant gestures' while offering their service observed that they still found themselves relegated by recipients to the ranks of the mistrusted. It would appear that some participants found such 'false exposure' as cynical performers humiliating, particularly when resulting from fleeting expressions of irritation or tiredness. This was illustrated by respondent Gareth's impassioned self-defensive plea to an imagined hostile customer in Chapter 5 (p. 181) which represents the dilemma of a public servant who wishes to offer caring assistance but, as a human being, can never be perfect. Kiefer and Barclay (2012) suggest that negative feelings sometimes assume a life of their own, often detached from rational awareness with the potential to exert powerful, damaging influences upon agents' confidence and well-being. It would appear that trust, or its absence, represents a significant influencing dynamic in the quality of workplace relationships and respondents' work experiences. This view is corroborated by the wider research literature (Lupton, 1996, Lupton, 1998, Young and Daniel, 2003, Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006, Theodosius, 2008, Searle and Dietz, 2012), which endorses the idea that trust is required on both sides of the reciprocal relationship between agent and recipient (Lupton, 1996:165).

Aviation operations presented particular issues of allegiance, loyalty and authenticity, whereby many crew members were collectively complicit in promulgating the illusion of friendship within a transient working environment. Nurses reported hospital workspaces were not exclusively benign environments characterised by mutually caring colleagues and tranquil places for emotional replenishment. Here, it was asserted that whilst some participants possessed a hardwired disposition to support and care for others, some of their colleagues showed little concern for them. There were also some claims of victimisation and disregard for fellow nurses which belied the stereotypical supportive and caring interplay associated with

the profession. In both contexts, the ability to find private or even liminal spaces within which to switch off and 'emotionally vent' with colleagues was limited by physical space restrictions. The theme of 'mixed feelings' once again appears, this time in the context of colleague to colleague relationships.

Service agents asserted their needs to self-disclose and seek support from others and how these needs often transcended any mistrustful misgivings about their engagement with colleagues. Whilst transient working relationships were allegedly more typical amongst cabin crew, both groups referred to the 'deep-shallow' nature of the exchanges and support which generally characterised their work. Whilst reflecting the need for immediate emotional release, personal disclosures or frustrations conveyed 'in the moment' were often quickly forgotten. There were comments from both groups that there is an increasing bi-directional loss in trust between them and management as evidenced by agents' increasing sense of disempowerment and the mismatch between the role identities promulgated by the airline or the health service compared with the perceived realities of their work. Respondents partially attributed the deterioration of their perceived pride and autonomy to this erosion of trust, and some believed this undermined their emotional investment and propensity to take the 'emotional risks' in their social exchanges with recipients.

Agents' stories in Chapter 5 offered varying perspectives on their 'mixed feelings' about the degrees of relative trust, freedom and autonomy in service work. Some agents expressed strong belief and trust in themselves and claimed they remained true to their own self-perceived professional identities and trustful of their personal values and their ability to express these. In a number of cases, it would seem the offering and performance of a service and the possession and warm regard for those receiving it are firmly interlinked. Both cabin crew and nurses appeared to have shared an ontological view that 'caring for' and 'caring about' should coexist and one respondent clearly believed that these were virtually inseparable. It has been seen in this section that trust in service relationships is a complex phenomenon and cannot simply be reduced to a categorisation based on authenticity or falsehood alone.

Like truth, trust manifests itself in a variety of nuanced forms, and Theodosius (2008:215) reminds us that:

> '...authenticity of self in emotional labour is not necessarily connected to the suppression or oppression of emotion: nor does the expression of negative emotions necessarily lead to self-alienation'.

It was noted earlier that truth was not always a vital component within a positive and reciprocal arrangement between provider and recipient. Hochschild's (1983) concept of 'deep acting' is often viewed as a process based upon deception whereby agents 'psych' themselves into feeling more genuinely so that they care more deeply about their job, their organisation and, most significantly, those whom they serve. Theodosius (2008:79) asserts, however, that agents who learn the organisational feeling rules are not necessarily trying to deceive themselves about the authenticity of any emotions they subsequently experience. In the case of the trust dynamic within a relationship, self-deception was sometimes found to coexist in the presence of trust in a nuanced form. This was particularly true in the case of fragile and transient 'between-colleague' relationships, where there was a need for positive exchanges between nurses and cabin crew and trust, albeit in a fleeting form, was viewed as essential for these.

The work of Clarke et al (2007:94) refers to situations where mutual trust between colleagues has broken down, such as that reported by cabin service director, Sandra, in Chapter 5. Her account reflected her *'peculiar loneliness'* and the *'jumble of emotions'* experienced by individuals who are forced to act as agents for unpopular organisational change whilst simultaneously becoming victims of it themselves. Young and Daniel, (2003:150) and Clarke et al (2007:97) endorse the critical importance of trust amongst work colleagues, particularly so in the context of manager-employee relations which they claim can become mired in mutually reinforcing distrust unless the need for personalised relationship development and better communications is addressed. Within environments of rapid organisational change, nurses and cabin crew both expressed the importance of facing perceived risks and uncertain futures together, relying upon their colleagues for support.

Many respondents reported a sense of ambiguity in their feelings towards their work, and whilst they encountered 'relationship-enjoying emotions' (Young and Daniel, 2003:149) they associated these more with positive relationships with their colleagues and less with a sense of overall trust for their organisation. Thus, respondents reported that they could experience a combination of emotions such as trust and apprehension simultaneously or in rapid succession when offering their service. Some or many of these might have corresponded directly with the 'feeling rules' they were expected to follow, but for those who did not, an emotional labour 'top-up' was required. It is significant, however, that 'deception' in some of its forms often underpinned the care and service offered, not because of agents' negative intents but for the polar opposite reason of genuine concern and the desire to protect the recipient from distress or harm. In some cases, it was seen that service recipients were complicit with agents in their deception or pretence for the greater good of experiencing a more desirable service. Here, trust was based upon the recipient's belief that the agent could be relied upon to deliver the service that they required without taking undue commercial or psychological advantage of them.

In the context of trusting relationships, Theodosius (2008:41) refers to Giddens' (1990) notion of the 'pure relationship', which is characterised by 'the ability and luxury to communicate freely and honestly with loved ones' whilst also reminding us of Foucault's (1978) belief that such relationships where one confesses intimate and personal details to another creates mutual vulnerability. Whilst colleagues, patients or passengers may not be viewed as 'loved ones', it has been seen that both nurses and cabin crew have reported the need to communicate with each other in the way that Giddens describes, albeit often in transient and speeded-up working environments.

Schoorman et al (2007:344) argue that trust should be regarded as an aspect of relationships as opposed to a 'trait-like' dispositional quality, and their ideas correspond with the temporal, situated, dynamic perspective on workplace trust that has been suggested by respondents. Underpinning the notion of trust lie the associated concepts of agents' exposure to

vulnerability and willingness to take emotional risks with both colleagues and service recipients. It has also been seen that some agents indicated a strong level of trust in themselves and their ability to uphold professional standards and personal values within an ostensibly unconducive work environment. A seemingly unshakeable belief in their own self-worth appeared consistently to override external factors that might potentially inhibit offering the care and service aligned to their ontological perspectives. These phenomena are further discussed in the section below on agents' pride, dignity and identity.

6.2.3 Core Theme: Pride, dignity and identity.

In addition to pride in self, pride in fellow colleagues and in a shared sense of professional identity were also significant to many respondents. For some, the performance of ostensibly mundane tasks generated pride if performed collegiately (Durkheim [1912] 1995). It was evident that the most valuable reward was customers' expressions of gratitude, their endorsement of agents' professional self-identities and the resultant reinforcement of their professional pride. Equally, 'toxic' encounters had the reverse effect whereby respondents were left feeling vulnerable, insecure and unsupported. This corroborated Korczynksi's (2009) and Cruz and Abrante's (2013) assertions on the 'new age of customer sovereignty' where the omnipotent service recipient 'co-produces' the service and acts as 'unofficial' manager empowered to bestow tyrannical judgement.

Many respondents related experiences of the reflexive nature of their exchanges with recipients where the tone and outcome of an encounter was co-determined, resulting in feelings of mutual satisfaction, frustration or something in between. Sayer (2007) argues that dignity is essential to social identity and psychological well-being and encompasses an individual's feelings, autonomy, trust and respect. Bolton (2010) refers to Giacalone and Jurkiewicz's (2003:13) work on 'dignity' and infers that recent developments in 'workplace spirituality' may offer glimmers of hope for a happier and more affectively committed workforce.

She cites their assertion that more positive organisational cultures may facilitate employees' sense of:

> 'being connected to others in a way that provides feelings of completeness and joy'

Lucas (2015:621) proposes that there are three dimensions of dignity at work; 'inherent' dignity as recognized by respectful interaction, 'earned' dignity as recognized by positive messages of competence, and 'remediated dignity' as recognized by social interactions and organizational promulgation of a positive image of the work masking its often instrumental and unequal nature. Bolton's (2010) 'dimensions of dignity' model suggests that in order to explore the 'spirit-work connection' we must focus upon agents' feelings whether their work seems 'dirty', 'dangerous' or 'devalued'. For this study's respondents, however, there appeared to be no tidy connection between the ostensibly difficult or unpleasant aspects of their role and the intensity of negative feeling they possessed in relation to it. A more constant theme relating to service agents' perceptions of dignity related however to Lucas's (2015) assertions concerning recognition and respect. Indications of respectful appreciation from recipients and organisations alike often appeared to override any reservations agents may have had about performing difficult or 'dirty' work (McMurray and Ward, 2014).

Some respondents claimed to 'manage around' the difficult aspects of their work and still maintain commitment, engagement and fulfilment from such perceptibly small intrinsic rewards, such as Justin's 'getting that smile out of people'. For certain cabin crew, realisation about these more difficult aspects came later when they had already begun to feel 'locked in' to both their job and the associated lifestyle. Initially offering service to socially prominent or famous passengers elevated their sense of self-esteem when performing activities that might be viewed as repetitive and routine. In the context of this research, Durkheim's ([1912]1995) views on how 'normal' or 'ordinary' daily tasks can assume symbolic significance helps explain how participants' initial impressions of their roles were sometimes very different to the later experienced reality. Durkheim's ([1912]1995) concept of 'collective effervescence' helps to explain agents' re-conceptualisations of their experiences, truths and realities over time and how they may make sense of their changing role perceptions.

Their ability to find ways to reconcile these with their need to preserve professional pride and positive self-identity was variable. Crew member Justin, discussed in the final section of Chapter 5, has been highly successful in preserving his feelings of pride. Whilst he is truthful with himself about his work's limits, rewards and challenges, his continuing investment in a performance of his role transcends the narrow confines of its immediate and obvious service requirements. This has the twin effects of enriching his job and sustaining his well-established sense of pride. Justin's perspective and approach resonate with the accounts of a number of other respondents who appear to possess a similar ontological view of the purpose and meaning of the service they offer.

It appeared that pride was not only bestowed by the passenger, patient, colleague or organisation but was also created from within as a consequence of agents' personal values and beliefs as to their core reason for 'being in the world'. Despite the emotional, physical and mental challenges encountered in their work, it was evident that some possessed a self-awareness and positive service orientation that predisposed them to engage in natural emotional exchanges with patients and passengers which mitigated against alienation from their work. This finding mirrors those from other large scale studies such as Heuven and Bakker's (2003: 96), which asserts that:

> 'homogenous group(s) of workers show a great diversity of reactions in relation to emotion work' (*and that :)* 'Self-alienation coexists with genuine self-expression and standardized smiles with a great variety of emotional expressions'.

These assertions reflect a central concern within psychological research relating to individual personality and its relationship with human disposition and agency (Freud, [1923] 2001), Lawrence, 1975, Gardner, 1983, Gergen, 1991, Lazarus, 1994, Goleman, 1995, Leary and Tangey, 2003). It also raises the key phenomenological question as to what can be learned from the lived experiences of individuals who claim to be 'happy' and possess a sense of well-being by those who do not. Bolton (2005) asserts that certain workers perceive that their personal values may align better with the nature of their chosen roles than others and that they are drawn towards them in the first place because

of this. Hochschild (1979:274) would refer to these respondents' inclination to offer considerably more than the minimum service requirements as a form of 'gift exchange'. She argues that:

> 'the most generous gesture of all is the act of successful self-persuasion, of genuine feeling and frame changing, a deep acting that jells, that works, that in the end is not phony'.

This apparent 'self-nurture over nature' perspective on the cultivation of 'genuine' feeling may, however, provide too convenient an explanation as to why some service workers appeared more content and engaged than others. In contrast, nurses and cabin crew's pride was often deeply ingrained and genuinely felt, as were their feelings for their patients and passengers. Curley and Royle's (2013) cabin crews and Waters' (2004) nurses indicated very similar feelings about those whom they cared for. Waters' findings suggested that 74% of nurses cited patients as the most important reason for continuing their work. Thus, for many respondents that any form of 'self-persuasion' was unnecessary to carry out their work caringly and conscientiously. From their detailed accounts, it appeared that it had not been necessary at any stage for them to cross over to the 'phony' threshold. They have either remained consistent in their positive feelings and convictions since the beginning of their careers or more genuine feelings had developed over time as a consequence of experiences and self-reflexive activity.

Whilst some agents' conceptualisation of their role had remained largely unchanged over the years, this was not the case with other respondents. In respect of both nursing and cabin crew roles, Whitelegg's (2007:16-18) 'space-out' classification model of motivation and self-identification (discussed in Chapter 3) helps to explain some participants' changing perceptions of their true roles. The model also helps us understand how they make their altered roles 'work for them', while preserving their sense of self-identity and pride. The classification framework invites comparison of initial role expectations with subsequent perceptions of freedoms, role identities, demands, rewards and satisfaction. Many respondents reported changes in these aspects, although the inclination to navigate around undesirable changes varied amongst agents according to their 'philosophy' of service and personal convictions.

The discussion on gendered aspects of emotional effort in Chapter 2 referred to research findings which claimed differences in the relative experiences of pride between male and female workers (Magee, 2015). While it is not possible to corroborate Magee's findings with those of this small qualitative study, it is nonetheless interesting to observe that all males, with the exception of Justin, expressed increasing dissatisfaction and dwindling feelings of pride in their work as the years had progressed. In line with Magee's (2015:1093) observations, many female respondents expressed pride from the sense of achievement and pleasure of doing a good job. Notably, Justin proudly discussed the 'caring and nurturing' inclinations which Erickson (2005:341) associates with the individual gendered construction of self in more 'feminine' terms. Perhaps untypically, Justin, like many female participants appeared to place a higher value than his fellow male colleagues on 'doing' instead of 'having' a good job and appeared more likely to attribute positive meanings to 'caring about' in addition to 'caring for' his service recipients. Agents' perceptions of the value of their work and the emotional effort they invest in it may have gendered dimensions but Durkheim's ([1912] 1995) and Whitelegg's (2007) work provide insights into how the perceived reality and value of work is often socially constructed. Both nurses' and cabin crews' ways of seeing themselves were influenced by how they perceived others viewed them, as Cooley's (1902) 'looking glass self' concept has suggested. The ways they attended to the emotional demands of their work both influenced and were influenced by these self-constructed identities. Sally's claim that she saw herself as a trustworthy, caring and diligent nurse was reinforced by her altruistic concerns and practical deeds for patients' well-being. There was a symbiotic relationship between her choices of how she self-managed her self-perceived and self-constructed identity. Similarly, Justin's and Alan's desire to attend to the more complex social needs of their passengers, going that 'extra mile' highlight the circular relationship between self-identity and emotional self-management. Mead (1913) believed that the true state of 'selfhood' is contingent upon the individual's possession of the tools for 'self-reflexivity'. A significant number of respondents were self-reflexive in their approach and made conscious decisions of how to manage their emotions to more consistently reflect their own convictions and ontological positioning.

6.3   Truth, Trust and Pride and their significance for how service agents make sense of their experiences of emotional self-management and well-being

Truth, trust and pride manifested themselves as key mediating factors in service agents' relationships and also exerted a pivotal influence upon how they made sense of the complexity and ambiguity surrounding their working relationships, emotional self-management and well-being. Truth and authenticity in service exchanges were not recognised by agents in absolutist terms but rather as nuanced, context-dependent phenomena where the human needs of patients or passengers often transcended the conventional view that consistent honesty is the unshakeable imperative of positive human interaction.

Ambiguity and agents' mixed feelings in respect of the core themes have characterised much of the discussion in the previous sections of this chapter. In the case of 'truth', it was seen that the understanding of the *experience* of being truthful or 'false' was significant for respondents and that their decisions about how to act towards others were influenced by a multiplicity of moral and self-preservational motives. Contrary to Goffman's (1959: 28) concept of 'performative front' and Hochschild's (1983:85) 'deep acting' many respondents asserted a sense of freedom to be themselves at work, preferring to subtly navigate around rigid organisational display rules, corroborating findings from other spheres of professional work such as academia (Antoniadou, 2013).

There were, however, some tensions evident between respondents' true feelings and their 'socialised selves' (Goffman, 1959). Some participants struggled with a perceived need to juggle 'multiple selves' in consequence of 'player-manager' tension or other situational requirements. Hochschild (1983:85) suggests that emotion is a sense that tells us 'about the self-relevance of reality' and that we may use it as a way of 'locating ourselves' when we are in 'bad repair'. She states that an induced 'deep acting' state may be an attempt to 'put together things that threaten to pull (us) apart'. Certain cabin crew members had begun to recognise that their coping ability, self-belief and identity had been contingent upon a degree of self-deception and 'deep acting'. They acknowledged, however, that they had finally been able to let the 'mask slip' without fear of exposing a 'real them' completely incompatible with

their previous self-constructed identities. They had found ways to be themselves whilst remaining professional. Others reported a continuing sense of externally imposed prohibition and an inability to convey their true feelings because of the organisation's increasingly prescriptive service guidelines or the sheer fatigue brought about by speeded up-work routines.

Some cabin crew and nurses held recipients' deteriorating attitudes responsible for their declining commitment to their work and decreased concern with offering a genuinely felt service. Their reports of feeling 'invisible' or 'interchangeable' in patients' and passengers' eyes mirrored Korczynski's (2009) concern about the 'disappearing human being' fusing the concept of the 'sovereign' customer with Hochschild's (1983) 'commercialised human feeling' to offer a dystopian view of the 'commercialisation of humanity' itself. Here, service agents and recipients become commodified in each other's eyes where mutual mistrust and suspicions concerning genuineness may underpin exchanges. Tantam (2014:161) asserts that the implicit and *complicit* deception that characterises much of human behaviour is often triggered by individuals' desire to prolong an experience where:

> 'they are taken out of their everyday world into a new absorbing one, in which desires are satisfied and wishes granted without any of the disappointments'

He reminds us that the territory of glamorous service may contain its workers within rarefied, privileged and unreal spaces such the artificial and seductive social world of five-star hotels and luxury travel. In order to belong within this rarefied atmosphere, some cabin crew claimed to have initially lost sight of their self-perceived value systems because of the difficulties reconciling these within their new fast moving, seductive world. For some, a return to base after a trip heralded a return to a 'reality' to which they felt they no longer belonged. Normal rhythms of life and work were carried on in their absence as had their families and friends and it was often difficult to 'segue' back into the lives of others. Some cabin crew subsequently made sense of their erstwhile self-deceptive positioning, acknowledging the psychological and emotional trade-offs of belonging to a less 'real' working world where they had attempted to avoid waking up to the truth about their existence

Schad et al (2016) assert that emotions are often paradoxical; for example, 'joy' can elicit 'melancholy' or vice-versa. They argue that even though emotions can critically inform individuals' experiences of paradox, there is little understanding or research into the feelings involved when this happens because scholarly attention remains focused upon how people think and act in such situations. This is one of the reasons why this study has attempted to understand the *feelings* service agents experienced in situations of doubt and uncertainty and, in consequence, these have shed light upon some of the paradoxes of engagement and motivation in service work. The organisational psychology literature claims that there is much to be gained from seeking a better understanding of the ambivalence that characterises working life experiences (Ashforth et al, 2014, Jarrett and Vince, 2017). The messages emerging on the experience of emotional self-management and well-being in this study have often seemed paradoxical and, thus, perhaps inconveniently, ambiguous. Pradies et al (2016) suggest, however, that such paradoxes may help to shine a new light on 'collective emotional dynamics' that the conceptual ambiguities of some theories of workplace emotionality, which were discussed earlier, may not.

It is evident that agents' perceptions of truth, trust and pride *in* their work and *at* work are ambiguous, nuanced, contextually influenced and interdependent. Their interrelationships were reflexive and symbiotic, where each was mediated by and also actively mediated the other. A recurring example is the mediating influence of trust upon pride in agent-recipient relationships. It was seen that pride showed itself in many forms, from the most fragile to the most enduring manifestations, where each of these were influenced by the depth and quality of trustful relationships between agents and patients or passengers. Agents ascribed meaning and significance to truth, trust and pride in different ways, and some indicated a greater tolerance for the uncertainty surrounding the ambivalent nature of their working relationships whilst others expressed recurrent discomfort with the unpredictability and ambiguity of their interactions. Morally ambiguous situations and decisions surrounding such practices as 'legitimate deception' in service proved more challenging for those that sought absolutist understandings of truth than those who appeared more flexible in their outlook.

Agents' questions and uncertainties on the fundamental purpose of their working roles and coping strategies are amplified in the section below.

6.4   The meaning of service work for nurses and cabin crew

Much of the extant service management literature is preoccupied with the tensions between improving organisational outputs and satisfying customers' needs and wants. This overlooks a third, relatively neglected dimension of concern in the service work literature relating to the well-being, self-esteem and self-identity of service workers. The emphasis upon Weberian efficiency has alienated and confused many service workers because of the paradox of being asked to compress emotions out of the physical and mental aspects of their work whilst simultaneously being expected to squeeze emotional displays back in during the service encounter. Korczynski and Macdonald (2009:2) have asserted that many studies have focused on filling 'empirical gaps' in service work and have insufficiently interpreted and developed theoretical understanding of its nature. They claim that there is a difference between knowing what service workers 'do' and what this section sets out to achieve, which is to develop understanding their 'true experiences' and the meaning of these in their working lives.

The complexity, paradoxes and contradictions of service work referred to in Chapters 2 and 3 have indicated the multi-dimensional meanings and complex etymological roots of terms such as 'hospitality', 'care' and 'service'. All three concepts shared common origins in the history of provision of welcome, food, drink, shelter, refreshment, spiritual consolation and medical care (McClellan and Dorn, 2006, Komter and Van Leer, 2012, Lashley, 2017). Widespread dissent persists, however, as to the conceptualisations of service and the differences in the nature, motivations and intentions characterising it (Brotherton, 1999, Gabriel, 2009b, Lugosi, 2014). While respondents shared some common perceptions of what their respective service roles involved, it was clear that there were a number of significantly diverging views relating to each agent's personal ontology of service. Chapter 5 illustrated that even within a relatively small sample of service workers, perceptions of their work varied considerably from one extreme of 'emotional slavery' to another of 'philanthropic moral duty' generating positive feelings of

identity and emotional enrichment. Notably, agents' perceptions of the respective complexity of the mental, physical or emotional work did not exert a pivotal influence upon their pride or sense of self –identity. Instead, it appeared that the agent's sense of performing meaningful work whilst interacting with fellow human beings was more significant. Some agents chose to invest 'emotional gifts' (Hochschild, 1983, Kompter and Van Leer, 2012) in even the most mundane forms of service interactions in both nursing and airline service work. An agent's discretion and inclination to seize the opportunity to convert a dull encounter into a pleasant one was pivotal to the achievement of meaningful outcomes for the recipient and for the agent's developing sense of identity and purpose. Such exchanges were held to add to an agent's 'emotional bank' of positively sustaining experiences predisposing him to achieving similar outcomes again and bolster against any 'toxic' experiences (Kiefer and Barclay, 2012) that he was likely to have in the future. Kiefer and Barclay (2014:1866) argue that the creation of positive emotions in this way:

> 'broaden(s) 'thought–action repertoires' and builds enduring 'physical, social, and psychological personal resources'

Similar or identical jobs appealed in different ways to respondents according to their views on the purpose and meaning of service. Some found appeal in its 'drama' and excitement corroborating Sayers and Monin's (in Korczynski, 2009:19) assertions that theatricality comes naturally to many service workers. Some agents claimed that they frequently needed to reconcile these 'irrational' tendencies towards performativity with a more 'rational' assessment of the true nature of the work they were really being asked to do and its objective 'importance', 'value' and 'complexity'. Their 'personal philosophies of service' represented a key link in the chain of their meaning-making process and affected their perception of the value of the contributions deposited in their 'emotional bank'. It was found that some agents' self-deception and suppression of their changing feelings about their work ultimately resulted in alienation from falsely constructed self-identities.

Tantam (2014:161) refers to this as the 'meaning vacuum', where:

> 'Waking up' to one's true situation, when an enchantment is broken, when one stops deceiving oneself, or when passion becomes questionable, is like finding oneself in a new and uncanny world [...] in a new world like this, old signposts may no longer work'.

He emphasises that 'meaning making' is linked very closely with well-being and all respondent accounts of their working lives corroborated this. Some agents perceived service demands in terms of the degree they actively or subconsciously needed to change their personae to deliver what was required and expected. These changes were linked with their inclinations and abilities to be self-reflexive about their emotion efforts and reconcile what they actually felt with any performative expectations.

6.4.1: Identity, Motivation and Rewards

Both nurses and cabin crew presented mixed feelings about their experiences of the emotional challenges and rewards of service. Questions have emerged as to how 'vocation', self-identity, motivations and stereotypical perceptions of occupational norms affect the ways in which agents offer their service and, ultimately, experience emotional self-management. The ways they express, or sometimes suppress, feelings about their work have generated important insights into how they construct their self-identities. Their perceptions encompassed a varied, sometimes contradictory, cross-section of views from service as a philanthropic, moral duty to a frivolous and inevitably dishonest transaction. For many who held the former view, their work regularly generated positive feelings of identity and 'emotional enrichment', whilst those holding the latter understandably encountered frustration, self-doubt and disillusionment. It has been suggested there are both sociological and psychological influences upon participants' construction of their self-identities (Freud, [1923]2001, Burke, 1980, Gergen, 1991, Lifton, 1993, Stets and Burke, 2003, Davidson, 2004, Hede, 2010). A sociological approach to the understanding of 'self 'and 'identity' has been related to the assumption that the individual and society are reciprocally interlinked (Stets and Burke, 2003:128). This does not fully explain, however, this study's findings on the significant differences in self-perception and positive

identity amongst individuals whose conditions of work were ostensibly similar. Mead's (1913) theory on the 'social self' posits that the core of 'selfhood' is contingent on society bestowing upon individuals the tools for self-reflexivity. While it was clear that all respondent engaged in ongoing 'conversations with themselves' concerning their interactions with recipients and colleagues, it was simultaneously evident that the frequency and depth of these differed significantly amongst them.

Stets and Burke (2003) argue that the self both 'manifests itself' and is 'reflective of society' prompting the question as to the degree of individual personality and agency in the formation of identity. Many respondents displayed a strong sense of individual 'personality' and a single-minded determination to be 'the best that they could'. Conversely, however, it was evident that other agents appeared to have lost faith in themselves, the significance of their roles and their propensity to deliver more than the prescribed service requirements. Ironically, the 'group identity' that Durkheim ([1912] 1995) argued can elevate the status of ordinary and mundane activities to symbolically meaningful pursuits can also serve to render the employee as 'invisible' and 'lumped into' a category subsuming individual dignity into a group classification (Rayman, 2001:13). It was seen that a number of agents in both occupations were affected by perceptions of their invisibility and interchangeability in service recipients' eyes. Goffman infers (1959:36) that service recipients are increasingly preoccupied with simply getting what they want but make 'fast and lazy but flawed' interpretations of those who provide them. Consequently, agents are perceived as part of a homogenised herd of service providers which drives service exchanges closer towards Korzcynski's (2009) dreaded vision of the 'commercialisation of humanity' and the 'disappearing human being'.

Csikszentmihalyi's (1996:116-30), work on 'flow states' and 'autotelic' traits suggests that individual agency is not exclusively determined by sociological influences and that there are natural variations in human agency and disposition. His 'autotelic personality' discussed in Chapter 2 displays an orientation towards natural curiosity, intrinsic rewards, low self-consciousness and high degrees of concentration ability and appears to 'fit' the characteristics displayed by some of the respondents who recounted certain working days and experiences

corresponding with Csikszentmihalyi's notion of 'single-minded immersion'. *'I blinked and the shift was over'* and *'we seemed hardly to have taken off when we were landing again'* were expressions that suggested such total and pleasurable absorption in work-related activity. These respondents had come to enjoy their work-related emotion efforts for their own sake where mundane or routine activities such as taking a patient's temperature or collecting refuse at a passenger's seat assumed importance on an interactive human level. The functional nature of the task was now overshadowed by the pleasure of the social exchange. Hede (2010:95) states that workers are not encouraged by their organisations to 'live in the present moment', and enjoy such functional tasks in case they should decelerate to the point of distraction from other tasks.

Agents' reports have shown that the changes in perspectives, aspirations and priorities occurring during their working lives have, in turn, brought about altered feelings concerning the inherent meaning of their work and their own self-identities. Their experiences corroborated Gergen's (1991:139) view of the continuous redefinition of an individual's self-identity through increasingly volatile, unpredictable and ephemeral relationships. The quality of agent-recipient relationships that characterised participants' work exerted a significant influence upon nurses and cabin crew's self-perceptions. Sometimes complex and varied social demands necessitated the development of an adaptive 'protean' self (Lifton, 1993) capable of presenting multiple versions of their 'socialised selves' (Goffman, 1959) according to recipients' diverse demands and expectations. Some respondents appeared to do this with relative ease but others struggled to reconcile these multiple versions with a clearly defined and singular self-identity.

Chapter 2 highlighted the paradox between the notion of a pluralistic and ever-changing self, capable of adapting to the differing social demands of a situation and the limited discretion some agents have over how they may respond to the needs of recipients. Significantly, certain participants who expressed a strong sense of self also claimed to subtly navigate the boundaries between prescriptive interaction, self-expression and private goals and find ways to express their self-determined values. Burke (1980) asserts that the ability to do this is critical

for individuals' ability to engage in more spontaneous interaction with their environment and facilitate the ongoing development of the 'self'. It also allowed some respondents to appraise their work independently of prevailing stereotypical perceptions of its skill variety and intensity. The respective agency of respondents to 'rise above' such stereotypical views has varied according to the strength of agents' self-belief, confidence and personal commitment. Some nurses reported feelings of generally more secure self-identities which were significantly influenced by more positive external endorsements of the value of their work. Nonetheless, not all were immune to disrespectful treatment and patients' stereotypical perceptions of them as 'doctors' hand maidens' or 'angels with pretty faces and empty heads' (Muff, 1982:211, Bridges, 1990: 856). Both occupational groups' professional self-images were influenced, albeit to different extents, by service recipients' escalating demands or the 'wider social mores of consumption-based identity' (Korczynski, 2003:57). The sovereign passenger's expectations for the speedy service of an unrealistically wide range of food and drink items mirrored the modern patient's belief in an automatic entitlement to instant diagnosis and effective treatment ('the new 'Tesco Express', as Maureen expressed it)

Korczynski (2003:57) argues that service agents often judge themselves harshly against unrealistic standards set by the recipient who may be ignorant of the work's pressure or complexity. Thus, unsuccessful emotional exchanges with service recipients may be wrongly perceived as personal failures which can erode agents' sense of professional identity and ability.

Fineman (2008:5) expresses the postmodernist view that:

> 'identity is more than a static, self-classificatory, niche. It is a process of holding and resolving different social-emotional narratives about who we are, who we were, and who we wish to be'.

Agents' changing identities were tempered by personal experiences and subsequent self-reflection but also the 'social-emotional narratives' mentioned by Fineman (2008:5) who asserts that:

'occupational esteem is a product of particular cultural, ideological, and market conditions' that provides 'first line identity messages' to members of a working group

He suggests that altering social attitudes continually reinvent the 'pecking order of jobs' held in high esteem and that all working roles can potentially topple from the top to the middle or bottom of this list. The social relegation of the cabin crew role from glamorous professional to semi-skilled worker has proved painful for some respondents in this study. However the reaction to these social shifts has not been uniform. Some agents did not succumb to disillusionment, demonstrating active agency in redefining themselves continuing to engage positively in their speeded up service world. They remained firm in their belief that there would always be passengers who would appreciate what they offer. This resilience in self-identity appeared to act as a centrifugal force governing many aspects of agents' emotionality and emotional self-management. Fineman's (2008) assertion that 'Identity work' involves confronting strong emotions such as pride, fear and anxiety resonates with this study's findings.

Agents' identities may be open to revision resulting from their learning and Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionist perspective would see this as a natural outcome of dynamic social forces where the meaning of a phenomenon changes according to changes in the ways in which it is viewed. Contrary to Durkheim's (1938) narrow social constructionist view on 'the emotional self' and Bolton's (2008:17) image of 'emotionally anorexic social actors', many members of both occupational groups claimed to engage in an ongoing process of reflection and self-evaluation of their emotions and feelings. Many agents asserted also that they recognised the importance of their self-identities and the need for continuous reappraisal of these within the changing 'social-emotional narratives' to which Fineman (2008:5) refers.

Whilst the meanings of service and agents' desire to perform it were clearly linked with the relative strength and stability of their perceived self-identities, the organisational reinforcement of these through complementary motivational strategies was also important.

Many of the reasons underpinning agents' engagement and identification with their roles could be as well explained by the findings associated with early human relations theory as by any other motivational concepts (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939, Mayo, 1946). The social factors governing the construction of their identities were of equal relevance to participants' enjoyment of the work itself. Unsurprisingly, 'feeling special' and being treated as such by sensitive service recipients, managers and colleagues was reportedly a key influence over how agents viewed the meaning of their work and their own worth.

Contrary to some of the stereotypical perceptions of airline crews' motivations as primarily driven by extrinsic factors (Partridge and Goodman, 2007, Escolme-Schmidt, 2009), it has emerged that many crew respondents, as with nurses, were more driven by the simple intrinsic rewards of offering a caring service that pleased their recipients. Those who were not, however, ultimately came to perceive the extrinsic rewards as mere 'hygiene' factors (Herzberg, 1968:57) and became further disillusioned when these diminished or were withdrawn. Whitelegg's (2007:16-18) 'space-out' classifications of motivation and self-identification and other relevant models of shared systems of symbolic representation (Durkheim, ([1912] 1995) offer insights into the different ways in which cabin crew have adjusted to major changes in their work. Whitelegg (2007:13) argues that more proactive and flexible agents have been able to come to terms with what initially seemed unpleasant adjustments to their role and that they still continue to find fulfilment and self-respect in their work. He emphasises the importance of resilience and shows, as some of the respondents have also have demonstrated, that self-respect and identity can determined by an inner will and conviction.

Some agents struggled with reconciling an initial organisationally promulgated and 'collectively effervescent' group identity (Durkheim, ([1912]1995) with the contemporary reality that appears to have lost its 'sparkle'. For nurses it would appear that the development of many aspects of the role reflected Fineman's (2008) assertions on quasi-cyclical phenomena in social attitudes, moving in the reverse direction to the situation that now confounds some frustrated cabin crew.

Whilst the increased contemporary demands upon nurses are well documented, it was evident that respondents derived pride and confidence from the growing professionalism, autonomy and respect associated with their role. Herzberg's (1968) classic motivators of 'achievement', 'recognition', 'responsibility' , 'advancement' and 'growth' resonated with all respondents to greater or lesser degrees. In particular, 'recognition' both from recipients and organisation appeared as a universal motivator. As Theodosius (2006) claims that nurses desire to be identified as carers and loved by their patients, so cabin crew drew considerable emotional nourishment from appreciative and respectful passengers. Congruent with Scherer's (2005) model of emotion, well-being and happiness was gauged in terms of fulfilment of respondents' personal and professional goals. Thus, indifferent colleagues and service represented a significant threat to their well-being because the absence of others' recognition and approval rendered agents incapable of making these critical judgements about their achievements.

Respondents shared some similar views about the meaning of service for them and its role in the construction of their personal and professional identities. However, it was evident that there were some divergent interpretations of its *purposes* which could best be explained by positioning these along a 'commercial-philanthropic' continuum similar to that of Bolton and Boyd's (2003) typology of *emotion* management' (see Table 1). Indeed, this could usefully be repurposed to symbolise the complexity and variable mix of motivations that underpin the performance of service work. Like other emotional and feeling-related phenomena already discussed, the motivations influencing agents' views on service itself appear complex and 'mixed' across both occupational groups and even within one individual. Bolton and Boyd (2005:101) refer to 'the blurring of boundaries, the blending of different roles and the contradictions this can bring into people's lives'. Respondents stated, for example, that some nurses' personal values and internal codes of 'ethical' behaviour conflicted with the demands of complex situations, leaving them to question their true beliefs about what offering their service really meant to them and their patients. Similarly, the boundaries between professional and attentive service in the air and attending to passengers' more complex emotional needs have presented some agents with moral and ethical dilemmas.

6.5 'Caring Together?' Emotional self-management in nursing and airline service work: a critical reflection

The aim of this study was not to compare, even less to equate, the emotion work of nurses and cabin crew and it is fully acknowledged that the nature, complexity and mental and physical demands relating to the two roles remain very different. Therefore, the purpose of choosing participants from both these areas of work was to enhance understanding of the experience of offering service by broadening the occupational frame of reference. Its focus upon the lived experiences of two related, yet different occupational groups has raised some issues from fellow academics and within the broader literature on the management of workplace emotions relating to transferability.

In spite of some similarities between a nurse's and a cabin crew member's work, questions have recurred concerning the relative differences in the depth, and complexity of emotional demands (Bolton, 2005, Mann, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Hunyh et al, 2008, Theodosius, 2008, Gray, 2010, Henderson, 2011). Some writers relegate service work outside nursing and the health professions to forms of routinised emotional display. Theodosius (2008:53) offers a comparison between nurses' and flight attendants' emotional labour, but in doing so, provides a framework within which to challenge the very assertions she makes on the absence of emotional 'care' in airline service work. The findings of this study have presented many examples of emotional exchange which, contrary to Theodosius' assertions, involved an exchange of genuinely experienced emotions between flight attendant and passenger which was needed by both sides.

Bolton (2005) refers to the popular positioning of certain forms of emotion work within a 'skills hierarchy' where there are significantly perceived differences in status and material reward. Within this hierarchy, some sociology of work scholars would relegate airline service agents to the 'emotional proletariat' who deliver 'routinized 'niceness' through a 'fabricated performance of faceless actors' (Bolton in Warhurst et al 2004) which results in a meaningless, alienated form of 'mis-involvement' (Goffman,1972:117). Such scholars categorise most emotion work performed within the health professions as complex, caring and altruistic

(Bolton, 2005:155). This study's findings indicate, however, that neither polarised perspective is helpful to the understanding of the nature of different service agents' degrees of emotional skill, conviction and commitment or the extent to which they serve others and themselves in a manner consonant with their well-being. It was observed that understanding the emotion effort or involvement inherent in a nurse's or cabin crew member's work was not simply a matter of mapping such effort against the corresponding level of technical skill associated with the role. As Bolton (2005:155) argues, an over-emphasis on qualifications and the formal education required to perform a role neglects the fact that skill acquisition and application is a 'social act' and that the propensity to perform emotion-related effort relies almost exclusively upon the 'embodied capacities of the worker'.

This study has shown that the variations in individuals' disposition, self-perceived skills and values were as much, if not more, related to their personal ontological perspectives on 'caring for and about' others than to any broader emotional or technical requirements associated with the nature of their specific work. These findings are partially supported by the work of Macdonald and Sirianni, (1996) who also posit that the experiential nature of service, as seen through the worker's lens, is perceived very differently to others who mistakenly relegate it to a 'second division' of skill and complexity.

Viewing a participant's lived experiences outside the rigid stereotypical perceptions associated with an occupational group made it possible to evaluate how far the individual's own agency, disposition and emotional investment in their work was 'self-generated'. It was evident, although not certain, that several of the study's respondents would embrace any interactive work with an enthusiasm and sense of care and respect for those they served. While professional identification appeared important to them, it also appeared that their propensity to build such identity and self-esteem would not necessarily diminish within a new role.

Theodosius (2008) asserts a nurse's emotion effort represents a holistic part of the therapeutic relationship involving an emotional exchange with the patient whilst for a cabin crew member, it simply represents a commodified augmentation of in-flight service.

This implies that agents in commercial roles are not required to develop such relationships with recipients because of the service exchange's unsophisticated and brief transactional nature. Lopez (2006) has suggested that 'emotional care' is not really required at all in fleeting exchanges between agent and service recipient. Whilst his assertions appear logical in respect of momentary service transactions between agent and passenger, cabin crew members claimed that unpredictable and challenging emotional exchanges often lurked between such encounters where they needed to be alert and predisposed to recognising less obvious emotional needs.

A thematic thread running through and from the series of interviews and subsequent discursive exchanges was the consistent desire, expressed by all but one respondent, to connect and form positive relationships with fellow human beings. Many agents saw the workplace as simply an extended territory for 'being themselves' and did not delineate strictly between their 'private' and 'public' selves. It has been seen in Chapter 2 that Benmore and Lynch's (2011:8) extended emotion management typology (of Bolton and Boyd, 2003) includes a fifth dimension of 'personalized' emotion management. Whilst they posit that 'personalized' emotion management is exclusively positioned within the domain of the small commercial enterprise, it is evident both from this study and from Sheehan's (2012) that emotional exchanges between recipient and service agent can also move to unmanaged spaces 'offstage' in larger-scale service organizations. Just as certain agents may be drawn towards service work because of its 'dramatic' dimensions, it was also evident that the potential for meaningful social exchanges was attractive to most respondents.

A more nuanced picture than that in much of the research literature has emerged from this study which has portrayed both the existence and absence of 'real' emotional exchange and genuinely felt, deep-rooted concern for service recipients across both work domains. Emotional labour continues to be viewed by many as a form of deceptive acting 'performance' and a 'gap filler' between what is genuinely felt by the agent and what is required in terms of display of 'appropriate' feeling (Hochschild, 1983, James, 1992, Bolton, 2001, Smith and Gray, 2001, Heuven and Bakker, 2003, Mann, 2005, Rolfe and Gardner, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Gray and

Smith 2009). It is unclear, therefore, why the term is apparently applied so often in the literature to behaviour where agents displayed emotions correspond exactly with those that they really feel. Some respondents understandably struggled with unsympathetic recipients but many found ways to circumvent the negative feelings that such situations could trigger. It simply appeared that the desire to serve was deeply ingrained and genuinely felt and this overshadowed any minor irritations caused by difficult patients or passengers.

6.6 Respondents' experiences and perceptions of emotional self-management and well-being

This section examines contrasts and similarities in the complexity of emotional demands on agents, the resulting ambiguity in their emotional engagement with recipients and colleagues and the effects on their well-being. As with truth, freedom and reality were important as to how agents reconciled differences between their private selves and versions of their public personae. In many respondents' eyes, deception was viewed as a disruptive and demeaning influence which tainted emotional exchanges and undermined the development of respectful relationships. As shown earlier, a fine yet definitive line lay between deception and theatricality and that the former was perceived as legitimate in certain situations. Acting was perceived as an intensification of sentiment but not a means of manufacturing 'phony' feeling.

It would appear that my interpretation of emotional self-management in Chapter two was also shared by my respondents (see also 'Glossary of Key Terms relating to Emotion Effort'). On 'good days', interaction with patients or passengers was perceived essentially as a natural way to satisfy an inclination to serve and care for others and, in return, to receive the contingent rewards of recognition and gratitude. There were also plentiful accounts of 'bad days' in agents' work. Where they were confronted with an unpalatable mixture of complaining, unreasonable passengers or patients, resource problems and unpredictable situations further exacerbated challenging personal circumstances. On such occasions, agents emphasised the importance of reliance upon trustful and respectful colleague relationships and their own sense of professional identity and pride to sustain them. In addition to colleague support, many reported that their ability to take control and exercise their own judgment could make the

difference between a deeply frustrating encounter and a challenging but manageable one. While some of these freedoms were determined by their organisational protocols and job design, it was apparent that participants' perceptions of their own agency exerted the most influence upon how they made 'the job work for them'. Their assertions aligned with Whitelegg's (2007) claims on employee self-empowerment where the capacity to actively pursue desired freedoms is linked to agents' sense of self-belief and self-identity. Agents' self-belief was reinforced by influences ranging from confidence borne out of 'survived hardship' to their personal 'ontologies of service' and values. Confidence, perceived freedom and security of values were not only important to respondents' emotional self-management but also represented fundamental elements of their perceived well-being.

My definition of 'emotional self-management' emphasises its significance for both favourable service outcomes and for the individual service agent's longer-term well-being. This section is primarily concerned with presenting a theoretically informed interpretation and understanding of well-being itself and its manifestation in the lives of nurses and airline cabin crew. It revisits what agents said about they did, the feelings they expressed and the ways they and others reached judgements in relation to their well-being. It asks, essentially, 'what makes agents subjectively feel good and feel well?' in addition to questioning some of the views on objective well-being (Diener and Chan, 2011, Seligman, 2011,). Each respondent's perception of well-being or 'life satisfaction' was based upon a combination of differing degrees of subjective and objective indicators. Tantam (2014:144) suggests that some influential researchers in the field of 'happiness' (Diener and Chan 2011 and Seligman 2011) have redirected themselves away from an exclusive focus on positive feelings and well-being to 'life satisfaction' as a better measure of what they would consider 'the good life'. Tantam (2014) reports that Seligman's (2011) 'good life' encompasses five key dimensions of living: 'positive emotion', 'engagement', 'relationships', 'meaning' and 'achievement' involving the application of determination'. It was seen in Chapter 2 however, that Seligman (2011) himself separates these dimensions into those relating to subjective 'happiness' ('positive emotion', 'engagement', and 'meaning') and those relating to 'well-being' which include 'happiness' but

encompass two more objectively measurable elements ('positive relationships' and 'accomplishment').

In the same way that Seligman (2011) distinguishes between 'happiness' and 'well-being', many agents considered that 'having meaning in the eyes of others' through positive relationships symbolised an important component of their overall life satisfaction. Tantam (2014:144) refers to 'life satisfaction' as 'the combination of happiness, health and morality' in an individual's life and argues that it is not just concerned with what people feel about their lives but also what they *think* about them. This distinction between 'thought' and 'feeling' is important to the interpretation of respondents' testimonies. Many recognised that whilst their positive feelings about the quality of their lives were significant, they were also potentially transient or cyclical. The 'thinking' part of their conceptualisations of well-being allowed them to recognise its more objective elements such as their 'positive relationships' and 'accomplishments'. Thus, their ability to reflect constructively and independently when feeling 'bad' allowed them to rationalise their situations and reconcile their more immediate sentiments with a more logical and objective assessment of their ongoing well-being. It was found that time, inclination and, capacity for self-reflection was critical, facilitating a more objective appraisal of their well-being. Thus, even when they were 'feeling bad', the process of reflection enabled them to make sense of such feelings and to 'move on' from these.

Self-reflexive activity enabled some respondents to gain appreciation of how their own thoughts and actions shaped their social exchanges with colleagues and service recipients. Such activity allowed them progressively to increase their awareness of their own agency in shaping positive encounters with others. Kierkegaard ([1844] in Tantam (2014:145) endorses Socrates' view that 'the unexamined life is not worth living', with Tantam adding that although such a life may be 'pleasant', it may not necessarily be 'good' or 'meaningful'. These writers' views reinforce this study's findings that the ability to rely upon both subjective feeling and more objective indicators in self-reflection can lead to respondents' more effective reconciliation between the meaning of their experiences 'in the moment' and longer-term life satisfaction.

The most frequent examples of the symbiotic relationship between emotional self-management and well-being related to participants' agency in shaping recurrent and positive social encounters with their service recipients which contributed not only to their short-term feelings of accomplishment but to their personal 'banks' of successful interactions. This contributed to their longer-term self-perception of positive relationships and accomplishment, corresponding with Seligman's (2011) two cornerstones of well-being. In the case of a few agents, however, there appeared to be excessive rumination about respective achievement opportunities seized or lost and the effectiveness of their social exchanges. This had the undesirable effect of locking them in to a frustrating cycle of self-doubt, where one concern was barely addressed before making way for the next. This uncertainty often prompted such agents to eventually look outside themselves and seek reassurance and support from others, reinforcing Seligman's (2011) view that well-being is not simply a subjective experience but a more objective endorsement by others of an individual's external achievements and positive relationships.

Tantam's (2014:128) existential psychotherapeutic view of well-being proposes that self-awareness creates anxieties because it can lock an individual in between an imagined world 'without limits' and the reality of living within 'limit situations'. The implication is that somewhere between agents' freedom to be self-reflexive and reflective about working life and an acceptance of the realities of its demands and constraints lies the freedom to 'craft' a job that works for them. There were some substantial differences in descriptions of the pressures and complexity inherent in nursing and cabin crew work as there were considerable variations in respondents' perceptions of the nature of their work within each occupational specialism. There were divergent views amongst participants as to their own agency and ability to change the meaning of their work and social environment, with some reporting feelings of powerlessness whilst others emphasised a far greater sense of autonomy and control.

Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) propose that employees can be instrumental in 're-crafting' their job roles in a way that best fits with their preferred approach to carrying out their duties. They argue that workers can have influence over the amount or type of tasks they perform, the nature of their interaction with others and how they conceptualise the meaning of their work. Although such reconfiguration often cannot involve major changes in working duties, it may comprise minor changes in scale, balance and emphasis of activities to best align with an individual's strength, human interests and disposition. Goss Turner's (2010:341) work on organisational culture and employee commitment suggests that subtle personalized adjustments in prescriptive social interaction rules and group dynamics may enable individuals to more fully connect and engage with their work. This study's respondents conveyed divergent, albeit subtle, interpretations of the respective meaning of their roles in consequence of their self-reflexive and reflective activity. Crew member Justin's choice of an 'early bird roster' illustrated how personal determination had enabled him to craft a job that worked for him within the confines of a regimented and routinized role. Thus, whilst both groups of respondents indicated that they had limited discretion over the type of tasks they performed, it was evident that many exercised considerable discretion over how they engaged with colleagues, patients or passengers which, in turn, appeared to significantly influence the meaning the job held for them.

Whitelegg's (2007) and Curley and Royle's findings (2013), endorse those from this study indicating that the greatest degree of work freedoms that many cabin crew enjoyed related to their investing in more meaningful social interaction with service recipients. Similarly, in the field of nursing, Theodosius's (2008) study provides copious examples of the deep meaning and value that nurses place upon their relationships with patients and the angst some experience when they are unable to engage with them as fully as they would like. Freedom and autonomy have appeared predominant themes in agents' emotional self-management and they resurface here in the context of experienced well-being. Theodosius (2008) appears to argue that the interactive freedoms that agents enjoy are very different amongst cabin crew, as opposed to nurses, and that the differences in power relationships are the key cause of this. She argues (2008:39) that nurses:

'as the purveyors of healthcare […] hold power over their patients, whereas flight attendants are vulnerable to the consumer power of their customers'.

This distinction was not evident from testimonies from the two respondent groups. The 'sovereign customer' (Korczynski, 2009) appeared well represented in both fields of work, where service recipients in healthcare proved themselves equally capable of being unreasonable and overly demanding as airline passengers. Nurses and cabin crew alike drew upon self-crafted autonomy, exercising assertiveness and considerable social discretion to deal with challenging situations. Van Wingerden et al (2017:166) suggest that employees are likely to have a more energetic and effective connection with their work when they are 'stimulated to optimise their own work environment'. While their view is optimistic and arguably less applicable to highly routinised work environments, it offers some explanation for why certain respondents appeared to have contributed to the creation of a job that was meaningful and enjoyable to them. It was evident, however, that for some the 'emotional risk' associated with the freedom to reflect and act quasi-autonomously dissuaded them from self-reflexive questioning. While this might have help agents make further sense of their experiences at work, Tantam (2014: 128) argues that such questioning potentially exposes individuals to an awareness of fundamental concerns about who they are ontologically leading to perpetual conflict between:

> 'how much to throw *(themselves)* […] into automatic pilot and live from day to day without thinking'.

as opposed to dwelling upon:

> 'how much time *(they)* […] have left or how […] *(they)* can predict how other people react in the future'.

Mirroring one of the core themes of truth (discussed in section 6.2.1.), the argument is reinforced that the emotional risks of self-reflexive thought include a realisation and self-awareness which may not always yield welcome understandings about one's own working life, identity and existence. It was seen for some participants that the truth about these

could be parked or avoided by a total immersion in the minutiae of daily life. Tantam (2014:128) suggests such behaviour:

> 'implies a degree of self-deception and, like any other deception, this often creates anxiety about being caught out.'

Certain respondents appeared to demonstrate a reluctance to engage in deeply reflective thought for this reason. Some stereotypes within Partridge and Goodman's (2007) typology of cabin crew resonate particularly with these coping behaviours of avoidance, escape or 'living in the moment' (notably the 'personal disclosure', 'holding pattern' and 'glamour interject' types). Whilst Partridge and Goodman's (2007) categorisations perhaps offer somewhat 'hackneyed' descriptions, certain cabin crew indicated feelings of being 'trapped' and of coping in similar ways to some stereotypes presented in this typology. It appeared that such avoidance of emotional risks and the disinclination to engage in open and honest reflective activity bore costs to some respondents' longer-term sense of well-being. An agent's reluctance to self-reflect could still allow the maintenance of a fragile and subjective 'self-contained happiness' (Seligman, 2011) but also frustrate the development of a longer-term, more deep-rooted sense of well-being. Other cabin crew and nurses, however, were more self-reflexive and channelled their efforts towards personal and external improvements. Consequently, these agents claimed to make positive and constructive adjustments which transcended both their working and personal lives.

Lindebaum and Jordan (2012/2014) challenge conventional ideas such as Fredrickson's (2003) that symmetrical relationships invariably exist between positive discrete emotions and positive outcomes, and negative emotions and negative outcomes. They explore 'when it can be good to feel bad and bad to feel good' in the context of emotional labour and reinforce one of the constant themes of this chapter which suggests that agents' acknowledgement of their 'mixed feelings' may represent a positive step towards making sense of their personal and working lives. Lindebaum and Jordan's (2014) less conventional view suggests that agents' open acknowledgment and reflection upon what

is perceived 'bad' in addition to what is perceived 'good' represents a constructive move towards a more enhanced sense of well-being. They distinguish between the 'display' of positive emotions to the genuine feeling of happy or negative ones. They propose that organisations which encourage employees to maximise 'displays' of positive emotions and suppress their negative concerns and feelings may actually be jeopardising performance. This also implies that employees' well-being may be jeopardised by consistently ignoring their feelings and failing to reflect upon these or express concerns about them with their colleagues or managers.

Geddes and Stickney (2011) suggest that co-workers often react supportively, rather than punitively, towards other colleagues who feel the need to express frustration and anger. Kiefer and Barclay's (2014) research goes one step further to suggest that negative emotions may actually initiate helping behaviours within those experiencing them as a way to alleviate or 'validate' such emotions. These assertions are corroborated by the testimonies of many respondents in this study where the freedom to 'emotionally vent' and tease out sometimes complex and contradictory feelings with colleagues was important to them. Equally, colleagues who were sharing such feelings with others sometimes claimed that a 'two-way' therapeutic benefit resulted whereby problems shared were more than simply 'halved' but were sometimes actually resolved by such reflexive exchanges. Lindebaum and Jordan (2014:1042) assert that while sadness is often associated with negative emotion, they cite Solomon's (1993) view that its expression:

> 'can offer an opportunity for openness and intimacy, especially when the loss is shared with others'.

and that the expression of 'anger' has an equally legitimate function when it is:

> 'elicited by perceptions of injustice and unfairness or violations of individuals' dignity'.

They present a convincing argument for the reconceptualisation of 'positive' and 'negative' emotions in terms of their overall utility in a given situation in support of the idea that

constructive outcomes may also result from asymmetry between initial negative emotions and longer-term positive feelings of well-being. In such situations, it was evident within both respondent groups that social support when offered within a climate of authenticity played a positive mediating role in the preservation or enhancement of their sense of well-being. It was, however, observed that, for some respondents, self-reflection proved challenging and sometimes even unpalatable when strong negative emotions were induced by the process. Van Kleef (2009) suggests that how individuals cope with negative feelings is contingent upon their propensity towards immediate affective reactions or, alternatively, an inclination to draw less emotional and more balanced inferences from often ambiguous or unpleasant reflective outcomes. Some agents were more open to engaging in constructive self-reflection and more accepting in instances where making sense of their experiences involved accepting their own weaknesses. Akin to Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) 'autotelic' personality type, such agents seemed more readily able to harness their tendencies towards natural curiosity, low self-consciousness and high concentration when engaging in reflective thought.

A multi-dimensional picture of well-being has emerged which contains both subjective and objective elements which suggest, paradoxically, that it can flourish as a consequence of both positive and negative encounters. Some agents' propensity to accept their changing perceptions of their well-being suggest a reconceptualisation of Lifton's (1993) adaptive 'protean' self, where the individual's attention is turned *inward* towards adjusting to a changing 'self'. The next section turns to the existential questions surrounding the meaning, engagement and accomplishment associated with well-being which respondents' reflections and stories have revealed

6.7 Well-being: Agency, identity, autonomy and the other 'elements that matter'.

Some respondents were seen to be 'ontologically pluralistic' in terms of both their ability to understand others' viewpoints and to appreciate the shifts in their own worldviews which occurred in consequence of time and experience. This exerted a positive influence upon their lived experience of well-being, whilst for others the desire to find and experience 'the one best

way' to inhabit their world left little room for tolerance of the minor human injustices and other imperfections prevailing in service work. In Julian's case, these searches for a utopian workplace and lifestyle appeared to result in profound unhappiness.

This penultimate section focuses upon the specific existential aspects of well-being and what these signify for agents' perceptions of their freedom, self-determination and self-meaning. Julian's doubts and frustrations resonate with Heidegger's ([1953] 2010) preoccupations with the meaning of existence, which Mugerauer (2008: xv) asserts are:

> '[t]he existential problems of each individual person - how to live, how to face life's challenges of meaningfulness in a cynical post-modern era'.

Many agents were more comfortable with ambiguities and uncertainties and were reconciled to living in a post-modern world where their own understandings and beliefs could change alongside those of others. The concept of 'mixed feelings' in relation to this study's established core themes of trust, truth and pride has resonated with agents' accounts of their relationships with service recipients, colleagues and themselves. These ambiguities refer to agents' relationships with service recipients, their colleagues and their own selves. 'Mixed feelings' manifest themselves particularly within service work because of its highly interactive, often unpredictable nature and the inherent challenges which involve working *on* people (Korczynski and MacDonald's (2009:3). Thus, whilst many respondents appeared ontologically *pluralist*, it was evident that their ability to navigate the unpredictable waters of their service environments was underpinned by a need to be ontologically *secure* and confident about the ways in which they ascribed meanings to their experiences and reinterpreted these over time. Obinyan (2014:2) summarises Kierkegaard's (1962) existential belief that:

> 'the individual alone can fashion his own life through reflection on himself by excluding himself from the crowd, so as to give meaning to his existence'.

Kierkegaard's (1962) convictions on humans' ability to shape a meaningful existence through constructive reflection and by remaining true to their beliefs reinforces a view that individuals are primarily responsible for their own well-being.

His views further suggest that, in the case of this study, well-being is contingent upon the agent's inclination and ability to craft his own professional life and private existence in a manner congruent with his own self-determined objectives. In a similar vein, Escudero (2014) posits that Heidegger's ([1953] 2010) work on 'care and selfhood' proposes that humans are able to open themselves to others while at the same time preserving their self-identity. Following Heidegger's concept of 'Dasein', people are 'human' because they are conscious of the meaning of their own existence and 'care' about this. Escudero (2014:6) suggests that:

> 'Each individual lives in a significant network of productive relationships that are projected toward the future and are constitutively defined by the structure of care'.

These perspectives on well-being mirror my proposal that 'emotional self-management' (see Glossary of Terms, Vol.2) not only involves the capability to fashion personal emotions to comply with social norms and organisational feeling rules but also the more sophisticated ability to balance these against self-determined objectives. My interpretation also implies that emotional self-management can only be so called if agents' emotional efforts during the process preserve, or even enhance, their psychological health. This conceptual intersection between 'emotional self-management' and 'well-being' has prompted a further consideration of their interrelationship and reflects the central concern of this study.

The discussion of the theoretical perspectives on well-being has revealed the relevance of certain dimensions of it to respondents' experiences. The most consistently recurrent dynamic aspects have related to the nature and extent of service agents' 'positive emotion', 'engagement', 'relationships', 'meaning' and 'achievement' (Seligman, 2011). Respondents have suggested that each of these aspects have not only been strongly influenced by the ways in which they emotionally self-managed but that they represented a symbiotic relationship with their emotional self-management, where one acts as the catalyst for the emergence of the other. For example, returning to the example of Sally's tea round, it was seen that Sally's decision to make an additional, albeit genuinely felt, emotional investment had the effect of replenishing her own 'emotional bank' and predisposing her to act in the same way on future

occasions. Her well-being, in effect, was sustained by her own emotional effort, which she made freely and at her own discretion. Thus, all of Seligman's (2011) components of well-being were simultaneously reinforced in the process of a relatively short nurse-patient interaction. Sally's story and other similar accounts prompt the question whether emotional self-management and well-being are co-dependent so far that one cannot properly exist without the other.

Arguably, the 'positive emotion', 'meaning' and 'engagement' cited as prerequisites for well-being are also important for emotional self-management, which must simultaneously attend to external behavioural norms and inner self-determined objectives. Similarly, if one accepts my conceptualisation of emotional self-management, 'relationships' and 'achievement', as components of well-being, can only be achieved where emotional effort is invested. Clarke et al's (2007:92) work on 'authenticity' supports the idea of the dynamic interrelationships between workplace emotions such as trust and 'confidence' and well-being. They suggest these are vital to both social and commercial life and assert the importance of spontaneous natural emotions in the workplace for positive psychological health. Thus, as Bolton and Boyd suggest (2003:289), service agents must be 'jugglers and synthesizers' when they face the challenges of expressing 'natural' emotions and complying with professional feeling rules whilst simultaneously remaining true to their inner personal needs.

One interpretation of service agents' interactive work is almost synonymous with Tantam's (2014:160) tricksters and 'card sharps' who possess the 'uncanny power to deceive' and who must perform 'magic' in order to balance these sometimes conflicting imperatives. Most respondents' testimonies indicate, however, that they are more than mere 'illusionists' in their attempt to craft a congruent fit for their work that corresponds with their personal life objectives and they may do so by offering a professionalised version of their true selves. It was also evident that most respondents viewed their well-being holistically as opposed to compartmentalising its work-related and private aspects. Well-being or 'ill-being' was perceived as residing primarily within them, although the work or social spaces they inhabited may have exerted significant influence upon their more temporal and transient feelings.

The holistic view of well-being is congruent with the existential and phenomenological perspective discussed in Chapter 2. Todres and Galvin's (2010) interpretation of Heidegger's (1993) concept of 'homecoming' and 'Gegnet' ('abiding expanse') was linked to both physical and metaphorical aspects of 'dwelling' and 'mobility'. A consistent theme running throughout their theorisation of well-being resonates with Kierkegaard's (1962) idea that individuals are capable of and predisposed towards reflecting upon and determining their own well-being. The findings revealed, however, that whilst all respondents claimed to reflect upon their well-being, some felt significantly more empowered than others to actually determine it. The interpretation offered earlier to partially explain this related to the presence or absence of 'self-reflexivity' in addition to the practice of reflection only. For example, applying Galvin and Todres' (2011:3) *'Dwelling-Mobility Lattice'* (see Table 3 in Chapter 2) to respondent Gareth, it was seen that the intersection between his perceived sense of 'mobility' and 'spatiality' was paradoxically characterised by hopes of 'adventurous horizons' on the one hand and feelings of 'imprisonment' on the other. Similarly, he saw his 'mobility' in the context of the experiential domain of 'temporality' as 'blocked' despite his ardent wish to look forward to a better future. In Gareth's case, as with other respondents, such as nurse Ivor, excessive rumination did not appear to hold the key to his enlightenment and ability to move forward. As discussed previously, the distinction between the ability to 'reflect' and to be 'self-reflexive' may highlight not only the importance of 'rewinding the past' but also the need to make sense of the dynamic forces at work in the reciprocal exchanges that characterise it.

Galvin and Todres' (2011:3) *'Dwelling-Mobility'* framework is phenomenological in nature as it captures, in the literal sense, 'how things appear' to individuals in respect of their experienced or desired senses of well-being. It depicts the interrelationships between the experiential domains of well-being, well-being possibilities and the nature ('levels') of well-being or 'ill-being' that may be achieved respectively. Amongst many other interesting considerations, this framework suggests the multifaceted and subjective nature of well-being which each individual must make sense of alongside those more objective elements proposed by Seligman (2011).

Kierkegaard's (1962) existential belief that:

> 'each individual—not society or religion—is solely responsible for giving meaning to life and living it passionately and sincerely, or "authentically'

would appear to explain partially the divergence of agents' views that manifested themselves within the emergent themes of 'what makes me tick' and 'what matters to me'. Respondents' diverse accounts of their feelings, hopes and concerns are mirrored within many parts of Galvin and Todres' descriptive classifications. For example, the emotional significance of 'home', the excitement and 'abiding expanse' of adventurous travel and the self-assuredness of a clear identity all manifested themselves as key determinants of more positive views of the world. Conversely the sense of 'alienated isolation', such as, for example, when a cabin crew member was away from the security of home or a nurse was being ostracised by fellow colleagues, exerted a profound effect upon some respondents' sense of self-meaning and engagement. It was seen in Chapter 2 that Dahlberg et al (2009:267) asserted that such negative forces can frustrate the 'existential possibilities of being human' and prompt a 'closing down' of engagement with the world and the future in all the ways that may beckon'. In the case of Alan, where an excessive number of repetitive, draining and demoralising experiences appeared to converge, he progressively disengaged from his work role as a cabin crew member and his professional identity. Notably, he also claimed that his disposition towards interpersonal intimacy, his propensity to pursue private social opportunities and his capacity for 'individuality of expression and creativity' had also significantly diminished. Heidegger's (1962) concept of 'existential homelessness' is mirrored in Alan's story of his changing view of the world and his place within it. O 'Donoghue (2011: vii) asserts that Heidegger interprets such 'homelessness' as a symptom of the 'oblivion of being' which is also characterised by 'insecurity' and a sense of 'unfinishedness' and 'restlessness'. It is significant, particularly in the case of air cabin crew, that both existential 'home' and 'homelessness' were not seen to directly correspond with the notion of physical or material 'homespace'.

Some members from both respondent groups conceptualised 'home' in distinctively different and individual ways. For many, it represented feelings of 'security', 'belonging', 'identity', and 'comfort' in addition to its existential significance in terms of 'returning to one's real self' and the honesty and acknowledgement associated with this. It was apparent that some cabin crew found ways of creating 'existential homes' whilst working 'on the line' by bringing personal 'artefacts' with them, forming temporary friendships and engaging in the rituals and routines of shared transient relationships with other displaced colleagues. For some agents, lives 'lived in the moment' away from their physical homes sometimes appeared more seductive and palatable, where:

> 'everything was taken care of […] from 'check-in' for flying duty to 'clearing' from a trip […] luggage, hotels, sustenance, entertainment […] even 'companionship' down the line'.
>
> (Alan 'mem.chk.'int. (3))

For others, a return to the 'physical/material' home had negative associations and significance. Personal problems, shelved before a trip, needed to be 'dusted down' again and confronted, which often brought about unwelcome realisations relating both to their subjective and objective well-being. This return may have signalled loneliness and a difficulty in adjusting again to the normal rhythm of daily life. 'Physical home' in the case of some cabin crew and nurses represented no more than a transitionary point or space whereas their real home lay within the camaraderie and companionship of their socially constructed professional identities and their interactions with passengers or patients. Guerrier and Adib's (2003) work explored the phenomenon of the liminal dwelling places of overseas travel representatives and the paradoxes of delivering emotional labour in a job where the boundaries between work and leisure were blurred. They suggest that their service agents accepted this often challenging 'dirty work' because it also afforded them an acceptable level of autonomy and a lifestyle which actually allowed them to be 'their authentic selves' in addition to becoming disciplined workers. Thus, their 'existential home' from which they derived meaning, security and self-identity reinforcement existed in a space close to, and sometimes even indistinguishable from, their place of work.

Similarly, nurse Ivor's glowing descriptions of his working life at the hospital suggest strong feelings of 'at homeness'; here, he felt valued and purposefully absorbed in his professional duties akin to Csikzentmihalyi's (1996) 'flow state'. Conversely, his accounts of the negative effects of his excessive self-reflection away from work reveal an acute discomfort with a prolonged exposure to his personal 'homespace'.

It was evident that, for some respondents, 'home' could really mean 'away' in a place offering an alternative safe, comfortable and meaningful space to dwell and 'be oneself'. In addition to 'home' as a symbolic representation of security, belonging, identity and familiarity for many respondents, it represented the return to 'the truth' of one's real self. In Ivor's case, he perceived his 'real self' as closely aligned with his professional passion for nursing. In the context of the existential search for 'happiness', Seligman, (2003) Robinson and Aronica (2010:21) offer alternative suggestions for realising this. Seligman (2003) discusses the adoption of a 'new positive psychology' while Robinson and Aronica point the individual towards a search for his 'element' which is 'the meeting point between natural aptitude and personal passion' positing that reaching this intersection will result in fulfilment. Using Robinson and Aronica's (2010) terminology, Ivor, in common with Guerrier and Adib's (2003) travel representatives, appeared to have found his 'element', which would explain his conceptualisation of 'the hospital' as his 'existential home'. The findings revealed however that losing one's 'element' was sometimes far easier than finding it in the first place. Many respondents reported that their perspectives on individual 'passions', personal meaning and the value of their particular accomplishments changed over time. In some cases, a reluctance to acknowledge such temporally related shifts in their self-determined life objectives generated considerable disillusionment. In the case of some cabin-crew, it was seen that the self-deception involved in masking a progressive sense of emotional dissonance led to frustration and self-identity problems which resonated with the existentialists' concern which Luper (2000:11) conveys as:

> 'people's quiet struggle with the apparent meaninglessness of life and the use of diversion to escape from boredom'

Whilst some chose diversion in the wake of their disengagement and 'burn-out', others recognised an opportunity to re-evaluate their fundamental values and beliefs and puzzle out the elements of their professional roles that still mattered to them in terms of their own self-determined objectives. In doing so, they explored how they might enhance their fulfilment whilst still meeting the minimum essential requirements of their emotional and technical work. Luper (2000:11) reminds us of Kierkegaard's belief in an individual's capacity to make free choices, particularly in relation to his values and beliefs and that such choices may have the effect of radically changing both the 'nature and identity of the chooser'.

Once again, the theme of conflicting or contradictory 'mixed feelings' recurred in respondents' testimonies. Some agents claimed to have begun to make sense of their ephemeral and ambiguous qualities and become reconciled to these in consequence of their experience and ongoing reflection. During multiple rounds of interviews with respondents, the individual's capacity and agency to change positively in consequence of new professional or lifestyle choices became progressively more apparent. This capacity, which was underpinned by meaningful reflective and self -reflexive activity, serves as a reminder of the proactive disposition and agency of many respondents to craft meaningful work and reinforce their positive sense of self-identity. Many respondents' testimonies endorse the existentialist view that individuals are independently acting and responsible, conscious beings and that those with a strong 'sense of self' appeared to navigate the boundaries between stereotypical perceptions of their roles and their 'true' selves.

This section's focus has been upon the existential aspects of well-being and its significance in terms of service agents' ability to craft a personally meaningful existence alongside and within their work. The recurring questions of 'how to live well' continued to perplex some agents whilst others appeared able to view their world in an ontologically pluralist way, suggesting an ability to perceive their own lives and those of their service recipients and colleagues through alternative lenses. The 'dwelling-mobility' framework resonated particularly with the development of further understanding of the polarities and paradoxes that characterise the liminal spaces of service work and, equally significantly, how these can contribute to a holistic

sense of well-being when positively embraced as part of a lifestyle of choice. Agents' capacities to be truthful and self-reflexive were seen to influence their reconciliation of working life's 'highs' and 'lows' with their own inner feelings. The themes of freedom and autonomy in making important work and life choices manifested themselves as important to many agents' workplace relationships. Significantly, the perceptions of individual agents were far from uniform despite the fact that they may have occupied roles with similar demands, constraints and opportunities.

The previous section focused upon agents' perceptions of well-being and this one has explored what has been learned about nurses' and cabin crews' respective agency in its determination. It has been seen that agents' respective dispositions and abilities to make important life choices and generate options has appeared to govern the extent of their 'positive emotion', 'engagement', 'relationships', 'meaning' and 'achievement'. It was also evident that many agents' capacities to govern their own well-being were contingent upon their ability to tolerate, or even embrace, the ambiguities and paradoxes inherent in their working worlds. The next and final section offers a summary of this chapter and indicates what this account of the lived experiences of service workers may signify for a deeper understanding of how individuals experience and perceive their emotional self-management and well-being.

6.8: Conclusion to Chapter

This chapter has drawn upon seminal and more recent works relating to the sociology of emotion and well-being to discuss what has been learned about respondents' performance and experience of emotional self-management and how they made sense of this in relation to the mediating influences of their perceived self-identities, personalities and values. It has also been proposed how their conceptualisations and understanding of their well-being may be explained by such influences and which other factors they perceived as key determinants. The sampling strategy allowed a wider experiential appreciation of the emotion effort performed by individual service agents and also resulted in a reappraisal of the ontology of 'occupational' caring's more traditional conceptual boundaries. It has also enabled consideration of existential and cross-

profession differences in perspectives. In so doing, this study has challenged preconceptions of the authenticity and complexity of 'caring' and 'emotion' work by occupation alone.

Although generalisations are uncommon in qualitative, idiographic study, it was clear that truth, trust and pride in self and in others appeared as significant themes applicable to each of the respondents who participated. For some agents, changes in perspective brought about fruitful insights where past insecurities gradually made way to greater degrees of self-assuredness and positive self-identity. These altered perspectives and dispositions were linked to agents' propensity and ability to be self-reflexive and to make sense of the ways in which they might change aspects of their social interaction. In spite of personal struggles between their externally prescribed selves and their inner selves, many respondents' constancy and consistency of conviction about the value of what they did was evident within both occupational groups. The physical, mental and emotional effort invested in their work appeared to relate as much, or even more, to their individual standards and pride as to the externally perceived complexity and demands of the role itself. For many, work symbolised more than 'just a job' but a way of expressing their own self identities, values and personalities which are incorporated into their own expectations of themselves. Although characterised by polarities and paradoxes, many individual experiences have provided important insights into agents' approaches to managing and shaping their relationships with recipients. In the context of the recurring phenomenon of 'mixed feelings' this chapter has focused upon the development of understanding of the experience of the ambiguity relating to emotional self-management and well-being. It has questioned Scherer's (2005:695) assertion regarding the problematic nature of defining emotion where he argues that:

> 'without consensual conceptualization and operationalization of exactly what phenomenon is to be studied, progress in theory and research is difficult to achieve and fruitless debates are likely to proliferate'.

In so doing, service agents' differing accounts of how they navigate challenging social exchange situations have revealed the value of understanding idiographic complexity and multiple approaches to their emotional self-management.

The resulting insights into service agents' emotional self-management and well-being have thus avoided reified interpretations informed by purely theoretical conceptualisations of emotions. The search for differences, in addition to similarities, in individual service agents' experiences afforded a valuable opportunity to make sense of their personal viewpoints. Agents who were openly reconciled to living in a working world characterised by change and 'mixed feelings' made sense of these as they manifested themselves. Bolton (2005:163) asserts in relation to the sociological study of emotion that there can be:

> 'No conclusions just more and more questions […] *(partly because)* emotion work continually crosses boundaries - self and society, private and public, formal and informal'.

In a similar way that some of this study's respondents appeared to be more reconciled to ambiguity and paradox, Bolton implies that researchers in the field of emotions need to demonstrate a degree of comfort with contradiction and polarised views. It is evident, therefore, that there may be much to be understood from both unique and more 'common' ways of coping with the challenges of interactive service work. Plausibly, idiographic perspectives may offer a three-dimensional view of more universally reported experiences and, in turn, shed light on otherwise 'taken for granted' assumptions about these. This study's findings have revealed diverse, complex, and sometimes inconveniently ambiguous perspectives on service agents' lived experiences of their work. This approach has been fruitful, nonetheless, in that complex yet meaningful answers have been provided to the overall research question:

> **'**What is the experience of emotional self-management and how do service workers make sense of this in relation to their well-being?'

This study has revealed both a conceptual and 'lived experience' intersection between 'emotional self-management' and 'well-being' and has thus signposted the need for a further exploration of their interrelationship. It has questioned further the co-dependence of these phenomena and has posited that the human agency of the chooser to self-manage emotionally may equate with the ability to self- determine well-being.

This chapter ends on a similar note to which it began with Milton's assertion on an individual's propensity to make a 'Heav'n of Hell, *(or)* a Hell of Heav'n' now seeming to resonate even more following this discussion of the lived experiences of emotional self-management and well-being. The next, and final, chapter, which concludes this thesis, examines and reflects upon what these idiographic perspectives have contributed to a fuller understanding of the emotional self-management and well-being of service workers.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1.: Introduction

> 'Trust in those who offer you service,
> And in the end, my maidens,
> You will find yourselves in the ranks of those
> Who have been deceived.
> They, for their sweet speeches, choose
> Words softer than the softest virgins;
> Trust in them?
> In their hearts they nurture
> Much cunning in order to deceive,
> And once they have their way thus,
> Everything is forgotten.
> Trust in them?'
>
> *Margaret, Archduchess of Austria, to her then lady in waiting, Anne Boleyn, future Queen of England c.1520* (in De Boom, G. ,1935:123)

Margaret's reflections on her courtiers offer a despondent yet sharply observed perspective on the nature of 'service', encapsulating the fundamental disjuncture in many service relationships which are simultaneously and paradoxically characterised by authenticity, falseness, loyalty and seduction. The Archduchess's words were chosen not only because they resonated with some nurses' and cabin crew members' testimonies but because they mirrored this study's core themes of truth, trust and pride. Her wistful reflections upon her courtiers' falsehoods and breaches of trust suggest disappointment with their disloyalties and ultimately a wounded pride upon realising their deference was due to her royal position and not their genuine warm regard. Her experiences mirror the concerns raised by some respondents in this study that their own humanity was becoming commercialised (Korczynski, 2009) to the extent that neither agent nor recipient could see past their respective roles into a real person. Encouragingly, respondents also offered considerably more positive recollections of their engagement with others in addition to the few bleak accounts akin to the Archduchess Margaret's painful memories.

Participants' experiences of providing service and engaging in the multi-faceted forms of emotion work suggested complex, and often contradictory, feelings in respect of their relationships with those they served, their colleagues and with their own selves. Some respondents continued to struggle to make sense of the ambiguity that featured in their public interaction and their internal dialogues. There were many accounts of mixed feelings combining joy with despair, challenge with routine, compassion with exasperation, conviction with distrust and pride with disillusionment. In many respects, the 'leitmotif' of this research relates closely to the experiences of mixed feelings and emotional ambiguity.

This chapter concludes this thesis and considers how its leitmotif and emerging core themes have enabled both researcher and respondents to make sense of how they manage their emotions and what this may signify for service agents' perceived sense of well-being. It offers a summary which considers the value of what has been revealed about this and proceeds to explain how this study has made a significant contribution to knowledge on methodological, contextual and theoretical levels. It reflects upon the possible implications of this contribution for service agents' lives and, importantly, for those who interact with them both in work and away from it. The chapter then turns to a reflection upon the research journey and my personal learning and its value to me both as researcher and human being. A consideration of how the study's findings could usefully be disseminated follows together with some suggestions for future research in this field. The thesis finally concludes with some brief reflective remarks.

7.2: Summary of Study and Key Themes

The stated aim of this thesis was to investigate the experience of service workers' emotional self-management and its significance for their self-perceived well-being.

This aim was realised in these key stages:

1. an in-depth critical review of the literature relating to historical and contemporary conceptualisations of emotional self-management and well-being and how these were perceived in the context of the changing nature of the service worker's role;

2. primary research involving an extended phenomenological inquiry into the nature of service workers' relationships with those they served and cared for; and

3. a rigorous and detailed analysis, interpretation and subsequent discussion of the personal, social and emotional aspects of the experiences service agents recounted and how these might relate to their self-perceived well-being.

It is asserted that this aim and supporting objectives have been fully met, congruent with both the methodological constraints and opportunities associated with phenomenological research in general and the interpretive phenomenological analysis approach in particular. These aspects are discussed in the later section below on the strengths and limitations of this research.

Bolton's (2005:163) observations on the complexities of emotions and mixed feelings in organisational life offer us an accurate, although perhaps pessimistic, interpretation of the extent to which their ambiguities and paradoxes may be understood. Whilst acknowledging Bolton's (2005:163) view, it is asserted that this study has yielded some answers to questions which have been worth asking as well as adding to the mountain of controversies continuing to accumulate. These answers chiefly relate to the development of a richer, more rounded and contextualised understanding of the actual experiences of emotional self-management and their significance for well-being. Moreover, the interpretation of agents' accounts of navigating emotional uncertainty and unpredictability in their work has provided idiographic and unique insights into their multiple ways of coping and enhancing their well-being. It has been explained how truth, trust and pride manifested themselves as core themes following a progressive and thorough analysis of the emergent and superordinate themes developed from

rich interview data. They were identified and distilled, not from a unidirectional 'researcher only' interpretation but from recursive and reflexive interaction with respondents particularly during second or third interviews. At this point, some respondents began to make sense of their emotional self-management and well-being through these three thematic prisms.

Whilst there has already been much discussion and many examples in this thesis, there is one account returned to here which provides a particularly poignant illustration of the value of self-reflexivity and reflection for a service agent's well-being. Respondent Justin's' vivid account of a life-threatening incident whilst aboard an aircraft (see p.163 Chapter 5) illustrated how he used this experience as a springboard for the development of important insights that took him forward on his positive life journey. He devoted the time to reflect upon and be self-reflexive about his own behaviour during the emergency and openly acknowledged the mixed feelings he possessed both at the time of the incident and subsequently. He has learned about the multidimensional nature of truth as it simultaneously existed then in three forms: 'objective', 'personally constructed' and 'socially constructed' realities. Subsequent reappraisal and reflection have served to help him reconcile himself to the changing nature of his personal 'truths'. In terms of trust, he recalled the solid professional bonds that connected him with his fellow crew at the time and the faith in him demonstrated by passengers. More significantly still, perhaps, his sense of positive self-identity, pride and trust in himself has been consistently reinforced since the event. This brief return to Justin's vignette resonates with several significant findings.

Firstly, it indicates the vital importance and appropriateness of the three core themes for the understanding of different aspects of emotional self-management. Secondly, it illustrates the importance of paying attention to the individual idiographic perspective to generate understanding from life experiences.

It also highlights the benefits of self-reflexivity and reflection for making sense of important human encounters and demonstrates how these assist with 'moving on'.

Stepping back from the individual case and the 'inextricable linkage of the core themes, it has been seen that each service agent's gaze through these thematic prisms was shaped and coloured by their unique and idiographic perspectives. These were represented by the ten emergent themes identified during analysis (see Figure 4 p.152) and each of these related to the meanings attributed by respondents to their own values, beliefs, past experiences and ontological perspectives. Here, a triple hermeneutic loop of collaborative interpretation between researcher and participant facilitated such sense-making and allowed patterns of understanding to emerge naturally. These emergent themes represented a critical part of the conceptual framework developed and helped both researcher and researched understand the nuanced, context-dependent complexity and contradiction inherent in each individual service agent's perspectives on emotional self-management and well-being. For example, the emergent theme *'Emotional sanctuary-spaces of safety and replenishment'* related to how a nurse and cabin crew member found ways to withdraw and recharge their emotional resources and how each of them inhabited different real or metaphorical spaces to do this. Bolton (2005:133) refers to these as 'spaces for being human'.

Each emergent theme also served as a source of understanding how individual agents constructed their own unique interpretations of truth, trust and pride in themselves and in others. Many respondents engaged in ongoing conversations with themselves regarding their social exchanges with colleagues and service recipients, which often involved grappling with the relativist and absolutist perspectives on truth, trust and pride. They represented how service agents aligned their beliefs with their experiences of personally constructed realities. Such personal realities were seen also to be contingent upon their *social* construction; for example agents' perceptions of pride, self-identity and self-worth were linked in many cases with social perceptions of their roles' 'utility' and symbolic 'value'.

The remainder of this section draws attention to the particular insights gained about service agents' emotional self-management and well-being.

7.2.1 *Making meaning from 'mixed feelings' : re-conceptualising the paradoxes of emotions*

The 'leitmotif' of 'mixed feelings' referred to above and implicit across this study has emphasised the complex and multifaceted nature of emotional effort in both occupations. From a theoretical perspective, it has been seen that emotions repeatedly elude definitive categorisation which has presented some conceptual challenges in the interpretation of respondents' experiences. The conceptual elusiveness of emotions and emotional effort can be viewed respectively as an obstacle to their understanding or a release from the contemporary positivist preoccupation with their classification and measurement. As a phenomenological study, this research has embraced the opportunity to explore their subtle, nuanced, idiosyncratic and sometimes unpredictable nature, free from the constraints of a hypothetico-deductive methodological approach. It has been revealed that whilst some respondents found the intricacies of reflecting upon and understanding their own emotional self-management challenging, most were ultimately able to do so in a way that was of benefit to them, in addition to facilitating the objectives of this study. In response to the apparent definitional inconsistencies and conceptual ambiguities surrounding the categorisation of 'emotional self-management', I felt it necessary to reconsider the ways in which emotional effort was presented in the theoretical literature. As a phenomenological researcher, my aim was not to develop a new theory but to contribute to a deeper understanding of how existing conceptual ideas might be interpreted. Thus, it was suggested that emotional effort could also be considered in a way that focused upon the perception of its perceived complexity, challenge and occupational context.

A repurposing of Bolton and Boyd's (2003:295) typology of emotion management was suggested in order to symbolise the complexity and variable mix of motivations that underpinned the performance of service work.

It had become evident that most service agents placed a high value upon the degrees of choice, discretion and control they possessed in determining their interactions with service recipients. It was also clear that their emotions could not be understood or explained by theoretical ideas alone. This was demonstrated through agents' often ambiguous or contradictory accounts of their working relationships, particularly those with recipients. For example, respondents sometimes related a sense of 'half-heartedness' towards patients or passengers but still retained feelings of genuine concern for them. They chose to invest in performances that were underpinned by neither truth nor deception and which were summoned from a 'liminal feeling space' between their rational and emotional selves. 'Full measures' of care and attentiveness were sometimes offered with 'half-hearts' and, paradoxically, 'half-measures' were offered on occasions by agents with 'full-hearts' where they wished to offer much more care and service than they had the physical capacity to deliver.

These paradoxes inherent within the multiple accounts of mixed feelings initially served to confound both myself and my respondents. Later, such confusion gave way to an understanding of how the acknowledgement and acceptance of the complexity and contradiction of emotions could have a positive effect upon agents and potentially yield insights for their emotional self-management and well-being, including realisations that 'feeling good could be bad' and that 'feeling bad but doing good' could enhance more longer-term life satisfaction by fostering the positive relationships and accomplishments associated with the more objective elements of well-being (Seligman, 2011).

7.2.2   *Emotional self-management and 'being oneself'*

Continuing with the themes of emotional paradox, complexity and contradiction, it was evident that mixed feelings also characterised respondents' social exchange experiences in other ways. It was revealed that the stereotypical 'performative' and deceptive elements associated with emotion effort in service work were not truly representative of the ways in which they emotionally self-managed. Many agents claimed that they encountered little difficulty in maintaining authenticity in personal and social relationships.

Whilst some perceived the need for a 'scaling up' of their emotions in the course of caring for their patients and passengers, they also asserted that typically their 'true' feelings towards those they served were positive and empathetic and there was little or no need for pretence. Many saw their workplace relationships as an opportunity to display genuine feelings that reflected their individual 'worldviews' and dispositions. 'Performances', where these were offered, usually represented a somewhat augmented version of agents' perceived 'realities' and the presentation of professional versions of their real selves. On the few occasions when 'deception' manifested itself, it was often both agent and recipient who were complicit in this and it was generally seen to be serving the legitimate function of making both of them feel good. Thus, the therapeutic value of such exchanges usually overshadowed either party's concerns for complete 'authenticity'.

There appeared to be much greater preoccupation, however, with having sufficient opportunities for agents to allow their 'real' feelings to be expressed. The most active resistance to organisationally prescribed feeling rules was underpinned by agents' desires to show their 'real selves' and express genuine concern for those for whom they cared. The physical and mental demands of both occupations were sometimes seen to inhibit this because more meaningful exchanges with recipients not only required an emotional investment but also one of time. Thus, it appeared that agents' predominant concerns related not to the need for a significant suppression of their feelings but rather the need to ensure, through their impression management, that their 'real' feelings were clearly conveyed to recipients and colleagues. The challenge of maintaining authenticity and remaining true to one's own moral and ontological position appeared more important than projection of a synthetically induced performance. Therefore, contrary to many extant theories on the causes of emotional dissonance and 'burnout', it was evident that the organisational inhibition of agents' ability to show authentic feelings of care and regard for their recipients posed a far greater threat to their well-being than any requirement to conjure up shallow performances. The need for more genuine social exchanges was not underpinned by simple philanthropic or altruistic motives but the desire to reinforce or rekindle agents' positive, professional self-identity with the

reassurance that the work being carried out was meaningful and valuable in the eyes of recipients and society.

7.2.3 *Service and caring across occupational boundaries: ontological perspectives*

The motives underpinning social exchange and needs for professional self-identity did not appear significantly different between nurses and cabin crew. Nonetheless, this choice of these two roles as part of an IPA study has raised some questions relating to the transferability and dependability of the findings from those credited with the inception of this methodological approach (Smith, 2014, De Visser, 2014). These questions have also come from within respective academic and professional communities and have been discussed and responded to at some length within the introductory and methodology chapters, and are returned to briefly in section 6 below on 'the strengths and limitations of this research'. As a phenomenological researcher who places great value upon the idiographic experiences of the individuals who perform emotion effort, it has been my belief that the gathering of perceptions from a more diverse pool of respondents can only serve to enhance understanding rather than frustrate it. It is asserted that this belief was well-founded and has generated new knowledge and insights into the dynamics of workplace relationships.

The key findings revealed that environments more traditionally associated with 'caring' do not hold a monopoly over spontaneous natural emotions directed towards ensuring the well-being of others. It was seen that each respondent, regardless of their occupational background, possessed their own feelings about the true meaning of offering their service. Whilst the perceived degrees of complexity, discretion and control associated with their roles made particular demands upon them, the decisions to invest in more meaningful social exchanges were typically made as a consequence of their ontological position.

A considerably more subtle and nuanced picture of service recipients emerged in relation to the 'real' emotional exchanges they engaged in and the emotion effort they invested to convey genuine concern and care for passengers and patients. It was concluded that the understanding of workplace emotionality is not, as some writers have implied (e.g. Lopez, 2006) exclusively concerned with the appraisal of the mental, physical and interactive sophistication associated with the role but is equally related to individual human agency and their ontological convictions to 'care for ' and 'care about' those whom they serve. Agents conveyed a number of such convictions, including the conceptualisation of the service they offered as a form of 'gift exchange' or vocational calling. Service was also equated with commercial transactions, exchange bargains or even 'slavery', but such perspectives appeared to be held by a lesser number of participants. Often where 'exchange bargains' were perceived, it was the psychological rate of exchange relating to agents' desire for the 'love and gratitude' (Theodosius, 2008) that preoccupied them more than the pecuniary elements of reward.

It appeared that the principal focus of many agents' emotional self-management was neither upon the inducement of synthetic emotional display nor the suppression of a negative predisposition for service but upon the creation of appropriate conditions for the release and demonstration of their genuine feelings of care and compassion for those they served. It was clear that service agents' inclination to make emotional effort was often prompted by the value they placed upon such expressions of gratitude which served to endorse their professional self-identities and reinforce their professional pride. It was also evident that the traditional boundaries associated with public 'workspace' and the private domains of 'home' were more blurred for some service agents than initially anticipated and that some perceived little distinction between their public personae and their private selves. Their desire to connect to and form positive relationships with fellow human beings transcended both spaces and it was seen that, for some, work almost became a form of 'home'. The overriding impression of many respondents' motivations for doing their job was not one of instrumentality, where their workplace engagement represented a simple means to an end, but where the work itself signified both a means *and* an end.

Work, for some, also symbolised their core reason for 'being in the world' and the territory within which they could express their true selves and take pride in what they did.

7.2.4 *Working relationships: Colleague and service recipients' power and agency*

The desire to form positive relationships with service recipients and colleagues was driven by a number of motives, one of the most significant of which related to their crucial role in enabling the endorsement of agents' efforts and the validation of their professional pride. Positive and toxic exchanges were cited as powerful forces in the generation or erosion of trust particularly between agent and recipient. Agents' desires for self-endorsement and reciprocity in their relationships led, on occasions, to emotional risk taking through the exposure of the more vulnerable 'human side' of themselves to the recipient. Where this exposure resulted in fruitful exchanges and endorsement, such encounters were seen to add to the agent's personal 'bank' of positive experiences from which a progressive confidence developed. Conversely, in the fewer cases where repeated negative exchanges occurred, there was a propensity for emotional 'toxicity' (Kiefer and Barclay, 2012) to build, negatively predisposing agents towards the more meaningful 'human engagement' which they had initially set out to achieve. Relationships with colleagues were also found to exert an important influence over agents' sense of personal meaning and identity.

The issues of loyalty, authenticity and solidarity stood out from the other dynamic influences upon agents' perceptions of the quality of their workplace friendships. It was often the case that an agent's sense of pride extended to fellow colleagues and even beyond them to the service recipients themselves. Patients' collective agency and determination were often celebrated as part of a joint sense of pride based upon their mutual work with nurses towards their recovery. In airline service, certain passengers also became objects of pride. Sometimes this was connected to the 'fame' factor or the contribution of 'glamourous' passengers' to cabin crews' consumption-based identities. It was often the case, however, that passengers signified considerably more 'altruistic' reasons for celebration in the eyes of some experienced cabin crew.

It was recounted that 'human' dramas seemed to sometimes intensify as they unfolded in the air. There were accounts that many passenger journeys could be underpinned by personal sadnesses and tragedies which socially skilled observant cabin crew members were often quick to pick up on. The case of Alan's hug of a bereaved passenger 'Isolde' (Chapter p.180) did not conclude there and the end of this long flight saw Isolde leave the aircraft in a better frame of mind than when she boarded it. She was also, perhaps, even better prepared to deal with the tragedy of her lost brother. Alan was proud of her and also proud of himself and the discretionary time he had spent talking to this passenger on the 12-hour flight from London to Capetown. This brief glimpse of an agent's idiographic experience serves as a reminder of how service agents may 'craft' and 'upscale' their own particular work role through a discretionary investment of their emotional resources. It would appear that an organisation's curtailment of agents' ability to make such investments represents one of the most significant concerns for individuals' wish to make their role more meaningful.

7.2.5   *Self-reflexivity*

Agents' discretionary crafting of their work and upscaling of their job roles to ones that had particular 'meaning' for them was seen to be contingent upon their propensity for self-reflexivity and reflection. The significance of this for agents' sense-making and well-being has been discussed previously. It was argued that these were essential for individuals within the modern workplace, where service agents may feel governed by their roles' inherent demands and constraints. The 'speeded-up', competitive, resource-constrained worlds of commercial aviation and healthcare may not be conducive to worker freedom and autonomy but they may still allow individual service agents to make their job roles work for them. The achievement of a 'self-crafted' autonomy (Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001) logically demands both self-reflexivity and reflection where the agent can make sense of his actions, reactions and effects upon others and also consider how certain working activities and experiences have made him feel.

The agents who accepted the invitation to participate in this research showed a willingness to engage in self-reflexive and reflective activity, although some claimed they had done little of this before. This 'self-crafting' of agents' jobs through self-reflexivity was not seen to conflict with organisational requirements and service standards but simply as a way to subtly reconfigure certain aspects of them. Many, but not all, claimed to have developed some new insights upon their experiences and ideas about how they might approach certain aspects of their work differently in the future. Some ideas centred on the acceptance of certain unchangeable realities and the recognition of their own agency in changing others. It was recognised that whilst the fundamental nature, demands and constraints of a job may not be easily changed, it was possible to 'scale up' or 'play down' aspects of their work that they positively identified with and enjoyed or, conversely, were disengaged by.

The themes of autonomy, self-identity and self-meaning have emerged from the 'backdrop' to 'centre stage' as enquiry, analysis and interpretation in this study progressed. The particular importance of being truthful and trustful in oneself and possessing both the comfort and freedom to be oneself has manifested itself in many parts of respondents' testimonies. The Heidegerrian (1962) concepts of 'homecoming' and 'Gegnet' have served to support an interpretation that many respondents' interpretation of happiness and well-being relates to the ability to be truthful with and trust in oneself. Individual truths were found to reside within respondents' personal spaces, both physical and imagined, and 'home' represented a symbolic or real place of familiarity and emotional safety. Thus, 'being at home to oneself' for many agents signified a 'state of being' more than a presence in a physical location. The prerequisites for such a state of being chiefly consisted of open and truthful self-reflection, self-trust and a sense of contentment derived from previous achievements.

7.2.6   *Self-perception , identity and socially constructed reality*

While 'self-identity' was a self-*perceived* phenomenon, it was by no means exclusively a self-*constructed* one. Agents' perceptions of their own significance and self-worth was as much socially constructed as it was personally created, developing in consequence of their interactions with others and the value placed upon the performance inherent in their working roles. Individual identities were susceptible to continuous reappraisal according to the ebb and flow in social attitudes concerning the value of their professional roles. The emergent themes of 'why do I matter' and 'those whom I serve' revealed the fragile and volatile 'pecking order' of jobs that rendered agents' own personal and professional identities vulnerable to constant social reinvention. In the case of cabin crew in particular, the progressive reconceptualisation of their roles from socially accomplished safety professionals to semi-skilled workers was perceived as demoralising, an image which many actively resisted. Here the distinction Young (2004) makes between 'social constructionism' and 'social constructivism' is important to the understanding of such active resistance. Cabin crew may have had little choice about acknowledging the more recent socially constructed perceptions of the complexity of their work but, for some, their continuing ability to be self-reflexive and reflective countered many demoralising effects. It was the socially *constructivist* personal learning that took place in consequence of such awareness, however, that equipped some crew to deal more positively with such changes and continue to 'craft' a meaningful role beyond a mere consumption-based identity. Paradoxically, some agents' naturally reflective tendencies steered them away from excessive rumination and self-absorption towards a disposition for low self-consciousness, which Csikszentmihalyi (1996:116-30) associates with the 'autotelic' personality and the positive state of 'flow'. This could possibly be explained by certain nurses' and cabin crew members' intrinsic motivation and ability to enjoy their work for its own sake which became clearly evident. Thus, whilst the meaning of both nursing and cabin crew roles was, in part, socially constructed, there was also evidence of an equally significant meaning fashioned from agents' own interpretation of the value and the personal crafting of their work.

7.2.7   *The meaning of well-being*

While self-perception and self-identity were seen to be both personally and socially constructed phenomena, each of these also played a significant part in service agents' interpretation of their personal sense of well-being. It was observed that 'well-being' incorporated both the subjective elements of temporally bounded 'happiness' and the more objective indicators of longer-term well-being. The distinction between 'thought' and 'feeling' in respondents' understanding of their well-being was important. The 'thinking' part of agents' conceptualisations of well-being allowed them to recognise the more objective elements of well-being, whereas positive feelings 'in-the-moment' about the quality of their lives, although pleasant, were also seen as potentially transient or cyclical. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, it was seen that both 'happiness' and 'well-being' were often strongly influenced by agents' experiences at work and how they made sense and meaning from these. Their sense of well-being appeared to be the culmination of both internal and external forces, including the interrelationships between their own thoughts and acts and those of others and the ways in which they reflected upon these.

Although absolute generalisation is neither possible nor appropriate in a phenomenological study, it was nonetheless evident that positive relationships symbolised an important component of agents' overall sense of life satisfaction. Such relationships signalled their ability to 'step outside' their immediate subjective experiences of 'happiness' and also recognise the importance of more objective elements of their well-being, such as their positive effects upon others and their other life 'accomplishments'. Each respondent's interpretation of well-being was different in some ways. It was seen that in the cases of those few who sought a 'holy grail' of happiness, there was seemingly perpetual frustration caused by their 'ontological monism'. Conversely, as discussed earlier in this chapter, those agents who appeared to acknowledge and accept the 'messiness', conflicts and paradoxes inherent in their own emotions were better placed to reconcile their feelings 'in the moment' with their longer-term life satisfaction.

7.2.8 *Summary: The interdependence of emotional self-management and well-being*

One of the dominant themes alongside the tolerance of ambiguity related to agents' ability to be their 'authentic selves' and to craft a job and a lifestyle allowing them to do this. Those who could do this also seemed able successfully to navigate the boundaries between stereotypical perceptions of their roles and their true selves. Although many agents exerted a limited discretion over their work tasks, they nonetheless possessed a 'self-crafted' autonomy over how they performed them, the effort they invested and the emphasis they placed upon each discrete part of their job. Here, their human agency as 'choosers' in their own emotional self-management also appeared to relate to their capacity to self-determine their well-being. This symbiotic relationship between emotional self-management and well-being also related to agents' simultaneous abilities to fulfil their role obligations and remain 'open to others' whilst preserving their own self-identities, values and feelings. Referring to my re-conceptualisation of emotional self-management, it can be seen how such an interpretation aligns with the central concepts of 'existential freedom' and 'self-meaning' which underpin much of the critical thought relating to well-being

The conceptual ambiguities surrounding the categorisation and description of emotions have been highlighted in many parts of this thesis. Similarly, the interconnected ideas of paradox, contradiction, uncertainty and volatility have recurred in many respondents' accounts of their lived experiences of emotions at work. The findings have revealed considerable diversity in respondents' outlooks, coping mechanisms and ontological perspectives. Some respondents were found to navigate emotional uncertainties in different ways in their work and their private lives. Each participant and individual story has progressively revealed how service agents made sense of their experiences and the sometimes unexpected or puzzling outcomes from their respective emotional exchanges with colleagues or service recipients. Each account has encouraged a deeper exploration of how individual participants' experiences may have resonated with those of others. Amidst such ambiguities and uncertainties, it was clear that agents' propensity to be self-reflexive and reflect openly upon their lived experiences was an important influence upon how they emotionally self-managed and perceived their own well-

being. The propensity to self-evaluate was clearly well-developed amongst some respondents long before this research project. With other service agents such propensity was not self-evident but it appeared that the opportunities to reflect and make sense of their lives at work were openly embraced by them during this research.

This study has revealed that the experiences of emotional self-management and well-being are diverse even amongst its relatively small sample of participants. It has specifically avoided attempts to position rigidly respondents' accounts within predetermined typologies or frameworks. Instead, its phenomenological approach has focused upon the development of the thematic interpretation of their experience, enabling the understanding of patterns in the human experience of emotional self-management and well-being whilst simultaneously highlighting the value of appreciating individual respondents' perspectives in their own right.

As with the 'conceptual ambiguities' already referred to, 'mixed feelings' are often construed as simply ambiguous and frustrating phenomena and this is particularly true in the study of organisational emotions. In the phenomenological tradition, however, this study has celebrated the particular and the unique in respondents' testimonies and where 'mixed feelings' have been apparent, these have not been perceived as 'problematic' but as 'enigmatic', prompting additional exploration and reflection to deepen understanding of workplace emotions. In its celebration of difference, this study's findings and their subsequent analysis and interpretation still provide the opportunity to consider how individuals' life experiences may resonate with those of others. Equally, where these experiences do not correspond, they prompt important questions surrounding individual autonomy, agency and disposition. All respondents' stories revealed different insights relating to their respective attraction to their roles and why they had remained in them.

Whilst not all of these reasons were positively connected with their well-being, it was significant that many, if not all, agents viewed their work as a powerful force in either promoting or depleting it. Bolton's (2005) observation that some individuals may be more naturally attracted than others to service roles requiring emotional investment, along with the

observation on well-being immediately preceding it, highlights three important possibilities relating to the experience of service work. The first relates to the possibility of a natural predisposition to perform service work and to be content in such a role. The second suggests, however, that service work itself can potentially influence or even bestow a sense of well-being upon an individual who assumes a service role. The third and more subtle inference relates to the possibility that organisations possess the propensity to bestow or erode workers' sense of well-being whether they are naturally predisposed to perform service or not. Nietzsche (2015) expresses these three ideas in his aphorism (# 486):

> 'There is one thing one has to have, either a soul that is cheerful by nature,
> or a soul made cheerful by work, love, art and knowledge.'

Such a viewpoint serves as a reminder that organisations themselves may have a role in encouraging and facilitating their workers who struggle to be self-reflexive. It has been seen that this capacity appears to have exerted a substantive and positive influence over how respondents made sense of their roles, their working relationships and the most appealing elements of their job.

7.3. This study's contribution to knowledge

The achievement of this study's research objectives has led to insights of both academic and practical value. Firstly, the research has challenged and subsequently generated new perspectives on existing theoretical ideas on the nature of emotions at work. More importantly, this study makes a contribution to understanding of emotional self-management's relationship with well-being and the social exchange process in service work. It has extended existing academic knowledge on some of the significant factors affecting the emotional exchange process and how service agents' individual agency in the management of their own emotions may affect their sense of well-being. In particular, it offers new insights on the diversity of contingent factors that may influence agents' emotional vulnerability and resilience and the possible implications of this for their well-being. This section clearly articulates the particular contributions to knowledge that this study has made to the

understanding of service workers' experiences of emotional self-management and their significance for well-being. Certain contributions transcend both theoretical and contextual domains and these are clearly identified. The various methodological, contextual and theoretical insights resulting from this research inquiry are explained immediately below.

7.3.1 Methodological level

It has been claimed that qualitative research generally remains underreported in hospitality and associated service management literature and when it is addressed, the process of qualitative data analysis 'per se' receives insufficient attention (Sandiford and Seymour, 2007). More specifically, interpretative phenomenological research, although increasingly visible in healthcare research (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008) is, with a few distinctive exceptions (e.g. Wijesinghe, 2007/2012), a very under-applied methodological approach in qualitative inquiry within service management research. In the few examples where interpretative phenomenological methods have been applied within service research, rich and insightful knowledge can be gained from the understandings of the emotions and meanings that comprise the lived experiences of service workers. This specifically applies to the findings that have emerged from this study. This project's methodological design not only embraced the philosophy and principles of the still relatively new IPA approach to qualitative inquiry but has augmented it with the use of ancillary and hitherto unapplied elicitation methods of 'storytelling' (Gabriel, 2000) and 'photo-elicitation' (Clark-Ibanez, 2004). This enhanced participants' abilities to illustrate as well as convey what their lived experiences were really like. As with the inception of any 'new' research philosophy, paradigm or approach, IPA's ownership was initially claimed by its originator, Professor Jonathan Smith. Smith et al's (2009) work offers guidelines for how this approach may be incorporated into a phenomenological research design.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the selection of a 'homogenous' sample of respondents was an important recommendation for those adopting an IPA approach. As it was this study's intention to draw upon the experiences of service workers from more than one occupation, the appropriateness of the IPA approach came into question. The rationale for

choosing nursing and air cabin crew respondents was compelling, however, and this has been clearly articulated in earlier sections of this thesis. Thus, it was considered appropriate to seek expert advice before proceeding. Smith (2014) and De Visser (2014) suggested in their respective responses to my enquiry that respondent homogeneity was an important consideration but that the selection of participants from two separate groups would be acceptable provided 'there were strong theoretical grounds' for doing so. Although work role and background clearly represented a 'homogeneity criterion' in the choice of respondents for a study, the opportunity to explore related and different phenomena *across* occupational domains, in addition to *within* them, would have been lost had I chosen to rigidly adhere to it. This second 'methodological augmentation' of the IPA approach has served not only to develop new insights on the emotion work of service agents (which was the original intention) but has also signposted new interpretations of how the IPA research approach itself may be adapted and developed in a way that transcends predetermined boundaries of experiential enquiry.

This research, although qualitative in nature, has adopted a rigorous and in-depth approach at the data collection and analysis stages. Its methodological augmentation of IPA was carefully considered and was not simply a hastily 'bolted-on' feature to bypass any of the detailed requirements associated with the method. This study has, however, circumvented the 'methodolatry' associated with many forms of phenomenological and psychological research, where apparently method is privileged over the ultimate aim. Some theorists have been critical of any departure from the orthodoxy of phenomenology in research that purports to be 'phenomenological' (Van Manen, 2017) as opposed to 'psychological' in focus. It is possible, but unlikely, that such a criticism could be raised in relation to this study's methodological approach. In such an event, however, I would make the pragmatic assertion that what I set out to achieve informed the choice of methodology and not the other way round. Thus, any adaptation of the IPA approach constituted an augmentation and not an adulteration of the existing method. The development of sensitive reflexive relationships with respondents was critical to the successful collection of meaningful data. It was particularly important for me to be aware of the effects of my interactions upon what respondents chose to reveal and the ways in which they conveyed their experiences to me (Shaw, 2010:243).

The principal aim of developing the IPA approach was to enhance the possibility of releasing respondent's experiences of their workplace emotions as opposed to 'psychometrically' boxing them in (Fineman, 2004). In my view, once a 'new' methodological approach has been developed and introduced to a mainstream academic domain of knowledge, its 'ownership' no longer entitles its inceptor to straitjacket other researchers to the extent they must follow an inflexible guide to its implementation. I have adopted this viewpoint in the course of this research and thus assert that my willingness to 'step outside the box' of the methodolatry has yielded richer insights on participants' feelings and experiences than would have been possible had I adhered too literally to the conventional wisdom.

7.3.2 Contextual level

The in-depth, longitudinal approach to data collection allowed me to follow respondents' lives over extended timeframes of months and, in some cases, years. This form of engagement has yielded rich idiographic pictures of respondents' experiences, each of which was first considered on its own 'human terms' before moving to a consideration of the broader occupational context of such experiences. This has provided close personal insights into each case in addition to a wider contextual understanding of individuals' performance of emotion effort. It has been seen that nurses' and flight attendants' roles shared some common attributes through their mutual 'legacy of caring'. These differed, however, in respect of many demands and constraints and the complexity and purpose associated with each type of work. Thus, this study adds to a small number of studies that simultaneously analyse phenomena from individuals' idiographic perspectives and their particular working lives whilst also facilitating a broader consideration of. This study's approach has responded directly to recent criticisms and calls within sector-specific sociology literature (Bolton, 2003, Hunyh et al, 2008, Korczynski, 2009, Scott and Barnes, 2011) for emotion research that crosses occupational boundaries and focuses more directly upon 'individual' perceptions of the relationships between emotion effort, work withdrawal and well-being.

Many studies have claimed (Theodosius' 2008) that most aspects of emotion work are 'different' in each occupational context and understandably foreground the specific complexities, demands and constraints of the job roles within it. It has been seen, however, that in doing so, they pay insufficient attention to the significance of the individuals performing the work and the idiographic nature of their thoughts and feelings. This research invites those who engage with its findings to revisit their assumptions on the nature of emotion work and consider the stories, thoughts and feelings of the participants both as 'working human beings' and 'working service agents'. This may prompt practitioners and academics to reconsider what can be learned from both the contrasts and similarities in experiences of those who may serve us.

On a contextual level, this study has contributed in many ways to the understanding of how service agents make sense of their emotion and what is important to them in terms of their well-being. Although acknowledging the uniquely idiographic perspectives of each respondent, this study has generated new insights as to how agents form their individually situated views of their worlds. It has informed and developed understanding of the symbiotic and unpredictable nature of the relationships between service agents' perceived truths, experiences of trust, pride, identity, dignity and self-worth and how these impact upon their emotional self-management and well-being. Representations of such workers' views from the 'inside-out' remain extremely sparse within the service management literature and yet add enormous value to the understanding of workplace relationships.

The detailed exploration of nurses' and airline cabin crews' lived experiences has enhanced understanding of the nature of these forms of work and has challenged stereotypical perceptions of these roles relating to the perceived degrees of commitment, emotional complexity and personal autonomy characterising them. It has re-examined the relationships between the genealogical and legacy aspects of service work and how these may still impact upon agents' self-perception and professional pride. Thus, this study has prompted a reappraisal of the ontology of occupational caring's more traditional conceptual boundaries and considers instead the differences in experience of service workers and their practice from

both existential and cross-occupational perspectives. In so doing, this challenges preconceptions of the authenticity and complexity of 'caring' and 'emotion' work by occupation alone and prompts a reconsideration of what can be learned from the lived experiences of service agents working across and within different areas of work. The particular contribution outlined here has both contextual and theoretical implications. By comparing and contrasting detailed individual accounts of self-care and self-management, this study has also contributed to the further understanding of the motivations that underpin agents' inclinations to perform service work and how these impact upon their perceived well-being. In addition, it has provided important insights on the relative significance of the individual's, the organisation's, service recipients' and the wider public's influences upon the construction of service agents' personal and professional identities. This research prompts those who work within the sector to reflect critically upon and make further sense of the ways in which they emotionally self-manage and experience well-being.

7.3.3 Theoretical level

IPA studies to date have not aspired to the creation of new theory but to prompt reflection, inform discussion and generate debate on our understandings of 'how people make sense of their major life experiences' (Smith et al 2009:1). It has been seen that the 'major life experiences', in the case of this study, relate to individuals' experiences of managing their own 'private' and 'public' emotions and the emotions of others within the context of their 'service' work. Thus, whilst this research was not concerned with developing theory *per se*, it is envisaged that it should initiate future research that adopts alternative methodologies to generate inductive theory relating to the study of workplace emotions and well-being.

It is anticipated that this study, may prompt other researchers to reconsider some of the current perceptions represented in the literature which position emotion effort on a *'continuum of complexity'* according to the specific occupational service context (e.g. in this study nursing or airline service work respectively). This research has addressed many of the conceptual ambiguities surrounding the theoretical classification of various forms of emotional-related effort at work. In doing so, it has favoured definitive clarity over complexity

and has prompted a re-conceptualisation of theoretical perspectives on emotional 'labour', 'work', 'management' and 'self-management'. The findings have supported the theory that emotions at work could be reconsidered in terms of their complexity, context, perceived challenge and source and how these factors, in turn, might impact upon the extent to which emotions might be 'managed'.

Seligman's' (2011) concept of well-being and its 'subjective' and 'objective' elements has been discussed at many stages in this study. The concept resonates with its findings on the significance of the core themes of truth, trust and pride for agents' emotional self-management and well-being. Seligman's critical delineation between subjective happiness and 'objective' well-being explains much of the complexity and interconnectedness of these dynamic core themes in participants' lived experiences of their working worlds and how they make sense of these.

Seligman's 'qualifying' indicators for 'completeness' in well-being, namely 'positive relationships' and 'accomplishments' (validated and valued by others outside of the self) map directly across all three core themes. Trust, or its absence, in relationships with others was perceived by participants to represent one of the most fundamental elements in how they viewed the quality of their personal and professional lives. Truth was seen to be multi-faceted, ambiguous and often difficult for service agents to perceive in absolutist terms. Truth represented a vital, yet perplexing consideration on occasions where participants struggled to reconcile the moral obligation to protect and reassure those whom they served with the need to be objectively truthful. Trust and truth however were generally perceived as co-dependent and, in the main, vital elements of the positive relationships which Seligman identifies in well-being. The third theme of pride was inextricably linked to truth and trust in terms of service agents' perceptions of their 'doing' (as opposed to merely 'having') a good job and achieving something meaningful, not only in their own eyes, but from the perspective of those they served. It was seen that the subjective indicators of happiness (positive emotion, engagement and meaning) were reinforced, from nurses and cabin crew members' perspectives, by the presence of the objective components of well-being.

Without such reinforcement, it was seen that the meretricious happiness promulgated by 'collective effervescence' (Durkheim, [1912] 1995), 'unreal' enchantment (Tantam, 2014: 161) and an inability or indisposition to engage in constructive self-reflexivity was often ephemeral and fragile. This further reflection reinforces the relevance of theoretical aspects of well-being to our understanding of how service agents make sense of their perceived self-worth and self-identities. It supports the assertions made earlier about the dynamic complexity of the phenomena of truth, trust and pride as vital components to how agents' continually re-appraise and make sense of their working and personal lives. These phenomena were seen to exert important influences upon their experiences of emotional self-management and their perceptions of their well-being. In addition, the symbiotic quality of these three phenomena appeared to transcend the co-dependent, reflexive relationships between emotional self-management and well-being to the extent that one could legitimately propose that emotional self-management *is* well-being. Figure 6 (below) further extends Figure 5's (p.196) illustration of the core themes interconnectedness and maps these against Seligman's (2011) components of well-being.
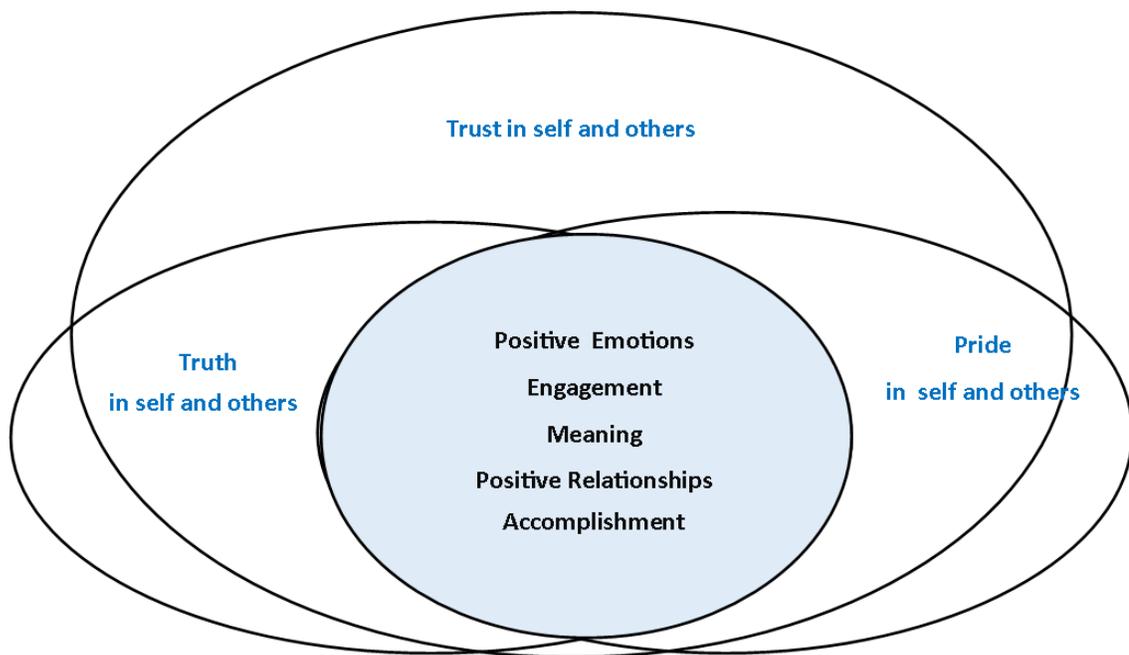
Figure 6: Interrelationships between emotional self-management and well-being (developed from Seligman, 2011)

The subjective elements of well-being (positive emotion, engagement and having meaning) were repeatedly cited by respondents as essential drivers of their emotional self-management in addition to their well-being. The objective elements of well-being (positive relationships and externally validated accomplishment) were also viewed in a similar way. Some respondents appeared to have certain elements naturally ingrained within their personality (e.g. respondent Justin's 'sunny side up' personality p.167) whereas others expressed the need for more social reinforcement in order to develop positive emotion. Thus the symbiotic nature of the relationships between the elements of well-being and emotional self-management was complex and did not manifest itself evenly across all respondents. It was seen that externally endorsed 'accomplishments' (e.g. the airline's customer service 'Bravo' awards for cabin crew) only enhanced agents' sense of well-being if they possessed meaning for them. Where they did not, it was observed that agents' inclination to deal with emotionally challenging situations subsequently was not reinforced.

It has clearly emerged from agents' stories that their individual responses to experiences may be very different to those of their colleagues which suggests that uniform approaches to supporting, developing and training service workers may have limited utility. On the one hand the organisation must convey the common values, care protocols and service standards it perceives necessary whilst on the other agents must make meaningful sense of these in order to reconcile their private selves with public requirements and expectations. The importance of the capacity to be reflective and self-reflexive has been discussed at many points in this study. Thus, some organisations may need to consider ways to augment their support of employees beyond standardised skills training and coping strategies to include the development of self-critical ability and more individualised strategies for the acquisition of the necessary conceptual tools to do this. Section 7.5 below makes some concluding remarks on how organisational occupational support and well-being initiatives might enable this.

Whilst advocating a move towards more individualised strategies for agents' support, this research nonetheless also adds to the few meaningful attempts to conceptualise the 'broad patterns of worker–customer relations' in service work (Korczynski, 2009:952) and how

workers' alienation by those whom they serve may be better understood by theorists and practitioners alike. This study has addressed this important issue by providing rich analytical accounts of service workers' experiences and multiple interactions with their passengers and patients. Unlike a large number of hypothetico-deductive 'organisational emotion' studies, it has foregrounded the atheoretical goal of generating deep, rounded and contextualised understandings of the ways in which service workers experience emotion. It has explained how such experiences relate to those they care for while also providing many glimpses of the 'human' sides of their customers. Although this was a qualitative study where generalisation was inappropriate, it is asserted that its idiographic approach to analysis has served better than any other to inform and develop understanding of the reflexive and unpredictable nature of their working relationships. This fine-grained analytical method has also been effective in revealing the complex interdependency of service agents' personal 'truths', trust and pride and their respective influences upon their emotional self-management, perceived identities, self-worth and, ultimately, their well-being.

This study is also atypical in the sense that it avoids the problematisation of workplace emotion and has acknowledged its potentially enabling, enriching and replenishing qualities as recounted by some participants who purport to enjoy very positive relationships with those whom they serve. The findings have revealed the critical importance of self-reflexive and reflective abilities for agents' emotional self-management and well-being. They have also suggested that some individuals may be in need of greater support and encouragement to assist them in the development of such abilities. It has been seen that contemporary organisational imperatives allow limited scope for alteration of the inherent demands and constraints associated with either the nursing or air cabin crew role. Service agents' ability to reconcile successfully what is formally required of them at work with their own ontological perspectives was seen to require the well-developed skills of auto reflexivity and reflection. It has been found that many agents' abilities to 'craft' a role positioned between professional requirements and a congruent and positive self-identity were directly linked with their capacity to remain open, honest and be 'at-home' with themselves.

Thus, this study has made a meaningful contribution to the growing debates on the alternative ways in which the micro-dynamics of interactive service work can be perceived and it encourages those who work within the sector to critically reflect upon and make further sense of how they emotionally self-manage and experience well-being.

7.4. Methodological strengths and limitations of this study

This section reflects briefly upon the study's methodological strengths whilst also acknowledging its limitations and the concerted efforts made to minimise these. In adopting an IPA methodological approach, this research has broken new ground in the field of the sociology of service work. Not only is IPA markedly underrepresented within this area of inquiry but the augmented approach developed and applied in this study (explained in Chapter 3 and in section 3 above) represents a methodological innovation in its application.

As with all fields of qualitative enquiry, significant questions persist about the general rigour of this research, in particular the issues of credibility, transferability and dependability of its methods. These have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (section 4. 11) and were addressed using rigorous techniques of prolonged engagement, meticulous observation, deviant case analysis and member checking during initial and recursive interviews. It was acknowledged that the findings of this study were in many ways 'unique' to its respondents and their recounted experiences at a particular life stage. Therefore, the strict adherence to the 'repeatability' criteria associated with 'dependability' was impossible as this inquiry can never be exactly duplicated in the future. It is unlikely, however, that many research theorists would be critical of this feature because of the fundamental methodological principles underpinning qualitative study. One of these relates specifically to the need to acknowledge and celebrate 'the particular and the unique' (Simons, 1996) in human experience as much as other imperatives such as the transferability of the findings to other contexts and communities.

A more intriguing aspect underpinning the conduct of phenomenological research relates to the realisation that the understanding of the experiences of others is inevitably bounded by one human being's inability to adopt exactly the same perspective or position as another. Some phenomenological theorists may claim that an individual has no access to 'the first-person givenness' of another's experience (Escudero, 2014:6) Thus, Heidegger's (1962:58) definition of phenomenology itself is problematic in this respect:

> 'To let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself'

His conceptualisation raises the question of whether phenomenology in the form he suggests can ever truly exist, and I have often been led to question whether the true 'experience closeness' associated with IPA is actually possible to achieve. It was seen in Chapter 5, for example, that I sympathised with a nurse respondent's account of her moral anguish and divided loyalties towards a mother and child when she suspected the presence of parental neglect. My perceptions of this experience could, however, not be the same as hers, nor could I be capable of feeling the same as my respondent. My subsequent reflections upon this encounter served as a timely reminder that striving to achieve the 'experience closeness' and 'first-person' viewpoints from respondents would continue to remain challenging. In the course of witnessing such poignant accounts of human experience, however, the augmented IPA approach involving 'artefact elicitation' (detailed in Chapter 3) often served as a means to pull myself closer in to the stories being recounted and sense some of the emotions the respondents appeared to have felt (Morgan and Dennehy, 1997).

Bearing witness to individual respondents' sense-making as they related meaningful experiences offered many opportunities to share their close reflections and arguably brought me as close to their 'experiential' and 'life' worlds (Yu, 2015) as possible. Although it was a privilege to be able to do this on occasions, it became clear that there would always remain some personal experiential thresholds over which I would remain unable to cross.

Thus, I positioned myself as close to my respondents' experiences and perspectives as was realistic and feasible and I assert that I have faithfully conveyed as much of their 'first-person viewpoints' in this study's findings as was possible.

Section 2. above provided another reminder that this study's focus upon the lived experiences of two related yet different occupational groups has raised questions relating to contextual transferability and methodological appropriateness during the course of this research. Such questions have come from fellow academics and from the broader academic literature on the management of workplace emotions. A recurring argument has related to perceptions of the relative differences in depth, complexity and emotional intensity associated with either the nursing or air cabin crew role. It was found, contrary to theoretical and empirically based assertions, that many exchanges between flight attendants and passengers did involve an exchange of genuinely experienced emotions. Emotional labour was seen to be 'needed' by passengers, albeit in different ways to the way patients require it.

This study neither endeavoured to engage in an arbitrary comparison nor to equate the emotion efforts of nurses and flight attendants. The research revealed that these two occupational groups shared historical connections and other similarities relating to the care and responsibility for the person but it also highlighted many differences in relation to the perceived complexity and demands of each. The primary purpose of choosing participants from two occupational areas was to enhance and broaden understanding of the nature of service by gathering perceptions from a more diverse pool of individuals performing service work who make emotion effort to do so. It has been seen in many parts of this thesis (most recently in section 3 above), that any theoretical and methodological issues associated with this sampling approach have been thoroughly addressed and the benefits in terms of yielding rich and insightful data have far outweighed any initial concerns associated with it.

There are some other methodological issues which are worthy of mention. It was explained in Chapter 4 that the eventual sampling strategy chosen achieved the best compromise between the IPA emphasis upon respondent homogeneity on the one hand and the desire to capture

more diverse perspectives on the other. It also was true, however, that those nurses and air cabin crew who agreed to participate did so because of their shared interest and relative enthusiasm for their work. Thus, it was less likely that the perspectives of disenchanted or disillusioned service agents would be captured as fully as might have been wished. Where such perspectives were presented, they were often conveyed via the second-person viewpoints of more positively predisposed respondents. In hindsight, greater reliance upon respondent gatekeepers to identify more disaffected colleagues could partially address this issue. In addition, further consideration could be given to the mode of communication and initial contact to convey effectively the personal benefits to less positively predisposed service agents.

The involvement of some members in third recursive interviews after the first two meetings was seen to yield rich insights in the interpretative process. These often allowed both researcher and respondent to step back, reflect and verify their respective interpretations of lived experiences. Although this third stage in the process undoubtedly has time-resource implications, the insightful benefits that have resulted strengthen the case for its inclusion in future data collection and analysis. The IPA approach has involved prolonged personal engagement with respondents who often willingly shared their insights. Whilst it was heartening to hear evidence of the engagement, motivation and dedication in some service agents' working lives, as an empathetic researcher I also bore witness to accounts of distress, unhappiness and uncertainty from others.

Chapter 4 discussed the issues relating to the exposure of more vulnerable respondents to the unqualified 'researcher-as-therapist' and these became more real than anticipated in the course of this study. Whilst some professional counselling referral systems were in place, in the case of distressed respondents consideration could be given to more proactively offering signposts towards further professional support.

As a final note on the methodological aspects and the broader question of adherence to the principles and philosophy of the IPA approach, it is asserted that this study has embraced all their substantive elements in its research design and subsequent implementation, reflecting the pluralistic psychological perspectives that distinguish IPA from many other forms of phenomenological enquiry. Thus, an interpretive approach has been adopted which has simultaneously engaged in the 'hermeneutics of empathy' alongside the 'hermeneutics of questioning' (Smith et al, 2009:36). It has balanced the desire to 'stand in my respondents' shoes' with the need to subsequently question and puzzle over what they have told me through an interpretative 'prism' of my own. This approach allowed me privileged access to the sensing of respondent's experiences whilst permitting sufficient detachment from these to enable a more meaningful and balanced interpretation.

7.5 Implications for service agents' working lives

Whilst the primary focus of an IPA methodology is to enhance understanding of major life experiences and how people make sense of these, it is suggested that the outcomes from this research have some important implications for service agents' working lives. It has been seen that individuals have worked alone and collectively to generate positive self-identities and develop pride in their work. It is also evident that whilst some agents are proactive, resilient and self-reliant in the crafting of roles that work for them, others are less so. There were indications that abilities and propensities to be self-reflexive varied considerably and in cases where these agents' attributes seemed underdeveloped, there were struggles to engage positively in work.

Large public sector and commercial organisations may offer occupational health services to their employees, but in many cases these are constructed around a deficit model which addresses work-related psychological or physical ill-health. In some contexts, such as those conveyed by NHS respondents, it would appear that there are few, if any, holistic well-being at work programmes. This may be less of a concern for 'resilient, self-reflexive and proactive individuals' but it is suggested that for those individuals who may not be, potentially significant

benefits could ensue from appropriate support. It has been observed from this research that service agents need to cope with increasing ambiguity, paradox and complexity in their work and simultaneously make sense of their own and others' perceptions of their continually changing role.

Chapter 2 (p.35) discussed the paradoxes of the 'means-end' process (Korczynski, 2009) which dominates contemporary service and how this supports Hochschild's (1979/1983) depressing concept of commercialised human feeling and his own notion of the 'disappearing human being' in service work. The voices of this study's respondents clearly indicate their organisations' need to consider how they can be better supported, not merely though formal training programmes in self-management and self-care, but by working to ensure there are naturally occurring opportunities for service agents in the course of their normal working days to feel valued and cared for by their colleagues, their managers, and particularly importantly, by the recipients of their service. Akin to the 'deficit model' of occupational health mentioned earlier, some organisations' public communications to their patients or customers appear predominantly negative ones, focusing upon relaying messages concerning their 'zero tolerance of abuse' of their staff as opposed to more positive recognitions and celebrations of the often remarkable work that their people perform. It is evident that organisations could consider how to develop the existing means by which they positively communicate their appreciation of service agents' contributions and proactively encourage service recipients to recognise and appreciate quality care when it is offered to them. In a similar 'deficit' vein, this study's participants commented that the support offered to them was mainly in forms of 'coping' guidance. This manifested itself in training sessions on aspects of emotion management such as dealing with 'bad news to patients' or 'abusive passengers'. This study's findings have revealed that prevailing initiatives such as 'employee of the month' may need to be augmented in ways which address agents'   more fundamental human needs to feel genuinely valued in a more meaningful way. It is suggested that development programmes could be modified to include ones which focus upon creating opportunities for individual agents to reflect upon, and regularly review and reconcile, their personal ontological perspectives with the broader requirements of their professional roles.

The design and realisation of occupational support initiatives are, however, contingent upon the multiplicity of specific cultural, ethical and logistical factors which prevail. While these recommendations cannot be too prescriptive in nature, there are, however, some common realities relating to their practical implementation that may apply to many service organisations. Service agents' views, regardless of their occupational background, suggest an overwhelming need for some freedom to act in ways which not only correspond with their organisations' care and service blueprints but which are also congruent with their inner selves and their own values. Thus organisations need to consider ways in which they can support these ambitions by offering programmes that enable individuals to make sense of their daily work experiences. There may be a need to offer practical and realistic opportunities for the formation of 'reflective learning sets' or their equivalent, so that both cabin crew and nurses can engage with similar colleagues and, particularly in the case of flight attendants, have the opportunity to experience some continuity in their otherwise transient working relationships. Such 'learning set' sessions could mirror a 'co-counselling' model where agents are encouraged to reflect truly on past exchanges and future opportunities where they can find 'spaces to be human' (Bolton, 2005) whilst continuing to conform with the necessary service and care standards required of them. Where service training takes place, programmes could signpost occasions to agents where they may seek out more naturally occurring opportunities to be spontaneous and human in their service encounters and develop the self-reflexive tools to gauge when taking an 'emotional risk' with service recipients is justifiable.

There were many examples of service agents successfully augmenting a standardised interaction repertoire to achieve 'beyond the call' outcomes. Nurse Sally's tea round (p.179) has been referred to frequently already in this work as an illustration of the sensitive and thoughtful fusing of professional care responsibilities with her personal fulfilment needs and philanthropic inclinations as a human being. Maureen's recollections of a successful outcome with her grumpy 'north of the Pennines' patient (p.179) represents another excellent example of combining human intuition with professional skill.

Cabin crew member Alan's comforting of a severely stressed passenger (p.180) also illustrates how vigilance, sensitivity , intuition and a genuine desire to engage with a service recipient as a human being can make a possibly 'life changing' difference.

A key question emerging from the findings related to whether service agents can ever be truly attentive unless they are also self-reflexive. It is suggested that the development of self-reflexivity should naturally prompt an agent to seek out ways in which to extend routine exchanges with service recipients beyond mundane and prescriptive interaction to more 'human' and meaningful ones. It has been seen in the cases of some cabin crew participants in this study and those in other studies (e.g. Curley and Royle, 2013) that self-reflexivity appeared almost naturally 'hard-wired' into their personae and that they used this to ensure they offered an augmented and more 'human' service to their passengers. This was in spite of their perceptions of management's attempts to 'degrade' their work into a 'low-cost', routinized and formulaic service offering.   It has been repeatedly indicated that self-reflexivity skills are not inherent in all individuals and that if organisations turned their attention towards their people's development of these, this might lead to a more engaged, happier workforce committed to delivering management's service and care objectives. These development initiatives are not necessarily as resource intensive as other occupational health provision which focuses upon responses to existing deficits in employee well-being. Many organisations' public relations catch- phrases state that: 'our people are our greatest asset'. Whilst there may be some start-up costs associated with the suggestion that agents work together in mutual support programmes, it is possible that such initiatives could become increasingly self-supporting as a climate of mutual care and concern becomes the norm as opposed to the exception within the organisation. Thus, organisations could consider focussing attention upon the design and implementation of ongoing 'wellness' programmes to support service employees in need of development of their self-reflexive and individual 'job crafting' abilities.

Organisational decisions on the design of occupational support programs for large groups of employees may appear to be best informed by data that appears clear and representative of the needs and views of most of its workers.

Nonetheless, the patterns emerging from smaller-scale phenomenological research may provide initial indicators of workers' feelings that could resonate within larger employee communities and inform other research findings. For example, some more disenchanted agents might prefer a 'good moan' with a sympathetic phenomenological interviewer external to the organisation, to completing an anonymous internally circulated questionnaire investigating levels of work engagement. The data ensuing from such conversations could serve to enrich and further inform quantitative data on employee satisfaction compiled internally. Thus, a further recommendation relates to the dissemination of phenomenological research on emotional self-management and well-being in a 'management-friendly' language in a way that reaches human resources managers and other key decision-makers involved in the development of occupational health and support programmes.

7.6 Strategies for dissemination

Having completed this research project, it is anticipated that my attention will turn to making contributions within several academic communities relating to the sociology of emotions, work-related well-being and the design and implementation of qualitative methods within service research. These contributions will reflect those explained in section 3 above. Submissions to the journals indicated will include academic papers on:

- Auto-reflexivity and its relevance to the well-being of service workers (*International Journal for Qualitative Studies in Health and Well-being*)
- Self-care and emotional self-management in service work *(Emotion, Emotion Review)*
- Cross-occupational perspectives on ESM and well-being (*Hospitality and Society, Work Employment and Society, Emotion Review, European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*)
- Qualitative interviewing as therapeutic opportunity (*Qualitative Research in Psychology*)

- Key issues in the application of an IPA methodology in sociology of service research (*Qualitative Research in Psychology, Existential Analysis*)
- The experience of augmentation and development of the IPA methodological approach using artefact illustration in qualitative interviews (*International Journal of Qualitative Methods*)

It is also envisaged that, in the near future, papers will be presented at academic research symposia where I have previously made active contributions.

Such conferences include those held by the British Academy of Management (BAM), the Council for Hospitality Management Education (CHME), the Psychosocial Studies Network and the Global Emotions Network/Academy of Management (EMONET).

In addition to academic research fora, it is intended to participate in professional fora and seminars such as those hosted by 'BHoppers' (Brighton and Hove Occupational Psychologists), the Sussex regional branch of the 'Division of Occupational Psychology' (British Institute of Psychology). In doing so, it is hoped that the outcomes of this study will not only benefit academia but also enhance understanding of the emotional experiences and well-being of service agents amongst their own managers. The writing of a monograph of this thesis is being considered under the title: *'Angels and Butterflies: Emotional self-management and the legacy of caring in nursing and airline service work'.* This would address the historical development of these roles, their gendered identities and the significance of social stereotyping for self-identity and well-being.

In the course of this program of research, I have been consistently active in the search for ways in which emotional self-management and well-being can be further integrated into the mainstream undergraduate and postgraduate service management curricula. To date, human resource management modules have been significantly developed through the introduction of 'emotional self-management' and 'well-being' as subjects within them. By continuing to champion the incorporation of 'emotions' and 'self-care' within service management courses,

it is intended that this will add not only to students' professional capabilities to manage others but also to their abilities to attend to their own well-being within increasingly demanding and complex service environments. Additionally, as IPA is still considered a novel and largely overlooked methodology within commercial service environments, this will place me in a strong position to support students and peers wishing to adopt this less conventional qualitative approach in their own research.

Considerations for future research

Whilst this study of emotions and well-being has uncovered an almost infinite range of possibilities for future research, there were a number of thematic areas which were beyond the scope of this project but have suggested themselves as interesting and important avenues for further exploration.

A logical development to the cross-sectoral context of this study points towards studies on emotional self-management and well-being in other occupational areas. The higher education environment suggests itself as a particularly pertinent area for investigation as it would be possible to conduct an auto-ethnographic study that could draw upon my own as well as other lecturers' and student counsellors' experiences. There is a growing interest in the emotion effort and challenges characterising the higher education sector and it is beginning to attract significant research attention (e.g. Antoniadou, 2013).

A study that could be of particular relevance would be one that adopted a cross-occupational approach to explore the respective emotion management and well-being experiences of educators and educational administrators. Education research and anecdotal evidence suggests that greater understanding of these different professionals' experiences would be beneficial. Such research could explore the individually situated viewpoints and experiences of academics and administrators and how they make sense of their emotional worlds and perceive those of others.

This study could focus upon discrete emotions (such as happiness, anger, guilt, relief or embarrassment) and the coping strategies developed by individuals within each workgroup.

The dawn of the 'Uber' age and quasi-autonomous work patterns unveils new forms of worker who are often invisible and may also be susceptible to organisational and social neglect. The emotional self-management, well-being and self-identities of such individuals suggest themselves as important areas for investigation. In addition, similar research attention could be focused upon those individuals, such as 'toll-booth' operators who perform isolated, semi-automated and highly routinised service work. It is acknowledged that this research has not foregrounded the gendered nature of emotions and emotional self-management. This was partly due to wide range of gendered research already conducted and also to avoid detracting from the study's primary focus upon the lived experience of individuals as opposed to their self-perceived gendered identities. There were, nonetheless, indications that respondents' gender affected their sense of professional self-identity and the ways in which they managed service recipient and colleague relationships. It was also seen, in Chapter 3, that the history of nursing and airline cabin crew was highly gendered and that each career was associated with the development of new found freedoms for women. Such freedoms may, however, have come at the price of delivering a socially acceptable and 'caring' gendered performance. Hochschild's (2012/2013) more recent research addresses many issues relating to the gendered aspects of emotion, many of which suggest questions that are pertinent to this study's findings. Future IPA studies could revisit, from first-person lived experience viewpoints, the more traditional assumptions on men and women's dispositions and capacities to perform emotion work.

7.7   Reflections on the research journey and personal learning

The experience of mixed feelings when embarking upon and continuing this investigation has mirrored those of many of this study's respondents. Personal highs and lows have been encountered at many different stages in this enquiry but ultimately, deep interest in its subject and commitment to its aim has been the key driving force.

Personal learning has occurred on several interrelated levels: as a human being, as a researcher and as an apprentice contributor in the field of knowledge of emotions and well-being. On a human level, it has been my privilege to have been allowed access to the personal emotional worlds of nurses and cabin crew and to make sense of their lived experiences with them.

In many cases, their professionalism, commitment to and compassion for those they served appear little short of remarkable, and to hear of this was a humbling experience. In learning about their ontological viewpoints, personal philosophies and coping mechanisms, I began to unpick and make sense of questions relating my own personal emotional self-management and propensity for well-being. Some of these questions were posed in the initial vignette on page 1 of this thesis and related to my personal work experiences 35 years ago. One of the most significant realisations to emerge has been the sharp distinction to be made between excessive rumination and self-reflexive ability when attempting to understand engagement and interaction with others. This realisation has also been enabled as a consequence of practising as an IPA researcher, where the emphasis has been upon getting as close as possible to the first-person viewpoint of others.

Although true access to the first-person givenness of another's experience may be elusive or even impossible, it arguably remains something to strive for. In short, this particular insight gained may perhaps appear simple, but its message is important: that to understand others in similar ways to how they understand you requires an ability to step into another's shoes and appreciate the effects you may have upon them as much as those they have upon you. The closing personal vignette in the next section further illustrates this thought on the benefits of auto-reflexivity.

As a researcher adopting a phenomenological approach, I have been prompted by this study to reconsider the ontological and epistemological foundations of knowledge and what is important to understand about the nature of lived existence. In particular, the experience has helped me understand the legitimacy and validity of the social constructionist approach and

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that subjective within person (emic) viewpoints may serve to help understand of the wider social world. In the course of this study, I explored a labyrinth of theoretical ideas, constructs and concepts across sociological, psychological and phenomenological disciplines which exposed me to considerable complexity and contradiction. Nonetheless, this prompted me to develop my critical and interpretive ability and, equally importantly, become tolerant of ambiguities which were often difficult to resolve.

The initial stages of data analysis appeared quite formidable as I was exposed to other contrasting viewpoints within the research design literature as to how to interpret phenomenological findings. There was a perceived need to balance methodolatory prescriptiveness and imperatives for methodological rigour with the avoidance of precise and inappropriate distinctions between phenomena and feelings which were indeed complex and ambiguous and would benefit little from being psychometrically 'boxed in' to an overly theoretical analysis. Consistent exposure to contrasting and conflicting theoretical viewpoints enabled me in time to find my own voice and self-confidence and become constructively critical of these.

The third strand of personal learning related to my scholarship within the field of emotional self-management and well-being. The 'contextual level' contribution to knowledge has already been documented earlier in this chapter; however, there is one area relating to my personal development which has not yet been mentioned. 'Finding one's voice' as a researcher for me has also involved 'finding the words' to express the emotions that I and others experience. Thus, I have progressively acquired a more extended vocabulary of feeling than that which I possessed in my earlier days at the chalk face of hospitality operations and as an educator. This vocabulary appears to have developed from academic and practitioner writings but also, and perhaps more importantly, from the progressive acquisition of listening skills when engaging with respondents. The enhancement of my social interaction skills relate both to improved expression and the nurturing of a more empathetic disposition. These skills have served me well as an interviewer and also my respondents, some of whom have claimed that they found our meetings positive and informally therapeutic.

7.8   Closing remarks

It is my wish that the outcomes of this research will benefit communities of academics and practitioners alike but in particular those often remarkable people who offer their service to us. I believe that each individual service agent's unique and idiographic account can only serve to enhance more generalisable findings from larger-scale studies on workers' well-being and thus contribute to organisations' insights on the lived experiences of their people and what can be done to make these better.

It is hoped that this study will contribute to the general understanding of how we affect those who serve us and the importance of acknowledging their valuable work in making us feel better. Many accounts in this study suggest the need for being more mindful of what matters to them, such as truthful and honest interaction, trustful relationships and pride in what they do. As the closing vignette overleaf illustrates, the small things that service agents can do for themselves and what we can do for them has been seen to make the difference between a very good day and a bad one.

(Vignette 2: 'Recognition and Reward')

It had been a chaotic morning at the hotel. Wimbledon fortnight was always nerve racking. The previous night, I had been forced to 'book out' a family to the only hotel with available rooms some 40 miles away. The general manager's buzzer rang in Reception, which meant I was required immediately. Perhaps I was being called to account for the disgruntled family whom I had banished to Gatwick yesterday. Nervously, I knocked on the door and was bidden to enter.

'Sheehan', barked Mr. Bentley, the assistant general manager.
'Yyes, sir,' I replied.
'Do you have a cocktail book?'

I paused, taken aback somewhat (why, apart from anything else, would an impoverished receptionist have one of these?).

'No, sir.'
'I would like you to have this one.'

Mr. Bentley handed me a hard-bound 'Savoy Cocktail Book'. I opened the fly cover and inside was inscribed 'With Best Wishes- Michael Bentley'.

'Thank you very much, sir.'

I floated out of the office on a soft cloud of pride. What had I done to deserve this? I did not care but I felt that I had finally 'arrived'. A bad day had become a great day.

Glossary of Key Terms relating to 'Emotional Effort'

Research Term	Explanation	Reference/s
Altruism	The motivation or aspiration to care, support and nurture others without expectation of reciprocity or reward	Auguste Compte (1865)
Care as a noun	'Many nurses continue to consider emotional labour at the very heart of the nursing profession and a central aspect of *patient care'* *(suggestive of commodified service in the same way Hochschild asserts 'emotional labour' is commodified human feeling)* Often use of the terms 'care', 'emotional labour', 'feeling' closely overlap in the nursing literature and sit uncomfortably against more traditional conceptualizations of nurses as 'angels', 'natural maternal carers' etc. Can one always separate out the 'feeling' from the 'labour and the 'care'.	Gray, 2009 p.357
Care as a verb	Term is suggestive of 'empathy',('altruism') 'Care' **is** underpinned by 'genuine' sentiment or a feeling and not instrumentality or commercial obligation	(My interpretation)
Emotional labour	The display of socially desired emotions **during work encounters.** **Dynamic components of emotional labour:** 1. The face-to-face or voice contact between employees and clients· 2. The expression of specific emotions and attitudes during work that might be in contrast with the real feelings that the individual experiences· 3. The display rules derive from three main sources: i. training programs for a particular profession, ii. organizational norms of work behaviour, iii. social stereotypes of behaviour for certain occupational categories	Hochschild, 1983
Emotion work	Emotion work involves active strategies to modify, create, or alter the expression of emotions in the course of ongoing relationships and interactions	Hochschild, 1983

Emotional self-management	The capability to supress, induce, regulate, juggle and synthesize personal emotions in order to meet with social norms, organisational feeling rules and/or self-determined objectives. The individuals' emotional self- management abilities also relate to a propensity preserve their psychological health in this process	(My interpretation)
Emotion management	As above but to also emphasizes/implies a particular ability to offer a trained but nonetheless individualized response that assists with the management of **others'** emotions (e.g. service users/colleagues)	Bolton & Boyd, 2003
Emotional reciprocity	Emotional exchange where the mutual rewards received are contingent upon the equality or perceived equality of both participants' efforts and inputs	Bericat, 2012
Emotional gift giving	A discretionary expression of genuinely felt or induced positive feeling towards a customer without expectation of reciprocity or reward (B&B refer to this as 'philanthropic' emotion management)	Hochschild, 1983 Bolton & Boyd, 2003 Benmore & Lynch, 2011
Emotional(& social) exchange	A process of (dyadic) social interaction where actors exchange valuable (emotional) resources in order to obtain an (emotional) advantage or benefit. Individuals try to obtain rewards or avoid punishments by maximizing the utility of their behaviour and calculating costs and investments. Individuals 'feel good' (positive reinforcement) when rewards exceed costs and investments and they 'feel bad' (negative reinforcement) when they do not. But the intensity and type of emotions provoked by a social exchange depend on many other factors e.g. the type of exchange (*negotiated/reciprocal* or *generalized 'free-riding'*) and the power relationships between actors. Emotions exchanged during social interaction will vary according to type (happy, sad, angry etc.), intensity, duration, nature/authenticity (e.g. suppressed/induced)	(My interpretation based on :) Turner and Stets, 2005, Lopez, 2006, Blau et al, 2010, Ashkenasy & Humphrey, 2011, Bericat, 2012, Groth & Grandy, 2012, Stets, J.E., 2012
Emotional effort	The degree of personal energy invested into an expression of feeling in a dyadic exchange in social, personal or commercial contexts. This will be contingent on the degree of dissonance between genuinely felt emotions and those that need to be displayed	(My interpretation)

Empathy	The capacity to recognize feelings that are being experienced by another and a prerequisite to the experience of compassion for a fellow human being. The ability to empathize has been associated with the ability to 'deep act' in particularly challenging service interactions where the simple superficial 'masking' of one's own feelings is insufficient to address the emotional challenges of the situation.	Gray, 2009 p.352
Mindfulness	The self-regulation of attention so that it is maintained on immediate experience, thereby allowing for increased recognition of mental events in the present moment. Mindfulness also involves the adoption of a curious , open and accepting orientation toward one's experiences in the present moment,	Csikszentmihaly i, 1996, Bishop & Lau, 2004, Hede, 2010
Well-being	How people view the quality of their lives as a consequence of their emotional reactions and cognitive judgments. A combination of life satisfaction and the relative frequency of positive and negative affect in peoples' lives i.e. how often they feel happy, sad or 'in-between' According to Seligman (2011): 'Happiness'= positive emotion', 'engagement', and 'meaning' and 'Well-being = 'Happiness' plus 2 more measurable elements namely: 'positive relationships' and 'accomplishment'.	Doef and Maes, 1999, Bakker & Demourouti, 2006, Gray, 2009, Erdogan et al, 2012, Groth & Grandy, 2012

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'Emotional self-management and its significance for well-being in service work'

Semi-structured schedule for first interview (1 of 2): Air Cabin Crew and Nursing Respondents.

Information for respondents: (*clarify any questions on this with participants before interview):*

Participant briefing, orientation and preparation:

(Explain general aim and objectives of research study)

Aim: To investigate the relationships between emotional self-management and emotional well-being in service agents' practice

Objectives (O):

  i.   To investigate the meanings of emotional 'self-management' and 'well-being' from the nurse's and flight attendant's perspectives

  ii. To explore the significance of agent-customer interaction for nurse's and flight attendant's perceived well-being.

  iii. To compare how nurses and flight attendants respectively may determine their emotional self-management

Research questions (RQ):

Main research question:

  i.   *What is the experience of emotional self-management and its relationship to well-being in service work?*

   Subsidiary questions:

  ii. *How can emotional self-management affect the nature of the agent-customer relationship in when they interact with each other?*

  iii. *How do such interactions at work affect service workers' well-being?*

Interview Questions:

(First interview questions grouped under 4 broad thematic areas -to be used as 'prompts' as/if appropriate)

You and your job

	Question	Corresponding research aim/objective/ question
1.	Tell me a little about your work background and personal history: How long you have been working in your job and in which particular role? What kind of work did you do before becoming a flight attendant/nurse? How did you get in to an airline/nursing career? Why you choose it?	**RQ i**
2.	In which respects has your professional role changed since you joined the service? How has this affected job demands/constraints/working practices/ job satisfaction/occupational stress levels etc.? Has your job role been well rewarded?	**RQ i**
3.	How do the current demands and constraints of your role affect your inclination and ability to perform 'emotional' work?	**O i**
4.	How do you feel about your job role and your work? (*provide following 'prompts' if necessary': e.g. self-image/perception, your 'personal feelings',' emotional engagement/commitment to your organization ', your 'personality', 'intrinsic motivators', conditions of work.)* *What aspects of your work 'get you up in the morning'?* *Can you think of some examples of really good (work) experiences you have had whilst in your job?*	**O i**
5.	Would you consider your role as different in comparison to other 'public facing' work? If so, in which respects?	**O i &O ii**

	Question	Corresponding research aim/objective/ question
1.	How would you describe how it feels to work in your organisation? Do you have a sense of belonging?	RQ i
2.	Would you say that you are 'able to be yourself' whilst you are at work? Are there any organizational 'guidelines' ('rules') as to how you should behave with patients/customers in different situations? If so, how did you learn of these guidelines? *(e.g. i) during your initial training? Or ii) on-the- job? (working with and observing colleagues) or iii) on-going staff development (e.g. 'scripts' and patient/customer care programmes, refresher courses, new treatment procedures /service initiatives)*	Oi
3.	To what extent do you feel free to interpret such guidelines? To what extent do you believe your feelings or behaviour are 'directed' by the organization whilst you are on duty? *(e.g. is spontaneity encouraged?)*	O I & O iii
4.	How are your treated by those who you report to? Do you feel cared for? Do you believe your organization has any specific 'ethical' responsibilities towards the psychological well-being and support of patient/ customer facing staff like yourself? If so, what are these?	O i
5.	Would you say that you get emotionally involved in your work? If so, to what extent? Can you think of any examples of such involvement?	O i
6.	What or who helps you manage (or 'cope') with the emotional and other demands of your job? *(e.g. family/partners/maintaining professional distance)*	O iii

| 7. | Does any formal organisational support exist to help and sustain you in your performance of your role and particularly in your 'emotion work'? *(e.g. support programmes such as stress management/relaxation/occupational health)* If so, how helpful are these? Why? | O iii |

Your professional development, training and support in a customer facing/patient care role

Performing 'emotion' work and your working relationships

	Question	Corresponding research aim/objective/ question
1.	What do you think 'emotion work' means in the context of your job	**O i**
2.	How do you decide the extent to which you follow any 'emotion' guidelines or behaviour rules? *(e.g. how you feel, your own 'personality', your personal feelings of well-being, your personal state of health, your particular relationships with customers/patients)*	**O iii**
3.	Do your immediate colleagues affect your ability to perform emotion work? If so, in which ways? *(e.g. part played by informal socialization (e.g. nurses graveyard humour / ACC on layovers')*	**O iii**
4.	Would you consider your performance of EL as an enrichment of your job? (or potentially harmful? *(if it seems appropriate -explain Hochschild's (1983) concept of 'alienation' from personal feelings)*	**O ii**
5.	What are your overall views on the factors affecting your inclination/ability and those of your colleagues to perform emotion work?	**O iii**
6.	Do you feel that you need to 'manage' your emotions more effectively? If so, what and/or who could help you to do this?	**O iii**

Your relationships and interaction with 'the public'

	Question	Corresponding research aim/objective /question
1.	How do you think your role and the demands of your work are perceived by the general public?	O ii
2.	Would you say you had generally good relationships with those whom you care for at work? What influences this?	O ii
3.	How important are your relationships with your passengers/patients? Do they generally treat you well? Is their gratitude and acknowledgment of you important to how you feel?	O ii
4.	To what extent do you feel in control of your passengers'/patients' service experiences?	O ii & O iii

Appendix 2
Loosely structured Interview Schedule (Round 2) (*photo/artefact-elicitation***)**
(Margaret: 28.11.14 at 12 TR, Brighton**)**

(Explain purpose/rationale of 2nd interview -refer back to A/O/RQs if necessary)*

- To further explore the significance of you ESM in your private/professional relationships through pictures and other memorabilia. (What these might signpost or signify in terms of charting important stages in your professional and personal life)
- Using memorabilia as 'prompts' to help recall what you were doing professionally at the time and to what extent your personal and work life overlapped.
- To provide a 'more personal view of the work and social groups you have belonged/do belong to'
- To explore ESM themes that are particularly meaningful/significant/relevant to your life
- To identify and explore any emotions you remembered feeling at the time of each picture/artefact and any emotions you feel now looking at it again

(Remind Margaret of her concluding remarks from her first interview):	*Confirm chosen theme/s with Margaret*	*Icebreakers:*
• Margaret and her love of adventure • Tradition of discipline in nursing • Pride in her work • Shame of bad publicity and tarnish upon nurses' reputations(Francis Report • Value of public and patient respect for nurses • Trustful , trustworthy and reliable colleagues • Moral dilemmas • 1997 Caldicott Report and its effects upon colleague/patient relationships and care	1. Your evolving/changing role of nurse and carer over the years: nurturer/educator/emotion manager/conflict manager 2. The nature of the care you offer your patients as opposed to the type of care you offer others who may be personally close to you 3. Your adjustment to new ways of working (organisationally or self-directed) as you have progressed through your working life 4. How you have built up and maintained your resilience as carer 5. The way you manage your patient-nurse relationships and in particular have dealt with patient anger	'Tell me what you have brought with you today' ('Mapping the terrain') 'What does it signify for you?' (e.g. your changes in attitudes over time) 'Is there a timeline/chronological starting point? How would you like to explain what you have brought to me today? In time sequence/'best and worst' or just see how we get along' 'Why are these significant/representative of your life at home or at work?' 'Perhaps later we could return to some observations and thoughts you had last time we met and see where we go with that' (*ref. highlighted sections* from transcript of 1st interview and Margaret's concluding remarks above)

Appendix 3: Participant information sheet (updated 25.2.15)

University of Brighton

Faculty of Health and Social Sciences: Research Ethics and Governance Committee

Title of Study: *'Emotional self-management and its significance for well-being in service work'*

Name of Researcher*:*   *Conor Sheehan*

Name of School: *Health Professions:*   **Faculty:** *Health and Social Science*

Dear Participant

Thank you for considering taking part in this research study. The information below will provide you with some details of the project's purpose and how you might be involved in it should you decide to take part in it. If, after reading this information, there is anything that remains unclear, then please get in touch with me to discuss your questions. (My contact details are below)

With thanks and best wishes

Conor

Conor Sheehan (researcher)

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Information on the Project:

Title of Study: *'Emotional self-management and its significance for well-being in service work'*

The purpose of the study:

'Public contact' careers in service industries (e.g. airlines, hotels, retail) and in health professions (e.g. nursing, physiotherapy) often involve demanding and challenging 'emotion effort' with customers or patients. *'Emotion effort '* relates to how you may manage your own feelings in work and social situations, when for example, you are expected to be courteous, caring, compassionate or calm when dealing with the public at work. There has been a significant amount of research carried out in recent years about performing 'emotion effort' in service work. It has been suggested that there are both benefits and more negative aspects associated with it. There has also been some interest in how individual approaches to managing their emotions differ considerably and how these may affect overall fulfilment and well-being.

This research project is particularly concerned with further exploring how professionals like you manage your own emotions at work and how you think this may affect your overall sense of well-being. I am interested in exploring in how your shorter and longer term associations/relationships with customers/patients affect you in terms of your own feelings about your work. I am particularly interested in the ways that you may manage such relationships and how these may differ from other people that I talk to.

Thus my overall goal is to enhance understanding of how airline service and nursing professionals such as yourself find ways to manage your own emotions and which particular influences most affect your ability to do so. Finally, I would hope that something can be learned by considering all my research participants' perceptions of their emotional self-management even though they may come from different service environments.

How could I be involved in this research study (i.e. what would be required of me)?

You will be asked to participate in two interviews in total, each of these lasting approximately 1 hour.

The first interview will involve a general discussion about your background, your role at work, the aspects you enjoy, the demands and constraints of your job, the support you receive and your overall perceptions of the pleasures and challenges of the 'emotional' efforts you need to make. Towards the end of this interview, we will identify particular aspects of emotion work that you find interesting or challenging and agree to explore these in more depth at your second interview. I may ask you to bring some photographs or other memorabilia that may act as useful 'prompts' , 'symbols' or 'reminders' of particular aspects of your experiences at work. The second interview would normally take place approximately 6-8 weeks after the first one.

Would there any risks to me involved?

There will be no physical risks associated with your participation in this research. If you find it distressing in any way during our interviews to talk about your experiences of work, you are free to terminate the interview immediately. Additionally, if you feel that you would like to talk to a trained counsellor about any aspects of the issues you raise during an interview, this can be arranged.

Will I be paid for participating in this research?

There is not funding for this research and I am no conducting it for any commercial gain. Therefore it will not be possible to pay you for your time. However I would hope that you might find it interesting and beneficial in other ways to participate in this study.

Will I be free to change my mind about participating at any time?

You can withdraw from participating in the interviews at any time. You will also be free to instruct me to delete all records of any interviews that you have already given.

Will I be named or otherwise identified in this research?

You will not be named nor will the organization you work for be named <u>unless you specifically tell me that this is what you wish.</u>

What will the likely benefits of this research be?

I hope that study will help to contribute to a better understanding of some of the influences affecting how airline service and nursing professionals deal with the challenges of managing their emotions. In so doing, this could benefit others who occupy similar roles. It may also enable organizations to consider ways of supporting their staff in managing their emotions, for example through self-awareness training. It is also possible that some the study's findings may be used to develop parts of the teaching programmes that relate to the understanding of working relationships and workplace emotions. Future students of nursing or service management may benefit from this in terms of their preparation for work.

Will the findings be published?

I intend to publish summaries of the study's findings in a number of academic and business journals. I may also produce summary reports for key health and service organizations who may be interested in reading in order to review view the training and support programmes they offer to their own staff.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of Brighton's Faculty of Health and Social Sciences Research Ethics Governance committee. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact: *(contact details withheld)*

Appendix 4: Interview Transcript extracts with annotation and coding

A: ALAN

	Original Transcript **ALAN Interview 1**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
	Interviewee:		
ALAN(1)8	You know, they seemed to be permanently on holiday and they would come back with these wonderful stories of times that they had spent in different places and, you know, places that they had eaten and places that they had visited and tourist stuff they had done.		The allure of travel and glamorous lifestyle
	Interviewer		
ALAN(1)9	Sure		
	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)10	And also I could see that they had good lifestyles.		
ALAN(1)11	You know, they had nice homes and they had nice cars, and so I kind of thought – 'well that can't be a bad life' – because you know these people have got … they are surrounded by nice things and they seem to enjoy their work so much it doesn't seem like a job it seems more like a sort of … something you would enjoy and wouldn't be so much a chore.	'surrounded by nice things'	'A good life'
	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)30	So it was quite a process to get through- which at that age I didn't realise quite what was involved and quite what an achievement it really was to get in. I was […] I do know that it is very successful, because no matter what background people come from or no matter what walk of life, or what area of the world, they seem to have a mentality that just clicks and fits.	Is Andrew reinforcing the idea of an air cabin crew member being a 'special' person here?	Pride (at his own achievement of being selected)

ALAN(1)31	And everyone just seems to be able to, you know, just get on straight away and adapt.		
ALAN(1)32	So they have obviously got a good formula, whatever it is.	The 'secret selection formula'	
ALAN(1)33	So, I think that the people who are joining now aren't getting the same sort of deal as the people that joined 25 years ago like myself.	Talks of the benefits of work in terms of 'getting a deal'-	Extrinsic motivation?
ALAN(1)34	So I think with that, the calibre of people that are applying has changed as well.	Regrets the 'dumbing down' of the role and subsequent reduction in the perceived prestige	
	Interviewer		
ALAN(1)35	Right, in what sense?		
	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)36	In the sense that when I joined I could afford a nice lifestyle from the pay: there were very good terms and conditions.[…] People who had qualifications – people who you know were trained in different areas – were willing to come and work. Like, I know nurses that gave up […] good nursing careers, to come and be crew because they could, you know, earn good money doing that.[…] Whereas nowadays I think if someone was a nurse they would struggle to earn the same money as cabin crew.	Money and conditions loom large in the earlier part of our conversation	'A nice lifestyle'
	Interviewer		
ALAN(1)37	Really.		
	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)38	I think that you know people … they are not attracting people with qualifications. They are not attracting people, you know, from certain backgrounds. […] I think that I have been able to separate (name of airline) from the people.	Remains professional 'separates the airline's deficiencies from passengers' needs'	Diminished self-image?

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B: ANGELA

Original Transcript	Exploratory Comments (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	Emergent Themes
Interviewer And what happened to you when you arrived here in the UK – and what the whole experience was like? So everything that has brought you up to the present day, so I will leave it up to you to talk to me.		
Interviewee OK since I was maybe 5, I always wanted to be a nurse. We had a school play – I always wanted to be a nurse. *(giggles)* You know that time my sister ... I am close to my sister: she is my eldest one with about a two years gap. And I am 44 now and she is 46 this month. So every time she goes to school I always go, even though I am not allowed, because I am a bit younger, but I just wanted to be like a visitor to sit with her, because we were like twins. And then she went to private school and I went as well to the kindergarten. …And then every time there is a school play – I have to wear a nurse's *(costume)* because I really wanted to be a nurse.	Angela wanted to be a nurse but why?-'playing a role' do we get beyond the child like image of a nurse later in the interview? 'close' used to indicate closeness in age and in terms of companionship Is there evidence of a 'vocation' however?	Early search for identity through nursing role? Playing a role? Do we get beyond the child like image of a nurse later in the interview? 'every time there is a school play – I have to wear a nurse's *(costume)* because I really wanted to be a nurse'

Interviewer At 5 – you were sure of this at 5?		
Interviewee Yes: and then my aunty and my mum, they discouraged me: 'You know nurse is a dirty job because you have to deal with the blood and everything.' And I said: 'No I really want to be a nurse no -one can change me' and then they said: 'Maybe I can work in a bank: I like to count money.' *(giggles)* But I said: 'No I really want to be a nurse.' I went to primary school. We are not really rich, my mum just worked in a book-keeper in a public school and my dad is a mechanic, which he is doing in this business. And I went to primary school and I even went to an Adventist (i.e. *religious)* school with my sister.	(So no pressure from family to go into nursing- so where did the motivation spring from?) First mention of 'money' which is frequently repeated during interview Hard to understand what the primary motivation actually was Angela as 'extension' of her sister?	Cultural perceptions of nursing role as 'dirty' job - nurse is a dirty job because you have to deal with the blood and everything.' Mention of 'money' is frequently repeated during interview. Hard to understand what the primary motivation actually was. Hard to understand what the primary motivation actually was

Interviewer Which school?		
Interviewee An Adventist School. Yes it is like a religious school. And then I went with her – everywhere she goes I go. And I went to primary school – public school – because obviously it is very cheap and it is free. And my dad is always there. He used to train us in cycling so you don't need to pay for a fare, so we cycled and he trained us. And then secondary school – we went to public school where my mum works. And my dad trained us how to use a motorbike. So we drove motorbike and I took my friends always with me. And secondary school and then ... in my city, because I live in the province – not in the city.	*'everywhere she goes I go'* – closeness and identification with her sister. Sociable – likes company Poverty – need for frugality and thrift	Solidarity or dependence?
Interviewer What was it called?		
Interviewee Negros Occidental – it is one of the provinces on the outskirts of Manila. And this is why ... I am a bit like sometimes, I don't really like busy places like London, because where I lived it is a province it is like a bit of Brighton, it is just like a small area. We went to boarding school because if you want to be a nurse you need to go to boarding school. You have to pay a lot of money, because if you want to work abroad, you know like good education, you need to spend money for a better future. If you don't have money you can't do like education, because that is a bit cheap, or vocational school. So I really wanted to be a nurse. My sister went to university first and then she did *(unclear)* and then I said to my mum: 'I really want to be a nurse'	Money as passport/investment for a better life Comfortable in smaller, friendly and familiar environments What did Angela say?	Money as enabler of opportunity, advancement. / passport/investment for a better life/Money is King!

So obviously my parents, they don't earn a lot of money. My mum struggled paying you know sometimes, you have to pay for your tuition like at the last minute exam. You cannot take and exam if you cannot pay for the tuition. And we don't have student loans in the Philippines First year at college they ask you again: 'Why do you want to be a nurse?' Everyone said: 'I want to earn dollars.'		'I want to earn dollars'
Interviewer Want to earn dollars.		
Interviewee Yes everyone wants to go abroad and they want to be a nurse for the same reason: 'I want to go abroad.'		
Interviewer That wasn't your reason though was it?	Leading question - avoid	

C: GARETH

Original Transcript **GARETH Interview 2**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Gareth I still … I didn't feel like 'this is the end of the world and I don't know what to do'. I still had something to look forward to. So I was looking for something – I just felt 'it is really dark but I can find my way to elsewhere'.		G uses the term 'almost depressed' and says he means by this that-: I just felt 'it is really dark but I can find my way to elsewhere'.
Interviewer Ok so what you just said about then does that apply to now? You are clearly not 100% happy with BA are there many lights at the end of the tunnel for you in terms of possible career? But also because of your personal circumstances and your family and your child. Is that something that props you up?		
Gareth It is quite a similar situation. Similar but not. I do feel a little bit stuck here and I feel … I wouldn't say I am getting depressed or anything.		
Interviewer If you were would you disclose that to someone like me or a fellow crew member though? Because the 'almost like' suggests that you don't … I am not saying that you are depressed but I am just saying …		
Gareth I am not happy. *(grimace)*		

D: IVOR

Original Transcript **IVOR Interview 2**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Interviewee What could ... there may be ... they do say you shouldn't 'regret' but ... I am at the stage in my life where ... where I am learning things: some amazing things about life, about education. And that is why I brought these books here.		Search for explanation-the 'holy grail' of being in the world/personal development
Interviewer So let's have a look at the books you have got. You have got some philosophical ones: 'The Origins of Virtue' by Matt Ridley.		
Interviewee Yes		
Interviewer So this is ... tell me about this book? What it is about?		
Interviewee So this is ... I quite like popular science books.		
Interviewer Is this popular science or popular psychology? Or is it ...		
Interviewee Science: it is about the 'gene'. He wrote ('The Selfish...' he wrote) the 'Gnome'		

Interviewer Alright ok.		
Interviewee And he is very ... it is very much a kind of scientific view ... a scientific model and view of things. And it is something I really find quite attractive and wish I would have ... I probably gone into it. So that is part... I love scientific models. I love the discovery of knowledge and ... it is just ...	Immersion in popular scientific texts in search of explanation	Search/Quest for explanation. The key to a happy/fulfilled life
Interviewer Right. Is that something that you think that you are sort of restrained by? Do you feel that your previous education is restraining you?	Scientific models appeal to Iain as they offer more concrete understanding of why things are the way they are	
Interviewee Yes.		
Interviewer You are ... but you feel that on the one hand, and yet you are reading books like this which are clearly developmental.	Still overly pre-occupied with the restrictions his past education has placed upon his development	
Interviewee Yes		

Interviewer	Strong urge to bridge the	inhibitors of
And maybe even aspirational in terms of ... you wanted to better yourself or become more insightful about ...	perceived gaps in his knowledge and understanding	perceived well-being?
Interviewee But there is a quote: 'Fortune favours the prepared mind'		
Interviewer Ok fine so...	Again - use of adages to add to proverbs his perceived wisdom	
Interviewee To have all the kind of potential of reading and developing in the field that you find interesting ... unless you have had that preparation at the beginning you will never excel at it. Well you could excel at it – but it is going to be a lot more difficult.		Perception of arrested development/disadvantage

E: JUSTIN

Original Transcript **JUSTIN Interview 1**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/__conceptual__)	**Emergent Themes**
Well I was brought up in a little village called Sedgefields which is up north near Durham. I got the travel bug I think from when I was 3 or 4 years old.	Early desire to travel – loved the excitement and adventure Caught the 'travel bug' at an early age	The 'travel bug' - travel as an adventure
My parents were in the Caravan Club so we were always away every weekend. Always hitching up and going and travelling all over; all over the UK and all over Europe.		
My dad ran his own company so he was always away travelling to Tokyo and Hong Kong and Asia.	Fascination with planes and fight from an early age	Fascination with the mechanics and operation of flight in their own right
And I always remember as a kid being fascinated. Where have you been? What plane have you been on?		
And he always brought a model aircraft back each time he went and I always wanted to be on that aircraft. I always wanted to travel.	Desire to travel repeatedly emphasised	
And I remember going around when I was about seven, for the first time. And it was Dan Air. Dan Air London and we flew with Dan Air from Teesside.	Clear memory of his first flight at seven years of age stop	
And I didn't want to get off.	Jason loved it so much that he didn't want to get off the aircraft	aeroplanes and flight as a world of deep fascination and excitement.

I was flying!	Explore more J's perceived fascination and the allure of flying	Fascination with phenomenon and sensation of flight
Both		
(laughter)		
Interviewee		
And I always wanted to be an air steward. It is really bizarre even going back to those early days as a toddler.	clear on his desired positioning on board an aircraft - definitely 'Front of house' as opposed to 'back of house'	clear early career aspirations to become a cabin crew member Customer service orientation

F: JULIAN

Original Transcript **JULIAN Interview 1**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Interviewer But I mean you said you are very product focused, but do you see the role of cabin crew as being sort of a … a product as well?		
Respondent Yeah.		Saw himself as an extension of one of the airlines 'product lines' - a more detached perspective?
Interviewer … that you are a product – you are part of the product?		
Respondent I think so, yes definitely.		
Interviewer Right.		
Respondent And you have to expel that. You have to … it's … you … it is almost like acting. And I have done a bit of that.		
Interviewer Almost like or is like...?		
Respondent Well...		
Interviewer Is?		
Respondent Well it depends who you are I think. And I think if you...		

Interviewer And who are you then? Are you somebody who doesn't really have to act, in terms that you actually feel that way anyway all the time? Or sometimes when...?		
Respondent I felt ... I had done acting before: performing. And I felt that doing that role, I can experiment with character-isms. Do you know what I mean?		Passenger interaction as an opportunity for performative experimentation and characterisation
Interviewer Did that keep the job alive for you in a way?		
Respondent Yeah definitely – and it makes it fun. But you have got people who might be like that all the time and it is too much and overbearing in ... down-to-earth natural conversation.		Performing made the job fun for a period
Interviewer Right yes		
Respondent And so I think that's ... there ... I think there are different parallels, you know to the role. You know, you are an individual. You have got a role to perform. And...		
Interviewer You are an individual as well.		

Respondent Yeah, yeah exactly. And sometimes it is good to separate the job from life and personal perspectives. So when you are there in front of people, you know you are putting up this guard. You know, you are sort of not...		Private life and professional work were clearly delineated.
Interviewer So a sort of front?		
Respondent Yes. Yeah – and it is not you are not letting yourself through. Maybe that is the fun bit. That is the ... the bit ... you know, I don't do this in my day-to-day life, this is my... performance.		
Interviewer But do you let little bits of yourself through in that job?		
Respondent Oh yeah, you must do.		

G: KIRSTIN

Original Transcript **KRISTIN Interview 2**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
And I remember a kind of few cases that stuck in my mind.		
One person who was ... the reason that I was kind of wanted to know more about her because she had children and family (I didn't have children (chuckle)).	Saw patient as a way to learn about children before Kristin had any of her own?	
Interviewer		
Right.		
Interviewee		
So she had children and she was pretty young, and the way she was coping with the family and the children visiting her all the time she was there. So she was trying to feed her baby and this really struck me.	Desire to care and 'rescue?	
Interviewer		
Right		
Interviewee		
And wanted to know more and then I got more into conversation with her, and sitting and helping with the children and how she is coping…and how at home ... does she get support from home?		
Interviewer		
Was she grateful in any way for the attention and support that you gave her? Did she say ever to you thank you for looking after me when she left?		
Interviewee		

Yes she really ... at the beginning she felt like I am maybe just ... she didn't seem like I am giving her special attention, she saw I did it like part of my job.		
But I saw that – I was more special to ... paying more attention to her. I noticed in my practice for some reason, it was happening gradually and naturally.	K. appreciated/wanted the feeling of being special to this one patient	Intrinsic rewards of social exchange
But I wanted to pay her more attention and especially when she had children around. I was going more towards ... I would even asked ... I was frequently going into the room and ask 'are you ok?'		Emotional sustenance/ replenishment/ reward?
Interviewer		
Did you try and keep a balance though? You say you were giving her more attention and you had other patients as well. Did ... did ever you feel sort of a conflict there? Were you ever saying to yourself 'well I mustn't spend too much time talking?'	Responsibility for/ loyalty to other patients – conflict?	
Interviewee		
Yes definitely.		

H: MAIREAD

(ON: Mairead *'as a nurse'*)

Original Transcript **MAIREAD** Interview 1	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Interviewer So far we have got to St. Vincent's private nursing home: and then what happened after that? I mean...?		
Interviewee Well that then ... I was there and I was as happy as you like really, even that it was emotionally draining. But it was very satisfying work… and I loved the people I worked with…and everything was very well run…. and you were very secure there. You never minded going in to work there, really, you didn't. And that is kind of the bottom line.	Working as an oncology nurse in an albeit 'comfortable' private healthcare environment may have 'taken the edge off' the emotional strain but not much. The reality lurked closely underneath the joking and comfy chats with patients 'trying on their jewellery and the like'	Satisfaction in caring work. Polarisation of feelings; emotionally draining yet sense of security and 'wanting to be there'
Interviewer Right – good that is a great sort of feeling.		
Interviewee You never did…and I remember my Mum had made me uniforms because I was qualified now. You know, they were lovely. She was a domestic science teacher and she was a really good sewer, you know. And I had these lovely uniforms and my cap – and I was delighted with myself.	Mairead is very upfront about her feelings of pride even though some might construe the aesthetic aspects of this pride a little superficial.	Honesty with self Honesty with others And happy with herself? ESM and honesty?

Interviewer		
Good. So you had a self-image then?		
Interviewee		Positive self-image
I did – I did actually – and I was valued.		
Interviewer		Being valued – intrinsic rewards
Valued by whom? Inside the hospital or outside?		
Interviewee		
I was valued by the patients – I was valued by the people you worked with. You know, we could swap shifts and we were ... we knew what other people ... what we are all doing…and who wasn't in our life and who was in our life.		

(ON: Mairead *'as a flight attendant/cabin manager'***)**

Original Transcript **MAIREAD Interview 2**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Interviewee	M. is a good story teller- I am all ears at her dramatic story!	
But I did ... well what we did was ... I was ... When 9/11 happened I was pushing back from Boston. We were pushing back to Dublin Airport and I was the cabin manager and there was a full crew on board….and one of the passengers had just ... it was the last one to get on and he said to me he said: 'Something has happened in New York' And we thought... 'Oh?' And then the cockpit crew heard. And then we were kind of held up at the gate. And then the whole thing...		

Interviewer You didn't leave.		
Interviewee We didn't leave.		
Interviewer Right.		
Interviewee No. But the earlier transatlantic flights, two of them had left, and they were half way across the Atlantic and they went into Gander.		
Interviewer Where is that?		
Interviewee Gander is off Newfoundland.		
Interviewer Oh right.		
Interviewee And it is like landing in ... on the Blasket Islands! *(chuckles).*	Self-deprecation. Making fun of this adventure. Keeping things in proportion	Humour in adversity
Interviewer *(chuckles).* Oh my god!		
Interviewee So we then went ... erm ... the following ... after a day or so. We could literally go out to Gander, and we took an empty aircraft out, to find our passengers and crew and try and get them back. But when we went into Gander we were lucky even to get a place to land the thing. So we ended up 2 nights on board.		

Interviewer Really!		
Interviewee Yes – and these little trucks would come out with hamburgers and things like that. We had eaten everything that was on board. Everything. We kind of ... we took an aircraft out that had been kind of stocked for some passengers, and for the homeward journey, that was it, for the homeward journey. So we kind of nearly had eaten everything on board. Anyway we eventually got... But it was an amazing scene because there was, I would say, every European jumbo jet and transatlantic airbuses were lined up in Gander. They couldn't go any further on the day. So they were literally in the open fields and everything. It was incredible...and then the airport was like a little ... it was like a *(unclear)* for us, there is no other word.	The power of a richly descriptive story – almost felt that I was there!	
Interviewer Gosh.		
Interviewee I was there ... I was one of the ... that was one of the things.		

Interviewer Yes – so overall I am asking you one question relating to your really three job experiences. Like how you feel about your job role and your work? Now you have got three job roles to talk about. How did you feel about being a nurse? How did you feel about being cabin crew? And how do you feel now – because this is relevant too?	M. has 'worn many hats in her life' and 3 'big' professional ones	
Interviewee Well I think...		
Interviewer Would you call yourself a nursing administrator or a nursing manager?		
Interviewee Yes. I think they are all linked. I think my forte must be with people, because it certainly wouldn't be academia or anything else. It just ... I ... I just find that I like working with people. But on the other hand I have no time for people who don't respect me.	Cliché of being a 'people person' is not a cliché with M.	Rewards of social interaction and engagement
Interviewer Right ok – so that is your self-image and perception.		
Interviewee And I am not in to kind of trying to make somebody right or respect me or whatever, you know. I treat people as...	'Happy to serve' – no real pretensions to be anything else	

Interviewer As human beings.		
Interviewee ...as they would...		
Interviewer ...treat you?		

I: MAUREEN

Original Transcript **MAUREEN Interview 1**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Interviewee So I thought you might find two amusing *(laughter)* Not that I am in there!		
Interviewer *(laughter)* Oh! Years back you say: and now is that Angela?		
Interviewee No that is Celia *(name changed)* – she is another Filipino.		
Interviewer Oh I see. And presumably that is just like something formal or a former staff outing?		
Interviewee We used to have, at Christmas and ... we had parties downstairs in the outpatient's department, and we dressed up etc., etc. And it went on for ages and all the hospital went but now all that is gone. So it is kind of that sort of ... that is a kind of theme to it, which is 'how things have changed.'	Likes a good laugh.	Nostalgia about the fun and jokes of earlier years at the hospital. changes in the way people connect with each other at work
Interviewer In terms of the way that people connect to each other at work.		
Interviewee Yes.		

Interviewer And the social element and so on, so would you say that there is probably less...		Photo elicitation prompted M to 'think about what is important? ' Feeling wanted feeling remembered is important ref birthday cards photographs from staff outings etc.
Interviewee I think ... looking through this last night and I thought 'what is important?' And I thought the things about photographs then is the people. And then I got that and because ... and everyone signed it and it is a few years back now.		
Interviewer Oh right. And is this your birthday card?		
Interviewee Yes from work, so I thought...		
Interviewer Oh can I see?		
Interviewee Absolutely So again ... and I have got quite a few, but back in Manchester so that is ... so it things like that...		

Interviewer Yes, this is exactly the sort of thing that I was hoping that you would bring along, to get a sense of basically who your 'friends' (in inverted commas) are at work. And if you do have 'friends' the extent to which you value them and all that kind of thing?		
Interviewee Yes.		
Interviewer And you say that sort of changed a bit?		
Interviewee Well I think it is the whole... the whole NHS and the whole caring. And also it is ... what I have kept that is actually close to me – as in 'proximity'. So all my Certs have gone back – they are all back in Manchester. And then I looked and thought 'what have we got here?'		
Interviewer And is Manchester like...		
Interviewee My parents.		
Interviewer Yes but the fact that you keep them up there, is that like a ... your Aladdin's Cave up there or is that where you actually keep things that are really important to you that you don't want to lose?		
Interviewee Yes I think that is it. Mum is not going to move so I will leave it there – so that is kind of there. And then I looked around and I thought ... well that is a photograph of me a while back when I ... I have left quite a lot and done a bit of travelling. So I just thought, yes that is another photograph when I did agency.	'A whole Aladdin's Cave' of past treasured memories	Mementos from life and work are very important to M

Original Transcript **MARGARET Interview 2**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/**concept ual**)	**Emergent Themes**
Interviewee And when I first left school I went into a bank for four years.		
Interviewer I remember you telling me that last time, yes.		
Interviewee And that was what my father wanted me to do. But then I broke out of the mould! And I really wanted to be independent and so I went off nursing.	'Breaking out' from prescribed behaviours. Nursing associated with independence and freedom?	Freedom Self-determination Autonomy
Interviewer One of the things that I did pick up from last time, you mentioned several times that you wanted to be a nurse and so on. But I wanted to actually get a greater sense of the 'why'. Because you said it was an alternative to doing something you didn't want to do like banking which was boring.		
Interviewee Yes		
Interviewer But what was it about nursing rather than doing something else other than banking that made you want to do that?		
Interviewee I really ... I did really want to work with people, I did, I really did. Yes.	M. perceives herself as a 'people person'	

Interviewer And was there any sense of you wanting to ... not just work with them but to help them?	Leading question!	Desire (and need?) to help and care
Interviewee Oh yes – yes that is right. Yes that is correct.		
Interviewer Because that comes out a lot in the transcript of our first chat.		
Interviewee And really throughout my life I have made lots of different changes. Starting obviously when I first went in for nursing and I showed you that photograph. And these are photographs of people...	Undaunted by 'change'. 'Courts'/enthusiastically embraces change?	
Interviewer Can I see those?		
Interviewee In here...		
Interviewer So this is your formal nursing one which I have seen. And it was in Sussex wasn't it.		
Interviewee Yes well all these different hats represent children's' nurses working at the Children's' Hospital, Brighton General nurses and then those in this type of cap were ourselves at the County.	Enthusiastic recounting of the traditional hierarchical nursing system. M's preference for order /structure and discipline juxtaposes against her love for the unpredictable pioneering adventure?	

Original Transcript **SANDRA Interview 2**	**'Meaning units' (Exploratory Comments & Emergent Themes)** **(**descriptive/*linguistic*/<u>conceptua</u>l
Interviewee And then obviously if somebody says: 'Do you have a boyfriend?' And then you are going to say: 'Well actually I am just in the process of getting dIvorced.' And obviously it would come out in conversation but, you know, I wasn't … I don't … I didn't go around and say: 'Oh hi! I am Sandra and by the way I am getting dIvorced.'	
Interviewer *(chuckles)*	
Interviewee Obviously it is… kind of you know… you kind of lead to it. And I think sometimes I actually avoided the conversation as well, because we … people might say something and you just say: 'Oh no: I don't have a boyfriend.' And then you left it at that, because you think: 'Actually I don't want to talk about this yet again.' And I think … that was when I first when to Gatwick. As it happened I didn't really know anybody. And that was almost quite good because it was such an upsetting part of my life for probably about … I mean I had some counselling… She said to me: 'You will be really upset for about a year and you will still be upset for about 2 years and then after about that you will come to terms with it.' And she was pretty much right.	S's pragmatism has extended to obtaining counselling just once during difficult a particularly difficult period in her life.

Interviewer Spot on – yes.	
Interviewee And you know, I could do the trip and I would be fine. And I would get in that ... I would get in my car and start driving home and I would still be on the perimeter road and I would have tears and I would have upset. Not because I am saying goodbye to everybody or whatever, but because I am going home to my empty house.	Work as a social support and outlet – crew on a trip seen as a family albeit a temporary one Loneliness Needing 'to matter' to someone close
Interviewer That a something I was going to ask you: I wondered sometimes did your work life stuff actually help? Because you are leaving ... you are sort of parking these real human problems and then you are just going away for 6 days. Did sometimes that help?	
Interviewee It did at that stage of ... umm ... But then obviously the opposite happened as well. As in, you know when Roy and I were together and trying for children, and then you were away dah-dah-dah	
Interviewer Yes.	
Interviewee And then he used to be away and we used to miss each other, so equally, you know... And it is the same with Tim, you know. When we ... I have done a 9 or a 10 day 'Aus' ... It is slightly different now – because you can Skype and you do this so you don't feel as detached: I don't feel as detached. Before it cost you a fortune to phone from a hotel and you had cards and various things, but you didn't have the same kind of contact. And really we don't go away for very long trips any more so ...	Communications technology as a 'softener' for isolation

Interviewer The most you are separated now is, you say, 10 days, and that wouldn't be that often.	
Interviewee Well no – the most we would be separated for is 6 or 7 days because I would be back in London in the middle and we would speak. And if I really wanted to I could come home.	
Interviewer Yes	
Interviewee And ... you know ... when I am ... I can be in New York and I send him a text or I send him an email and then the next morning he is up and he Skypes me so you know, it is not the same. But yes you asked 'how do I manage?' All the things that you do I suppose you just ... you ... it is a bit like being an actor or an actress.	S maintains that she manages in personally stressful times by 'doing all the things that you do I suppose if you are an actor or an actress' 'it is part of your professionalism that you separate it' Coping strategies: 'Try to your best to park it. [...] and you get busy.'
Interviewer Yes.	
Interviewee The ... you have to separate the work/life thing. And if there is something really upsetting in life then of course you may talk about it with your colleagues, but you ... I suppose it is part of your professionalism that you separate it.	

	Original Transcript **SALLY Interview 1**	**Exploratory Comments** (descriptive/*linguistic*/<u>conceptual</u>)	**Emergent Themes**
SAL(2)1			
SAL(2)2	I reduced my hours to four days a week (30 hours) and then earlier this year, one of my colleagues who had been working elsewhere came back to work with us but wasn't given full-time hours. And at the time I thought:		
SAL(2)3	'Maybe I could reduce my hours and she could have my extra hours and we could just do a swap.'		
SAL(2)4			
SAL(2)5	And she gains a day and I lose a day. And for some reason I thought 'no I don't want to, I don't want to reduce my working hours.'		
SAL(2)6			
SAL(2)7	Work is one thing that helps keep me sane, when perhaps life is difficult or stressful with my mum.		'Work is one thing that helps keep me sane'- work as an enabler of emotional well-being
SAL(2)8			
SAL(2)9	And I have gone through the summer months and I ... I ... got to the point after talking to you last time, and I thought...		
SAL(2)10	Interviewer		
SAL(2)11	I hope I am not responsible for it! (chuckle)		
SAL(2)12	Interviewee		

SAL(2)13	(chuckle) Well you got me thinking a bit but it was something I had thought about before.		Our meetings have prompted her to reflect upon and re-evaluate her work-life balance
SAL(2)14	And I thought ... ok I have got a colleague who wants to work full-time. She has family back home in the Philippines and she is very carrying of her family. She sends them money.		
SAL(2)15	So she wants to work full-time hours so she can send her family money.		
SAL(2)16	And actually I would rather spend the time looking after my mother.		
SAL(2)17	For me money is not an issue because I am older.		
SAL(2)18	Interviewer		
SAL(2)19	You can survive.		
SAL(2)20	Interviewee		
SAL(2)21	My mortgage is paid off and I don't have big outgoings at the moment.		
SAL(2)22	Interviewer		
SAL(2)23	You probably don't have much time to have big outgoings!		
SAL(2)24	Interviewee		
SAL(2)25	Oh I don't have those.		
SAL(2)26	And I thought well actually it would be a kindness to let her (if my manager is agreeable) to let her have my extra hours that I want to drop.		
SAL(2)27	So she has gained 7½ hours and I have dropped 7½ hours. So from 29th September I will be working 22½ hours.		A concrete decision made to curtail occupational stress by reducing work working hours

Appendix 5: Reflection on Interview no.1 with Angela (Nurse) 1.8.14

1. Researcher's feelings/moods

As I was getting used to the process of interviewing and meeting new respondents, I was feeling reasonably confident as I approached the hospital to collect Angela and drive her to the University (MH) for her interview. The first surprise was that she was Filipino, as I thought the name was either Italian or Portuguese! During our car journey to the university, it soon became apparent that there would not be a difficulty eliciting conversation from Angela as she was a good talker!

2. Respondent's demeanour/perceived state

Angela appeared to be in good spirits, particularly since she had worked a busy shift. She presented as good humoured (giggly?) and almost excited at being asked to be involved in this research. This may have been partly due to the fact that she saw the interview as an opportunity to 'tell her story' to someone who seemed genuinely interested in hearing about. Her later accounts of feelings of loneliness, (cultural?) isolation and personal humiliation (exposure to racism) supports this idea of a welcoming and listening ear. These accounts appeared to sit below what appeared as a somewhat superficial veneer of happiness – sad things, traumatic events and material deprivation were all presented with incongruous good humour –almost as if she was telling somebody else's story. Angela was sometimes self-deprecating about her lack of material comforts and her lack of sophistication at key points of her early life story e.g. not knowing what to do with the food provided on the aircraft on her first flight to London. Many aspects of Angela's past and current story appeared sad and yet she appeared generally positive and purposive. She was determined to achieve the best in material comfort and care for her beloved parents back in the Philippines who seemed to the main axis around which her own life rotated.

3.   Appropriateness/efficacy of questioning technique

Angela had a reasonably good command of conversational English but there were times where a second or third explanation of what I wished to ask her was necessary. She was more comfortable with descriptive/narrative/structural (Smith et al, 2009:60) questions which asked her about what she did as opposed to those that asked her how she felt ('contrast/evaluative/circular/comparative) although she was more responsive to these kind of questions later in the interview. I suspect that there may also have been a certain culturally related reluctance to engage in extended reflection upon how she felt. The best illustrations of Angela's feelings tended to be elicited from accounts of her immediate reactions in response to specific events e.g. a patient pouring a jug of water over her or a racist comment.

4. **First impressions on content of data collected (superficial/deep/temporal emphasis - i.e. reflections on past or present work and personal experiences)**

For a first interview, the data collected provides a good base for attempting to explore (at second interview) the more 'feeling' related aspects of Angela's lived existence and her self-management of her emotions, coping strategies and perceived sense of well-being.

The second interview is simultaneously more unstructured and yet more specific ally focused upon aspects of her lived experiences that she wishes to discuss further. Thus, consideration will need to be given towards how to design questions that may appeal to her preferred style of descriptive or narrative communication. Perhaps ask her to express her feelings with the aid of pictorial prompts and other artefacts metaphorically (through use of image or simile?) it will be important to initiate a process whereby Angela more actively makes sense of her experiences. Without this, I will be unable to 'make sense' of her sense making! Birch and Miler (200:190) suggest that the interview experience can provide therapeutic opportunities which allow respondents 'to reflect on, reorder and give new meaning to past, difficult experiences' and it appears that the opportunity for Angela to continue to do this when we meet again might be valuable for her .

Birch and Miler (200:190) warn us however that such reflection and re-ordering can initiate the 'unleashing' in addition to the 'collection' of respondents' experiences thus placing the interviewer in the precarious position of unqualified therapist that might cause more harm than good to the interviewee. A critical issue for this study will be to reconcile the importance of 'hearing deeply personal and private testimonies' (Birch and Miller, 2000:189) with the need to protect respondents from an 'untrained' interviewer-therapist offering advice that might be unwanted or inappropriate. I need to be more acutely aware of my ethical and moral obligation to be a sensitive interviewer who actively monitors Angela's responses, reactions and expressed or implicit feelings. There is the sense that she is perhaps one of the more emotionally vulnerable of the respondents I have encountered to date. Whilst she did not show any outward signs of distress during interview, she frequently referred to instances where she 'cried' (this word appears over 20 times within the transcript).

Re: Lincoln and Guba's (1985) Qualitative research criteria

- **Credibility** - confidence in the truth of the findings.

- Angela's responses appeared truthful and honest. Her stories were animated and yet portrayed with a consistent good humour which detracted somewhat from their idiographic content. Fun, happy, sad and unusual events were not moderated with different displays of emotion which gave them a 'second-hand' quality. As Angela was Filipino, it was difficult to interpret more subtle facial expressions and make a judgment as to whether feeling corresponded with story.

- **Transferability** - showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts

- It will be easier to judge transferability across respondents when data collection is complete however, in more general terms, it is evident that the accounts of isolation, loneliness, cultural adaptation and resilience could resonate with the stories of many other expatriate nurses adjusting to working life in Britain.

- **Dependability** - showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated

  - It felt it was likely that I would encounter the same or very similar stories from Angela were I to interview her again in the future asking similar questions. It is probable that I would simplify or adapt these and might gather information more quickly. In contrast with other respondents I felt that the 'degree of closeness' between Angela and I remained fairly consistent from beginning to end of the interview i.e. there was not a significant degree of development in terms of trust and rapport

  - **Confirmability** - a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest.

    The 'first interview' schedule questions are clustered respectively around 4 key themes which I did not depart from substantially with Angela except to adapt them for her ease of comprehension. Where we did depart from the schedule, this was to allow for the provision of more narrative detail which the subject clearly wished to provide but needed prompting as to how to do so in a way that was meaningful to her. I wonder to what extent this qualitative research criteria of 'confirmability' relates to IPA as the principle of neutrality seems to conflict with the IPA principle of the 'co-construction of understanding' of the interviewee's lived experiences between researcher respondent . Perhaps this criteria relates to the avoidance of suppression or misrepresentation of certain aspects of the respondent's testimony?

5. **How the interview was similar and/or different from my expectations**

   I believe that the interview went well from the perspective of collecting narrative data; less well in terms of the respondent reflecting more deeply and interpreting her experiences. This is a goal for the second interview where the use of photo/artefact elicitation may prompt a deeper level of self-reflection

6. **What was successful about the way the interview ran and what might have done differently**

   The interview was effective in terms of its broad account of Angela's life experience since her early childhood and how she has developed and adapted in response to major personal and professional challenges. Her story, although difficult and sad, is related with a (somewhat puzzling) good humoured detachment.

It is a story that contains some particularly fine grained descriptive detail on events that would conceivably have a profound effect on one's feelings. Nonetheless the detachment and frivolity of the narrative account gives the transcript a 2 dimensional quality as if it is a text waiting to be brought to life by actors in this story' film adaptation. There is a sense of needing to scratch beneath the account and find the person who lays claim to these experiences. The second interview might provide this opportunity although one must continue to be mindful of the responsibilities of the 'untrained therapist/researcher' for the well-being of the respondent.

7. **What I learned, what questions I still may have, and where I hope to go next**
   What has become more evident is that my data collection needs to concern itself as much with the respondent's interpretation of his/her lived experiences as with the collection of descriptive/ narrative detail. One without the other would appear to be of limited use to the IPA researcher. A respondent telling you how they felt without telling enough about the circumstances prompting the feeling is as limiting as a respondent describing an event but omitting to share their feelings and experiences of such an event

   The earlier interviews I conducted appear to have gathered respondent interpretations in a manner that was almost naturally occurring; perhaps this was related to the culture, maturity or disposition of these particular respondents. It is evident however, that with other respondents, there is a need to design and facilitate ways in which they can be encouraged to 'open up' without exposing them excessively to any of the inherent risks of self-disclosure. It was agreed with Angela that, in the context of her emotional self-management, we might explore the nature of her personal feelings/ allegiances towards her parents and the concern and care she feels able to offer to her patients (the differences in the emotional care she provides).

Appendix 6: **Initial 'Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software'**
(CAQDAS) methodological approach used for the analysis of transcript data
(developed from methods outlined in: Bazeley, P. and Jackson, K. (2013), *'Qualitative Data Analysis*

using NVivo', London, Sage.)

Stage   Activities/Actions

1. All transcripts for each case were loaded onto NVivo program

2. Each transcript was examined and narrative that appeared significant and relevant to main research questions was copied across to thematic containers (nodes). These nodes were progressively identified as I moved through each text and on to the next one.

Evolving methods for 'first level' (case by case) **analysis of transcript data:**

Original Transcript 'Gareth' Interview 1

Interviewer
Yes. So tell me how it feels to work at British Airways? Do you feel you have a sense of belonging? [...]

Interviewee

Definitely I have a very strong sense of belonging. I belong to BA: it is my ... it is my bubble.

It became my bubble.

And I am very worried and scared of leaving this bubble.

Even though I want to get out, after 13 years of flying, I want to leave. But I am very ... it is very difficult to leave. It becomes your ... mini-micro world.

Where you actually belong.

You know what you are doing – you know what to expect – you know the people.

The funny thing about working with people – you always work with new people like people you have never met.

'Using 'QSR NVivo'

NVivo 'Nodes' i.e. Emerging themes

1. Aesthetic labour
2. Affective Events
3. Anger management
4. Authority and assertion
5. Conflicting loyalties
6. Coping Strategies
   - 'Child' (sub-node
   - 'Crying as release
   - Humour
   - Alcohol
   - Sex
   - Drugs
   Dealing with Ambiguity and Unpredictability
   Emotional Demands and Constraints
9. Emotional Self-Management
10. Freedom and autonomy
11. Friendship and feeling
12. Loyalty and commitme
13. Money, hardship, surv
14. Motivation, Reward,
   15. Acknowledgme
16. Nostalgia
17. Organisational support for ESM and well-being
18. Perceptions of air cabin crew role/
   19. Perceptions of nursing role
   20. Child node: Cultural (perceptions of nursing)
21. Personal relationships and emotions
22. Relationships with patients or passengers
23. Self-perception and ide
   24. (Sub-node: Child
25. Self-confidence
26. Teamwork and support - working relationships
27. Personality/ Traits and personality (merge these 2 themes)
28. Values and personal beliefs
29. Well-being and Happiness

Working conditions- Job Demands and constraints

Freedom and autonomy'

'Motivation, Reward, Acknowledgment & Recognition'

'Self Confidence

3. In addition to coding, dialogue that appeared to have significance was annotated with 'exploratory comments' and/or 'emergent themes' using the 'annotate' function (as per example below)

4. After the dialogue from 2 transcripts for each case had been coded and annotated, this content was extracted from all nodes.

5. An analytical 'node-by-node' critical narrative interspersed with relevant quotation for each individual 'case' ('reflective case notes') was then written.

Appendix 7: *Thematic nomenclature and hierarchy in data analysis*

Thematic level	Explanation
'Meaning Unit ('Tentative emergent theme')	Meaning units refer to either annotated transcript notes (descriptive/linguistic/conceptual) or 'tentative themes' that have suggested themselves early in the analysis of individual cases.
'Emergent' Theme	These themes were developed from working with the analytical notes and moving away from the text of the transcripts themselves Smith et al (2009:91) refer to this as an 'analytical shift' where the 'original whole of the interview becomes a set of analytical parts'. These themes were intended to reflect my participants' words and my interpretation of them. (see Fig.4 Vol.1 for examples of 'emergent' themes.) Emergent themes were identified first at individual 'case' level and subsequently considered for their relevance and applicability at 'cross case' level. Therefore some emergent themes 'did not make it' beyond 'individual' case level as they did not resonate sufficiently with the experiences of other participants
'Constituent' Theme	'Constituent' Themes represented thematic' clusters' of emergent themes that appeared to resonate with others identified within that same cluster. These were identified first at individual case level and secondly at 'cross-case' level using such analytical techniques as 'subsumption', 'abstraction' and 'polarisation' (Smith et al ,2009:97)
'Superordinate' Theme	These were the themes that transcended and encapsulated, in some respect or another, all of the hitherto identified themes in the hierarchy. They represented for me the 'what's it all about?' of my project.
'Core 'Theme	These were represented three key concepts that suggested themselves to me as I continued to iterate in my analysis between the 'part and the whole' of the 'hermeneutic circle'. As I continued re-evaluate the data, the relevance of these become increasingly apparent and offered avenues of further interpretation that 'just seemed right'. My identified 'core themes' of truth, trust and pride appeared like a form of 'season ticket' around the 'hermeneutic circle' where I could 'stop off' anywhere and re-evaluate what I had understood so far using these themes as windows for further analysis.

Appendix 8: Data Analysis Method (1) IPA thematic coding

('Table-top' approach for the thematic analysis of transcript data (developed from methods presented in Smith, J.A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M., (2009), 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis- Theory, Method and Research' London, Sage.)

Stage	Activities/Actions
1.	Reading and initial 'open' analysis of interview transcript/s from **one** respondent, where notes and comments on the data (e.g. respondent's use of metaphor and words) were carried out to discern possible significance and meaning Sections of transcript that appeared to have significance were annotated with 'exploratory comments' and/or 'emergent themes' (as per example below)

Cell reference	Original Transcript **ALAN Interview 1**	Exploratory Comments (descriptive/*linguistic*/**conceptual**)	Emergent Themes
	Interviewee:		
ALAN(1)12	You know, they seemed to be permanently on holiday and they would come back with these wonderful stories of times that they had spent in different places and, you know, places that they had eaten and places that they had visited and tourist stuff they had done.		The allure of travel and glamorous lifestyle
	Interviewer		
ALAN(1)13	Sure		
	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)14	And also I could see that they had good lifestyles.		
ALAN(1)15	You know, they had nice homes and they had nice cars, and so I kind of thought – 'well that can't be a bad life' – because you know these people have got ... they are surrounded by nice things and they seem to enjoy their work so much it doesn't seem like a job it seems more like a sort of ... something you would enjoy and wouldn't be so much a chore.	'surrounded by nice things'	'A good life'
	[...............]	[.................]	[..................]

	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)39	So it was quite a process to get through – which at that age I didn't realise quite what was involved and quite what an achievement it really was to get in. I was […] I do know that it is very successful, because no matter what background people come from or no matter what walk of life, or what area of the world, they seem to have a mentality that just clicks and fits.	Is Alan reinforcing the idea of an air cabin crew member being a 'special' person here?	Pride (at his own achievement of being selected)
ALAN(1)40	And everyone just seems to be able to, you know, just get on straight away and adapt.		
ALAN(1)41	So they have obviously got a good formula, whatever it is.	The 'secret selection formula'	
ALAN(1)42	So, I think that the people who are joining now aren't getting the same sort of deal as the people that joined 25 years ago like myself.	Talks of the benefits of work in terms of 'getting a deal'-	Extrinsic motivation?
ALAN(1)43	So I think with that, the calibre of people that are applying has changed as well.	Regrets the 'dumbing down' of the role and subsequent reduction in the perceived prestige	
	Interviewer		
ALAN(1)44	Right, in what sense?		
	Interviewee		
ALAN (1) 36	In the sense that when I joined I could afford a nice lifestyle from the pay: there were very good terms and conditions.[…] People who had qualifications – people who you know were trained in different areas – were willing to come and work. Like, I know nurses that gave up […] good nursing careers, to come and be crew because they could, you know, earn good money doing that.[…] Whereas nowadays I think if someone was a nurse they would struggle to earn the same money as cabin crew.	Money and conditions loom large in the earlier part of our conversation	'A nice lifestyle'
	Interviewer		
ALAN(1)37	Really.		
	Interviewee		
ALAN(1)38	I think that you know people ... they are not attracting people with qualifications. They are not attracting people, you know, from certain backgrounds. […] I think that I have been able to separate (name of airline) from the people.	Remains professional 'separates the airline's deficiencies from passengers' needs'	Diminished self-image?

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Stage	Activities/Actions
2	2nd version of the transcript saved. In this version of document 2 x LH columns were deleted ('cell references' and 'interview dialogue') leaving 'exploratory comments' or 'emergent themes' columns.

Stage	Activities/Actions
3	*'Meaning Units'* (i.e. **'Exploratory comments'** and **'Emergent themes'**) were cut into single strips and all strips placed, in any order, on large flipchart pages on a table (see example and picture below).

Interview 1 Alan   Exploratory Comments and 'Tentative ' Emergent Themes:

- Excitement and adventure
- Clear ambition to become air cabin crew
- The allure of travel and glamorous lifestyle
- 'surrounded by nice things'
- Pride at his own achievement of being selected
- Is Alan reinforcing the idea of an air cabin crew member being a 'special' person here?
- The 'secret selection formula'
- Talks of the benefits of work in terms of 'getting a deal'-extrinsic motivation?
- Regrets the 'dumbing down' of the role and subsequent reduction in the perceived prestige
- 'A nice lifestyle'
- Money and conditions loom large in the earlier part of our conversation
- Diminished self-image?
- Escalating demands and constraints
- Laments his loss in status?
- Disillusionment
- ' Half measures' in job satisfaction
- Remains professional 'separates the airline's deficiencies from passengers' needs'
- A skilled and observant manager of others emotions
- Sensitivity to customers' needs
- Methods and techniques for managing others' emotions
- Believes that it is possible to build relationships with passengers
- ' you read the people'

- Significance of home as emotional sanctuary
- Permanent friendships are rare but are celebrated when they occur
- Organisational support can feel like a 'Duty of care' or 'a genuine desire to look after you'
- Heightened self- awareness because of his counselling background
- Experienced and willing in the help and support of others
- Self-awareness and self- insight
- Self-awareness does not necessarily bring resilience
- A 'level' personality-experiences enjoyment but does not feel excitement
- Finds it difficult to control inappropriate facial expression at work
- Philanthropy and good works as boost to pride and self-image
- A kind approach to supporting his fellow crew members
- Managing the emotions and well-being of his fellow crew members in a practical way
- Sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others

• **Likes to leave his personal hallmark on his approach to managing the crew**	• A different world where human rationality may be suspended
• Departure from the normal rules of social engagement	• **His efforts and professionalism often under recognised**
• A speeded up transient world: meeting, bonding and letting go	• The 'golden handcuffs'
• A perpetual cycle of self-disclosure	• Focus on money
• Forced and false social engagement	• Sensitivity to variations in social exchange needs of passengers
• **Shallow and superficial**	• **Struggles with insincerity or dishonesty 'I am not one for dressing things up'**
• Superficiality as emotional coping mechanism	• **Wants to be liked**
•	• Life is lived and slips away in chunks one-by one
	• **'The sad thing is that to get to that enriched stuff, you have got to go through that superficial transient stuff…'**

ALAN (1)34	Regrets the 'dumbing down' of the role and subsequent reduction in the perceived prestige

ALAN(1)30	Pride (at his own achievement of being selected)

ALAN (1)38	Diminished self-image?

ALAN (1)30	Is Alan reinforcing the idea of an air cabin crew member being a 'special' person here?

Stage	Activities/Actions
4	**Initial sorting of emergent theme 'slips'** *'Emergent themes'* and *'exploratory comments'* 'strips' were eyeballed and the initial search began for patterns i.e. where themes and comments might have related to others. Strips were manually moved into 'clusters' that suggested themselves as possible core ('constituent' themes). Smith et al (2009:96) refer to this as 'abstraction' –looking for patterns between emergent themes which can be grouped together under a 'constituent' or 'super-ordinate' title. e.g. *'Focus upon Emotional Replenishment and Reward'*. When some potential constituent themes suggested themselves, each of these were written out at the top of large section within the flipchart The strips that appeared to belong within the relevant thematic cluster were manually pasted within it. (using a non-permanent adhesive (e.g. very small balls of Blue tac) on each strip so that they could be moved around as I re-considered).

Stage	Activities/Actions
5	Other 'emergent' thematic strips and exploratory comments that seemed particularly dominant were identified. It was considered whether they had the potential to become 'constituent' or 'super-ordinate' themes with other emergent themes 'dovetailing' into them. This is referred to as 'subsumption'. Other approaches employed to 'eyeballing' the thematic strips and exploratory comments included: 'polarization', 'contextualization', 'numeration' and 'respondents' self-presentational intent' (Smith et al: 99-107)
Stage	Activities/Actions
6	Other 'emergent' thematic strips and exploratory comments that seemed particularly dominant were identified. It was considered whether they had the potential to become 'constituent' or 'super-ordinate' themes with other emergent themes 'dovetailing' into them. This is referred to as 'subsumption'. Other approaches employed to 'eyeballing' the thematic strips and exploratory comments included: 'polarization', 'contextualization', 'numeration' and 'respondents' self-presentational intent' (Smith et al: 99-107)

Stage	Activities/Actions
7	This process continued with the data from each individual case until all participants' transcripts have been analysed in this way. When all cases were analysed as mentioned, the constituent and super-ordinate themes from each individual case were analysed with the others using a similar 'table-top' approach. Cluster and hierarchical relationships between themes were identified in order to create an overall thematic structure for the data. Transcript/s were re-read to ascertain that the interrelationships between themes were valid. Queries or clarification relating to individual 'meaning units' (i.e. exploratory comments or emergent themes) were cross- checked back to the original transcripts using the 'find text' facility within the 'word' document or the transcript cell reference numbers

Stage	Activities/Actions
8	'Higher-order' (i.e. 'constituent') thematic areas were confirmed and their interrelationships with main ('superordinate') research themes were identified i.e. 1. **'Offering my service'** (*Performing, Experiencing & Making Sense of Emotional Self-Management')* and 2. **'Serving Myself Well'** *('Conceptualizing, Experiencing and Determining Well-being')*
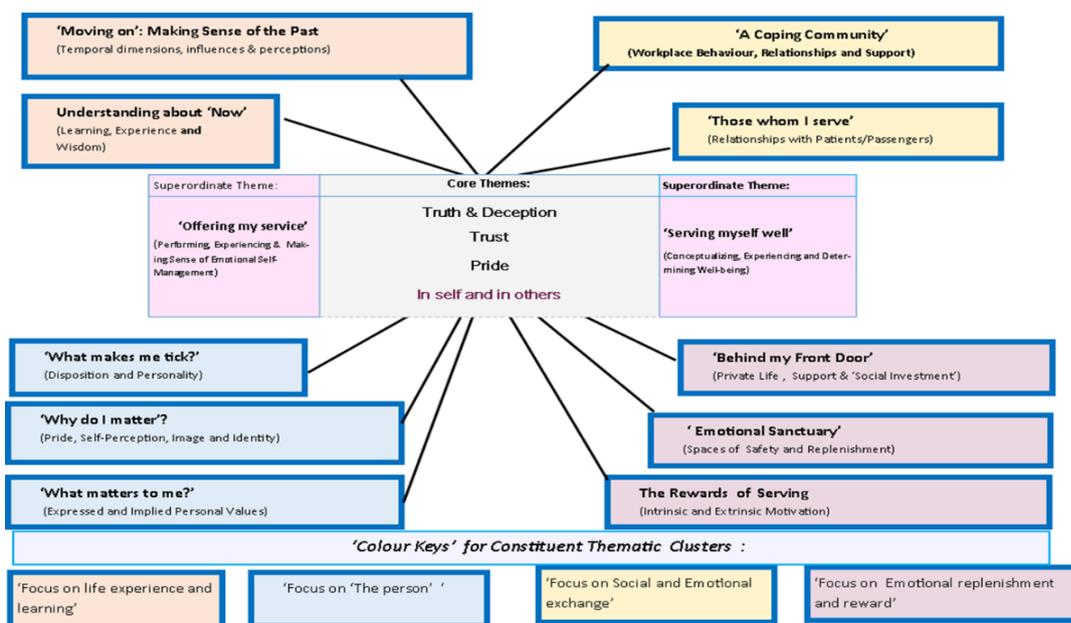
Figure 4a: *Thematic map:* **Key themes from the data relating to emotional self-management and well-being.**

Stage	Activities/Actions
9	Recursive 'cross-case analysis' continued using the 'conceptual map of emergent, constituent, superordinate and core themes' as an analytical framework.

Stage	Activities/Actions
10	The appropriateness of the identified thematic areas for the hierarchical structure for Findings/Analysis chapter was further considered and confirmed.

Stage	Activities/Actions
11	The writing of the 'Findings/Analysis' chapter commenced using appropriate thematic headings – the 'reflective case-by-case notes' that had been previously prepared using a parallel CAQDAS system of analysis ('NVivo') were also referred to for amplification of certain themes and the provision of appropriate transcript extracts. *(Please see separate account of the initial CAQDAS approach that was applied to sorting data which was subsequently replaced with this manual 'table-top' approach)*

Thematic panels for emergent and superordinate themes

(observations on how respondents' perspectives resonated with specified theme)

'Moving on': Making Sense of the Past (Temporal dimensions, influences & perceptions)		**'A Coping Community'** (Workplace Behaviour, Relationships and Support)
Understanding about 'Now' (Learning, Experience **and** Wisdom)		**'Those whom I serve'** (Relationships with Patients/Passengers)

Superordinate Theme:	Core Themes:	Superordinate Theme:
'Offering my service' (Performing, Experiencing & Making Sense of Emotional Self-Management)	Truth & Deception Trust Pride In self and in others	**'Serving myself well'** (Conceptualizing, Experiencing and Determining Well-being)

'What makes me tick?' (Disposition and Personality)		**'Behind my Front Door'** (Private Life, Support & 'Social Investment')
'Why do I matter'? (Pride, Self-Perception, Image and Identity)		**'Emotional Sanctuary'** (Spaces of Safety and Replenishment)
'What matters to me?' (Expressed and Implied Personal Values)		**The Rewards of Serving** (Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation)

'Colour Keys' for Constituent Thematic Clusters :

'Focus on life experience and learning'	'Focus on 'The person' '	'Focus on Social and Emotional exchange'	'Focus on Emotional replenishment and reward'

(*See pages overleaf***/***…*)

9.1 Emergent Theme: *'Moving on': Making Sense of the Past*-(Temporal dimensions, influences & perceptions)

'Moving on': Making Sense of the Past (Temporal dimensions, influences & perceptions) ✳

Angela	Emotional significance of homeland. Two lives —an imagined life 'back home' in Philippines and a 'real but transient' life here - simply the means to a happy end. 'Family can only mean 'real' family'. Mementoes and tokens (mother's rosary beads) helped her cope
Ivor	Regret at perceived sense of educational deprivation – a 'victim' ?-search for excuse?- (past shaping the present) Hospitals as fascinating—drama in a contained, different 'safe world'. -where 'broken people' get fixed. 'A better life'-entitlement/aspiration
Kirstin	Coping with intense political unrest. Stark life choices; belonging, allegiance and alienation. Leaving family and homeland for 'new life' Caring for dying : 'I couldn't face the death every day' - Makes sense of her past but 'lives in the present for the future'
Margaret	Distant past is treasured and important—explains 'why she is who she is' and 'where she is coming from' Fond reminiscences of camaraderie in early nursing years. Polarised views on 'old' vs. 'new' nursing. Major life choice -self-sacrifice for husband's career. Ongoing enduring friendships—sense of growing together, evolving and adapting: 'We have endured and survived and we are all well'
Maureen	Growing up and striving for independence. Nostalgia - fun and jokes. Photos prompted M to 'think about what is important' - has a whole 'Aladdin's Cave' of past treasure memories. Now sees value in rekindling connections – exploring her past—an increasing need to explain 'who M is'. 'Being remembered' is important. Not a 'born nurse' but has grown with the role.
Sally	Pride in legacy of caring in the family. Mother a district nurse-went on home visits with her. Childhood role model' Sue Barton" - fictitious 'Henry St. nurse" 'not a "goody-goody" but really tries' Early years as nurse were exciting and free. A lifelong ambition
Alan	A past of fun excitement and adventure. Fondness and nostalgia for early years at work. Treasures memories of old friendships. "Then and now" dramatic change in workplace relationships-"real people" not "foldaway friends"
Gareth	"Burnout" from call-centre work. Nostalgia about early years of flying-new destinations. Meeting people from different cultures-fun and friendship in work relationships. Erosion of positives now threaten well-being and quality are working life. Retains parts of his old uniform-represent a happier and freer time at work.
Julian	Excitement and adventure associated with the "journey". The "awesomeness of flying". Air cadet- flying powered aircraft at 14. The liberating experience of flight itself. Going away exciting destinations and anticipation of return "Dad would take me down to Gatwick to watch the aeroplanes". Loss of close friend "we are sort of the same age so it was all very traumatic"
Justin	Secure and happy family upbringing. Early certainty career choice-rooted in firm interests and self-identity. Excitement, adventure, tales of far away-"the travel bug". Lives in the present and the future and can "move on" from unhappy experiences
Mairead	Two lives as a child-Limerick town and then all summer on the farm. Early nurse training in 70s "Catholic Ireland" very tough. Unmarried mothers babies were taken from them. Loss of sister "it just froze me for a year". Challenging/fortifying experiences-forced to live for 2 days on a plane with hundreds of passengers .
Sandra	Early career choice-clear on goals. Excitement of flying in early years. "We used to go to Manchester airport and stand and watch the aeroplanes". Family legacy "my mum was a brilliant customer service person" major changes in job routine and work pattern. Has kept bundles of postcards posted to her grandparents whilst on trips

9.2 Emergent Theme: *Understanding about 'Now'* (Learning, Experience & Wisdom)

'Understanding about 'Now' (Learning, Experience **and** Wisdom) *

Angela	Has learned to treat colleagues differently according to their traits and behavioural preferences. Laughs at traumas from the past "every time the telephone rings I ran!". Struggles with assertiveness but "you have to face the reality-this is your life now"
Ivor	"Poetry" as a way of understanding the seemingly inexplicable. Perpetual search for wisdom "rules as to how to live one's life well". Holy grail of being in the world. Struggle to identify his ontological positioning-belief-truth-reality. "The cracked pot" parable. The multiple dimensions of "truth". Reassurance through proverbs, guiding rules, principles
Kirstin	Makes sense of her past through what she knows now-often seeing "what she should have done" or "what she should have been feeling" at the time. On being a nurse: "looking back it is very funny it just becomes part of you"
Margaret	Confident and enthusiastic now about new professional challenges. Keen to develop self.
Maureen	"Being different" has made M a more determined and resilient person. Haphazard learning via the "school of hard knocks". M would not recognise herself now in her former lives. Sees a move towards "everyone trying to be different" to extent that society normalises it.
Sally	Development of cynicism towards "non-contributors". Likes being a teacher of others. Has learned "less rather than more" is often best in conveying information to patients. Sees age as advantage and bestower of authority.
Alan	Excitement does not feature any more. It is unsafe and signifies being "out of control". Has developed heightened self-awareness. Counselling others has helped him understand himself? Perceives needs to guard his real feelings- "afraid of really letting himself go"
Gareth	"Mixed feelings"-"flying is now just a job" but "I am quite happy doing what I am doing". "I need to get out sooner rather than later". "Needs to break out and be free from the "bubble"-lost in a liminal space of indecision.
Julian	Divorce is "people" from his perception of a "good environment"-puzzling-suggests social interaction and relationships run outside the "ideal" environment. Still searching for the "ideal" fit for his own "free spirit" and an organisation. Continuing determination to achieve
Justin	Sees life as a "journey not a destination"-draws strength from being marginalised- a life as a gay man characterised by uncertainty and "threat" builds resilience
Mairead	Regrets her past silence about harsh and insensitive treatment of patients. Has learned the importance of "vigilance" in both nursing and airline service. "You need eyes in the back of your head sometimes really"
Sandra	Time has dulled the "thrilled"-but has found ways to "even out" perceptions of her role. "I do not want to be on a "big dipper". On nursing and medicine: they need to acquire "empathetic" customer interaction skills-"patients are also customers".

9.3. Emergent Theme: *'A Coping Community'* (Workplace Behaviour, Relationships and Support)

A Coping Community' (Workplace Behaviour, Relationships and Support) *

Angela	"I am too soft". Lack of real "offstage" spaces on the wards. Laments lack of support from hospital management. Frustration with colleagues who prioritise paperwork. "Everyone is moaning... and it drags you down doesn't it?". Humour as device to engage reluctant colleagues. Certain colleagues relied upon for solidarity and reassurance.
Ivor	Complex relationship with colleagues-big part of the community but wanting to be separate. Tension between individual differences and fitting in. Struggles with his own intolerance of others' life choices. Exasperation with underperforming colleagues five of togetherness and harmony.
Kirstin	Unafraid to speak out against org injustice. Feelings of isolation when she feels "on herd" by seeing a medical team. Does not refer to workplace friendships. Ethos of mutual support-emotionally depleted colleagues "swapping" patients. Appears fairly self-reliant.
Margaret	Teamwork and support-key to a happy workplace. Mediating influence of co-worker support upon work stresses. Use of humour to manage conflict. Old and new friends are significant as communities of carers. Great interest in lives of others-known as "Mrs Fixit". Neglect or aggression-worst offences in her book.
Maureen	Sees medical service as "sloppy" and "not joined up". Belief in professionalism, accountability, authority and respect.
Sally	Mutual support does not always prevail-"saturation point" for colleagues "emotional distress" where support is always one-way. Sympathetic to enculturation difficulties of expatriates nurses. Sees gulf between her colleagues perception of adequate care and her own. Emotional support for staff is "patchy" . Seen as "goodie-goody"? "Nurses do not always stick together". "There is always one that does not quite fit in". Surrounded by people whose "eyes are on the door"
Alan	Perpetual cycle of self-disclosure. Forced and false social engagement-speeded up transient world: meeting, bonding and letting go. Work friendships are not sustainable are "investable". "Angel Fleet" on Facebook for colleagues who have passed away-indicative of collective but anonymous community of caring. "A big family whose members have not yet met/do not know each other".
Gareth	Sharing confidences and reassuring each other but now more "every man for himself" culture. Strike has disrupted social dynamics-camaraderie evaporates the end of a trip-transience and fragility -"deep-shallow" "click and fit" social dynamics-mutual needs for temporary support. Nothing in common with his fellow crew now. "Airline has changed its values completely"
Julian	"Crew lifestyle is all about escape"-"not a job for grown-ups" being "naughty" without the normal consequences. "Double lives" of crew members. Just two firm friends who are ACC. Avoids the customary "close disclosures". Struggles at work appear to be with fellow crew more than passengers. Mistrust of others.
Justin	Lives in parallel to normal rhythm-polarisation: "close and distant" "fun and disillusionment" supportive and transient" "highs and lows" "intense presence and prolonged absences". Backstage release-positive/negative coping strategies. "Switch and fit" between trivial and deep interaction. Pulling together "fold-away friends"-personal disclosure as temporary release. A strange world.
Mairead	"Let the uniform absorb it"/"the passenger is always right"-fellow crew became "seduced" by lifestyle, the tension to escape from problematic relationships and readily available alcohol.. Early days in nursing "nowhere to turn really except your friends".
Sandra	"Blurring of work/social boundaries-managing/experiencing "leisure at work" and "(other) work whilst at leisure" . "New best friends"-forming and letting go. Work friendships are a thing of the past. Loneliness of long haul when you do not click with anybody. Persistent disorientation- "double lives" of crew members. Transience as "green light" for disclosures.

9.4 Emergent Theme: *'Those whom I serve'* (Relationships with Patients/Passengers)

''Those whom I serve' (Relationships with Patients/Passengers) ✱

Angela	"Patients think I am always funny-I have got a sense of humour" talks of "maintaining her personality" with patients. Finding common ground with patients. "Nursing makes you attached to patients". Desire to be conversed with 'as a person not a cultural curiosity'.
Ivor	Patients as key to his positive feelings "softening the blow"/being honest with patients. Patients emotional displays are rewards in themselves-interaction as vitalising. Reflexive nature of relationship with them-"they give back to him". Seeing their needs through their eyes.
Kirstin	Torn between care she is expected to deliver to all and delivering exceptional care to particular patients she perceives as very needy. Openness with patients-does not pretend to be super-human. Sees the "whole person" not just "the patient's eyes". Vivid remembrance of individual patients details. Recognises patients emotional vulnerability-anticipates and understands anxieties and fears. A patient is more than "a case"
Margaret	Vulnerability as distinguishing feature in nature of nurse-patient relationship. Social familiarity with patients and advantage-something to be celebrated and cherished. Abusive patients upset. A keen observer of other colleagues and their propensity to engage with patients. Frustration at inability to help those who resist assistance-but still persistent in finding ways to help them. "Shock absorber" of patients misdirected frustration.
Maureen	"Passive-aggressive" patience are the most unpredictable- "you don't know where the shot is going to come from" Rapport with patients as friends and real people. Patients representing personal frames of reference e.g. family. Drs see part nurses see whole of patient. "We need to be everything to them"-we need more "human time". Breaking social barriers-pushing the boundaries between court to see and disrespect.
Sally	Cautious with words and messages to patients. "Mixed emotions": "draining" but "enriching"-gets choked and emotional with minor medical miracles. Full final line of constantly changing social interaction rules "when to shake hands, when to touch when to hug". "The tea round"- social care clinical observation infused with hospitality. Searching for ways to engage patients-"if I talk to people I make connections"
Alan	"You read the people". Sensitivity to needs and feelings of others-human and compassionate-overrides organisational display rules if he feels it appropriate ("come on give me a hug" to passenger visiting her ill brother")
Gareth	Often at receiving end of or eight passengers anti-social behaviour "we are human beings-I am a human being-don't take it out on me." Initially driven by natural curiosity and human interest now guided mainly by his sense of duty and moral obligation. Public behave "like grazing cattle and sheep without "situational awareness". Feelings of pride undermined by fatigue and desire to be invisible.
Julian	Passenger interaction as opportunity for performative experimentation and characterisation. Sees interaction between passenger and crew from a more "commodified" perspective. Likes technical challenge of finding solutions to challenging customer situations. "I would rather chat with people than clean the toilets for example!". Passengers depicted as "points in the cycle of production"? Recollections on passenger interaction "parked in a big bag somewhere"
Justin	Mission to please and engage-compulsion/need to care?. Coping with antagonism-toxic exchange spirals-"getting one over". "Biting his tongue"
Mairead	Joys of patient interaction-luxury of having time to converts. "I loved it. I was as happy as you like even though it was emotionally draining". Obnoxious first class passengers "bishops and the like worse the wear for drink"-frustration at passengers misplaced priorities. 'I suppose the patients gave back to us in the sense you know that they got better"
Sandra	Feels fear-upset at inaccurate perception of her by complaining customers. Unpredictability of customers: "one person's nice time isn't necessarily another's". Feels more empowered now-proactive approach to service recovery. On "toxic" exchanges: "sometimes it is like a number of small things leading to the bigger upset"

9.5 Emergent Theme: *'Behind my Front Door'* (Private Life, Support & 'Social Investment')

'Behind my Front Door' (Private Life, Support & 'Social Investment') ✱

Angela	Works long hours to make money to send home to parents. Little time for simple pleasures of leisure pursuits. Sadness with distance from home, unfamiliar cultural environment and material deprivation-feels unable to engage in "full" life here in UK. "Wasting money with tears. No time for this!"
Ivor	Partners support as sounding board for frustration. Challenges of "switching off" need for gratitude and emotional support provided by partner. Claims not unduly stretched by emotional demands of his job and that he is more enriched by these.
Kirstin	"Tugs of wills" between personal relationships, professional ambitions and those of her partner. Much of personal identity interrelated with her professional role.
Margaret	Private and working life are not clearly delineated for M. "Having a purpose" and "being needed" by others are themes that transcend both aspects of her life.
Maureen	Relies on "external" friends for support in times of professional difficulty. Strong and supportive in situations of her own personal challenges. Partner with life-threatening illness makes her see things in perspective.
Sally	Selfless private existence-cares for mother in late stages of dementia. Our conversations have prompted reflection and reconsideration of how she attends to herself- need to concentrate on her own life and well-being more. Interview as a therapeutic opportunity.
Alan	Shuns social interaction during private time-selective reclusiveness. Inhibit it by his lack of agency to break away from his moulded blueprint for social existence. "Job drains me emotionally-can't be bothered to meet new people and invest time in them". For "quality guarantee" in private time. His dog a symbol of his own life slipping away-embodiment of his own personal regrets in his life and relationships? Or form of continuity and fragile form of security?
Gareth	Exasperation and discontent with his partner. Values his good friendships. Work roster kept from time of birth of his first child retained a symbol of the tensions between the unpredictable nature of his work and private life. Feels like he has been "hit by a truck today" but still keen to engage because of my listening ear and genuine interest - not something he encounters in everyday life.
Julian	Loss of close friend deeply traumatic-took several years to readjust. Claims private life and professional work clearly delineated. Guarded in discussing his friendships and relationships. Suspending private life whilst down route becomes increasingly difficult.
Justin	"Relationships come and go and you just can't save them-waiting for that text to say 'I miss you' ". Relationships lived out in the cycle of anticipation disillusionment and regret. Conflicted emotions that manifest themselves in private life. "If you are away too much people become alcoholics and addicted to things". "Out of sync living patterns-periods of absence and periods of intense presence
Mairead	Close and supportive relationships valued immensely. Some of these painful to let go "God it would be easier if that person had died really because then I could grieve for that loss". Important she can discuss and offload work-related concerns joys, frustrations triumphs with her partner
Sandra	"I would start driving home and still be on the perimeter road and have tears because I was going home to an empty house". Now supportive partner who likes to listen about a work out "on the line". Diverts her towards another very different world whilst at home: DIY and construction-swapping powder for dust""

9.6 Emergent Theme: *Emotional Sanctuary* (Spaces of Safety and Replenishment)

'Emotional Sanctuary' (Spaces of Safety and Replenishment) ✳

Angela	Being a British citizen now makes her feel "safe and free" "once I finish crying I am back and I am okay again". "Laughs at her own tears-mirth in adversity"
Ivor	Work environment provides the happy base-immersion in work distracts from struggle to tease out questions that apply to his own life. A form of "liberation" from a "web of reflection" Work bestows: self-respect, life purpose "finding himself". Thinking and reflecting as problematic even painful
Kirstin	"My hobbies are another way of not taking life too seriously. You know I like to approach things also from the funny side". Emotionally enriching experiences in palliative care-"a spiritual dimension of achieving peace and closure". You would go and see the life of this person flashing in front of your eyes. I was so privileged"
Margaret	Work as a means to prepare for major challenges in private life. Climate of "fun" runs in parallel with serious professional context. Narrow window within which to relax and wind down but supportive husband-country walks around seven sisters and "ivy clad pub". Coping by addressing frustration directly at source of anger
Maureen	"I try and dump work at the door-usually try to walk home and walk my day out of me". Natural approach to sensing and experiencing emotions-"a case of letting things flow". "People forget now that sadness is part of the human condition if you don't have sadness then you will not have joy". Can release herself with the "guilty pleasure"-sitting to the cinema in the afternoon with a glass of wine
Sally	"Work is one thing that helps keeps me sane"-work as an enabler of emotional well-being but she recognises the need for more than work now.
Alan	Home as safe space-"I have only one emotional pot and need to replenish this at home between trips. Life at work is comfortable but without significant meaning. Becoming a form of social recluse as drained by social interaction at work
Gareth	His bubble as his "life world": the space from within which she experiences everything-bubble shapes and structures him even ,supports him but ultimately it seems a prison,a padded cage from which he cannot break free. Walking and exploring help to recharge-losing himself through wandering. Stress sometimes self dissipates in the car on the way home from work. Claims that once he takes his uniform off that "all is forgotten"
Julian	Claims that home is a breath of fresh air -a haven of peace" but does J actually experience any? "At home but not at home "-excessive rumination, planning wondering and predicting.
Justin	"I love being surrounded by people. Seeing people happy makes me happy... It rubs off on you". J's active agent of his ESM makes sensible practical choices that suit his own life rhythm e.g. "the early bird" roster.
Mairead	Finding safe spaces and feeling free to "emotionally vent" with pilots and crew. After 9/11 cockpit doors were locked-"one of the worst things ever to happen"
Sandra	"Swopping face powder for dust"-doing the polar opposite of cabin crew work whilst at home (building work). Other interests such as the outdoors fresh air, cycling, swimming all sustain her physically and support her psychologically.

9.7 Emergent Theme: 'Rewards of Serving' (intrinsic and extrinsic motivation)

'Rewards of Serving' (intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation) ✻

Angela	Patients gratitude "means a lot". Savouring adventure. The "trappings" of nursing-bandages, uniform's injections were principal pull factors in her childhood dream to become a nurse "I came here for money I didn't come here to enjoy life". Sacrificing "life now for fulfilment/enjoyment later"
Ivor	Sustaining power of gratitude. "Emotional gifts" from patients. Shuns "vocation" as "form of slavery". Importance of community/being part of something/being significant/being acknowledged. Technical fascination. Public service as perceived privilege. Needing to be needed.
Kirstin	Emotional sustenance from work and patients and their families. The satisfaction of being valued, needed and respected. "When it comes to their last moments and the people kind of accept you like... You know as a friend... as a way of acknowledging you"
Margaret	Nursing afforded her the professional freedom she cherished. At 72 still engaged and used by her work. Feels joy when witnessing recovery. Spiritual/life enhancing rewards of caring. Continuing quest for new experiences and adventures.
Maureen	Seeking out the "interesting". "Nursing is fun"-no burning desire to nurse but "it just fell into place". Rewards of philanthropic work. Motivated by patients gratitude does not purport to be "passionate" about nursing and values her freedom
Sally	Still passionate about nursing. "All the small things" that S can do for patients make her day. Appreciates recognition as a quality care giver. Philanthropic desire to contribute: "I still feel that I have got another nursing career within me". "Looking ahead as opposed to looking to the end"
Alan	Power to control one's life and "do the unusual/less mundane". Your of travel and glamorous lifestyle. Work is principally an enabler of a comfortable life at home. Focus on money "the golden handcuffs". "I feel very blessed" (with extrinsic rewards). "Surrounded by nice things". Working within a socially stratified world but simultaneously orbiting around it.
Gareth	Escape as opposed to ambition as primary motivator. Acknowledgement and recognition of customer care and professional skills are important but he mainly "gets grief". Your of travel-excitement, cultural and social appeal of new destinations has waned. Priorities have changed with maturity-"I have got nothing to look forward to. I am not just saying it it is a fact".
Julian	Ambition and determination to succeed. Early impressions of glamour and anticipation of exciting lifestyle. Impression of freedom an opportunity to inhabit different and more privileged social worlds. Interest in customer interaction "sort of grew-not a burning ambition". Liberating experience of flight itself, going away, exciting destinations and the anticipation of return. Freedom and breaking free recur as themes.
Justin	From "adventurer" to "carer". "Getting that smile out of people". Importance of being acknowledged and appreciated. "I didn't care where I went and what I had done, I was just happy to fly". Travel "hard-wired" into personality from childhood. "I love being surrounded by people and seeing people happy makes me happy"
Mairead	Upon entering the airline and the freedom of "time, space and place". "People side" of the job was of great appeal-loved her job for three decades at the airline. Appreciated but not seduced by the comfort and luxury of extrinsic rewards.
Sandra	And "adventurer"/"problem solver". "Loving"/"growing with the job". "I am "semi-ambitious"-other priorities in life take precedence." Disillusionment with "empty rewards" offered by customer service initiatives. "When things go really wrong they can still be your best days-because you have kind of had to climb Mount Everest and you still get a lot out of it"

9.8. Emergent Theme: *'What makes me tick'* (Disposition and Personality)

'What makes me tick?' (Disposition and Personality) ✱

Angela	Default position is "bubbly". Likes to be positive-avoids moaning. Mood and biology explains negative feelings more than adversity. "I am very sentimental"-"I want to keep these cards because you can never go back" "a heart of gold". Low tolerance for laziness. Perceives life as a "fight" yet interested and caring.
Ivor	The "glass half-full" perspective. Inner voice: "how can I make it better?". Urgent need to make a difference-philanthropic drive. Self-
Kirstin	Assertive conscientious and caring with perfectionist traits. Difficulty suppressing anger when standards of care are inadequate. K is approachable-student nurses confide in her.
Margaret	"Rushes in" where "angels may fear to tread" but M is no fool!. Philanthropist/adventurer-role model-Dr Albert Schweitzer (1875:1965). Prefers the "black and white" and freedom from "moral dilemmas". Thrives on change yet uncomfortable with ambiguity. A careful planner with an adventurous streak. Dislikes isolation and prefers company. Fair and equitable: no "half" or "double" measures of care. On afraid to voice concerns.
Maureen	New experiences and adventure. Self-aware. "No nonsense approach" and sense of fairness. Confident and at ease with herself. Resilience as a nurse and carer. Demeanour of cheerfulness with a healthy peppering of cynicism. "I don't want to be a pre-programmed nurse with a stick on smile". Digs deep to search for alternative meanings. "Hexagon with pointy bits"-irregular and not a "stamped out" version of anybody.
Sally	Dedicated to her work. Meticulous-always more she would like to give. "Indifference bugs me". "The one thing that drives me absolutely nuts is hearing my colleagues refer to patients as "bed 7" "
Alan	Sensitivity to variations in social exchange needs of passengers. A skilled and observant manager of others emotions. Is self-aware and self insightful. Impatient/frustrated by underperformance caused by indifference.
Gareth	Perceives he has a high emotional tolerance threshold. Hard wired to remain courteous-avoids making dramas in the sky. Embraces idea of freedom and flexibility-paradoxically dislikes a job that disrupts his personal life. A "reflector" and a "thinker" more than a "doer". Saddened by transient work relationships "have a nice life- see you in 5 years time". More introverted-not a first mover in a
Julian	Likes order in domestic life. Sees "environment" (but not people in it) as key to his happiness. Needed coaching through ACC interview to demonstrate the tricks of "engagement and contribution". Feels good when demonstrating knowledge in assisting others-a
Justin	Popular-positive-resource full-good-humoured "sunny side up". reflexive in approach. A carer and an adventurer "looks outside the box" for solutions and opportunities common-sense and discretion. Head and feet 'on the ground' even when up in the clouds
Mairead	Assertive—embraces challenges. A natural interest in others-quick feet to deal with situations. Emotional and social interaction are enriching part of the job. Rebels against social injustice-driven by her "moral compass".
Sandra	Practical and versatile-resilient-self-reliant. Self-confident-reluctant to show vulnerability. "An explorer". Popular with crew-forms strong working bonds. Seldom board-generates interest through her social curiosity and interest in the wider world.

9.9 Emergent Theme: *'Why do I matter?'* (Pride, Self-Perception, Image and Identity)

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'Why do I matter'? (Pride, Self-Perception, Image and Identity) *

...ela	Story of hardship makes her wish to celebrate her achievements and resilience. "People think that an ophthalmic nurse is more interesting". Desire for status in becoming a "specialist". Feels she must live up to social expectations. Value of symbols and status of "rank"-"badges and navy blue". No longer subservient- adversity relayed as detached narrative -amusing Chaplinesque story.
Ivor	Polarisation: Pride or regret? . "Mixed feelings"-affirmation and uncertainty. Timidity/self belief need for acknowledgement as active and capable agent. Importance of being part of a group but also being different. "The front runner" "Difference as an advantage" Devastation at criticism of his moral character.
Kirstin	"I cannot see myself without seeing a nurse there. It just becomes part of you". Proud confident and respected by colleagues feels tainted by poor working practices of some colleagues. An equal in healthcare and not a "medical handmaiden"
Margaret	Self effacement -a "basic" nurse. Why? Shuns material trappings of success. Pride in her personal knowledge and expertise yet glimpses of her self-doubt. Self-perceives as "stamped from the same 1960s mould of resilient confident resourceful carers. "Care" as label for nurses collective identities.
Maureen	Finding out "who she is" has become important. Self perceived as diligent/conscientious and responsible. Perceives self-worth in terms of value of her contribution to caring. Little self-doubt. "In your 50s 'the train slows down a bit' and there is time to get to know yourself".
Sally	Proud of her traditional nursing background- "stamped out from a blueprint of a "good" nurse". "The slightly bossy older sister"-"the Colleague of choice"- self perception as carer/nurturer. Holes clearly defined values. "Married to the job?". Emotionally resilient "washing the patients feet"-parallel with saintly image of Mary Magdalen. Defined by who she is and not the badges she wears.
Alan	Need for self esteem, recognition and self-advancement has led him down other avenues-counselling law degree. Regrets the "dumbing down" and diminished public perception of the ACC role. "Life is "history repeating itself"-diminished sense of novelty and anticipation.
Gareth	Uniform symbolises and bestows reassurance & self confidence.-' a person who somebody an approach and ask for help'. Airline 'bubble' is both a refuge /comfort zone that sustains him and a cage which constrains him . Protects from viewpoint: "Monkeys serving tea and coffee getting lots of money and having fun down-route"' . I am very negative to be honest'
Julian	Perceives herself self as "extension of one of the airlines product lines". Dissatisfied with his own physical and psychological state. But wants to be seen as competent, confident, single-minded and resilient. On entering a more privileged social world: "you almost feel like you are part of their life". Shuns the banal and mediocre.
Justin	"Balanced", "fun", "responsible", "conscientious". Comfortable in his own skin. Little acting and "mainly him". Strong professional role identity. Self perception as "brave". Professional pride in technical aspects of his job.
Mairead	Pride and positive identity-"I loved the green uniform". In all her working roles M asserts "they suited me because I was kind of myself"
Sandra	Identity is not framed by her professional role. "People out there pretend they don't give a toss about flying... Yet all of a sudden they are prepared to lose their best friend to stand their ground over something that once upon a time they perhaps didn't even care about."

9.10 Emergent Theme: *'What matters to me?'* (Expressed and Implied Personal Values)

"What matters to me?" (Expressed and Implied Personal Values) **＊**

Angela	Family values-likes to be treated like a daughter-"Oh I want you to be my Nan, you are so lovely". Belief in a place where one is understood, valued respected.
Ivor	Driven by a perceived moral code?-Enhancing quality of patient experience. Empowerment of nurses and patients themselves. Belief in a world where principles not policies represent the guiding framework for moral/legal/caring behaviour. Sees utopian world of no accountability no burden of proof to show one is competent/human. Moral obligation to disclose truth to patients- high personal standards-"sets himself above".
Kirstin	Belief in her responsibility to care for others-fair-minded and equitable in approach-checks upon herself to ensure she remained so. Determined to fight injustice and poorly coordinated care. Moral dilemmas about being kind and being honest about patients prognoses.
Margaret	Difficulty applying her value system to those who transgressed for understandable mitigating reasons. Treating patients as friends and "real people". Emphasis on discipline and strong moral code. Philanthropic/altruistic persuasion-belief in personal autonomy. Desire to change the world for good. Accepting of people but intolerant of cruelty.
Maureen	Belief in professionalism/accountability/philanthropy/honesty a pause being tied to commercial imperatives. Committed yet unsentimental in her work. On the conceptualisation of people from "human beings" to human resources".-"We are now like the gas and the electricity"
Sally	Loyalty, trust, support are values she cherishes. Finds unkindness or "coldness" difficult to understand or tolerate. Is she prepared to do too much? "Setting a good example" high expectations of others lead to disappointment. Cares for patients beyond the threshold of the hospital. Laments deterioration in standards of care.
Alan	Support and advice to colleagues if needed but "I am not their father". Philanthropy and good works as means of the stowing positive self-identity. A campaigner for fair treatment of passengers. Sees social investment is part of the job. Sees age as the enemy of dignity and self-esteem
Gareth	Has a moral duty of care which transcends the airline's minimum service requirements. An internal "moral compass". Laments exploitation of individual workers "I think it is a global disease now" sense of concern and fairness for others. On supporting ancillary staff: "well I hope I still have got some sort of humanity left in me"
Julian	"A tidy house is a tidy mind" does J need a "religion" to follow?-Has a deep ethical and philanthropic persuasion but uncertain what he really believes in.
Justin	Gives 100% and expects the same from others-irritated when this does not happen. Persistent and non-judgemental. "Others above self?" Jay wants everybody to be happy. Perfectionist traits
Mairead	Secure in her values and beliefs-compelled to address situations of perceived wrongdoing e.g. whistleblowing on "poor care of single mother in maternity hospital"
Sandra	There-mindedness makes you disapprove of demonising groups of people once people treated fairly, with dignity and respect as she would like to be treated herself.

9.11 Superordinate Theme: Offering my service' (Performing, Experiencing & Making Sense of Emotional Self-Management)

"Offering my service' (Performing, Experiencing & Making Sense of Emotional Self-Management) *

Angela	Crying as release: crying a lot a lot yet self presents as very happy. Helps to get rid of the anger and the sadness. On bad news: "you run out of words and you don't know what else to say". A mixed bag of emotions positive and negative. "Swapping patients" to provide emotional respite between colleagues
Ivor	Challenges of suppressing happiness when his work requires it. When to flick the professional's "internal emotional switch"? Conflicting pulls on I's attention: people versus correct procedures. Being positive or hiding the truth? "Emotions muddy the water"-is this why he is driven to find rules/rational explanation? Emotions a euphemism for tensions and difficulties for I.? Self-perception as champion of difficult emotional encounters
Kirstin	ESM from a theoretical not an instinctive approach. "Acted" as a mother in a way that seemed plausible and "researched and learned" as she progressed. Due upon her own loneliness and separation from family to understand/empathise. Self-imposed limits to the extent of her involvement with patients. "You have to be very careful what you say" juggling her own "mixed emotions" need for distance but displaying empathy.
Margaret	Distress of caring for patients who may not recover. More comfortable with patients who are vulnerable because of their own mental/physical state. When she is not in control this makes her unhappy. Circumnavigates potentially "toxic situations by "knowing more about patients". Sees nurse as "comforter"
Maureen	Self-assured "emotional self-manager"-"emotional" self-awareness" but not "governance". Humour as coping strategy-some others see misery all the time". Irony of patients in real distress vs. impatient patients with trivial conditions. "Mixed feelings"- deep compassion with acute frustration and irritation. Self-determination controlling the intensity and length of demanding work..
Sally	A "sixth sense" of a looming interaction problems: "feeling animosity". Absorbing patients and relatives anger. Putting herself in patients shoes. Embraces the ordinary and mundane as opportunities for social engagement. Desire to connect and help patients transcends any disinclination to curtail her emotional labour. S "is herself" at work
Alan	Self-awareness does not necessarily bring resilience. Normal pressures of life are exaggerated by disruptive working patterns. Breaks organisational display rules when it seems appropriate. As a child required to contain his emotions: "don't cry if you have hurt yourself". Mundanity can be as stressful as emergency-sheer overwhelming fatigue. Feels that "he cannot let the mask slip"-hiding his disillusionment/emotional dissonance. His "emotional pot" has diminished
Gareth	Self perceives as vulnerable-wants to help but also needs respect. Seldom "offloads" frustrations and other people-guided by his perceptions of how he should behave. Slow to react heatedly in negative customer exchanges. But now, routine activities coexist with potentially life-changing emergencies.
Julian	Initially perceived "social front" as amusing an interesting challenge-performative experimentation. "A lot of fakeness now and emotions I couldn't park" ability to project has significantly diminished: "a lot of fakeness-there is too much hiding behind the truth in that job". "Blows hot and cold" in his concern for standards and customer care.
Justin	Changing faces and per Sony as per situational demands. "Biting his tongue". "Mixed feelings"-joy and relief with frustration and anger. Playing out his experience of a major emergency in three dimensions-"physical", "mental " "emotional ". Importance of drills and protocols. Reliving the horror is an important part of recovery. "Active agent" in his own emotional recovery. Likes/needs to laugh.
Mairead	Tried and trusted techniques. Disinclined to make dramas. "Rescue mission" to Gander island Newfoundland post-9/11. Liminal spaces(galley and ward station) "hugely important" as release opportunities to dispel frustration. General decline in passenger attitudes and respect-becoming increasingly invisible to their eyes.
Sandra	Coping with irregularity is about anticipation and acceptance. "To know yourself is key"-the need to reflect upon reasons for difficulties experienced. Deals with situations pragmatically and avoids "the drama". Juggle the requirement for presenting a credible face of authority with a personal need to connect and interact socially with colleagues.

'Serving myself well' (Conceptualizing, Experiencing and Determining Well-being) ✱

Angela	Feelings of isolation and diminished self-worth or threats to self-confidence/well-being. "Happiness for me maybe if I retire!"-Living in the past and for the future? Celebrates her integration into British culture and society. Well-being means a good personal relationship and also a loving relationship with parents.
Ivor	Positive attitude is key. Confused by contradictory assertions from others on ways to lead a better life. Wellness perceived as subjective ,multi-layered concept- not simply "black and white". WB connected to others WB. Solitude is threat to WB-"a prison where alone with one's thoughts without the wisdom of others to make sense of them"
Kirstin	Hobbies take her into a different "fun dimension"-"I am doing Zumba, I am going to the gym and I have done belly dancing here". Believes in self-determination of well-being-expansion of geographic and professional boundaries have been very fulfilling.
Margaret	Happiness and well-being needs to permeate across work, social and personal divides. Excitement/companionship/adventure are three key components in her WB. "Making a difference and having meaning"-work and personal life are deeply interconnected. Planned therapeutic relaxation and release from emotional pressure.
Maureen	About having "me time" but not about "navel gazing". Recharging time spent on M's allotment. Actively seeks complementary therapies. "I don't think we focus on ourselves-I mean the spirit-the essence of us". "If you have a master or mistress... Or any sort of addiction then you are never going to win". "Keep on chasing after big treats and you miss out on the other little treats on life's journey"
Sally	Our meetings has prompted further reflection and re-evaluation of her work-life balance. Time to claim her freedom and attend to herself as a person?. Shows me her renewed passport as a symbolic "threshold to freedom". "If I left tomorrow the world would go on"
Alan	Identifying the trade-off between "easy" and "fulfilling". "Looking at those fun times and the things that the job has brought me rather than the things the job has maybe cost me". "Biggest challenge is loneliness" "solitude and peace" are again.. Searching for the elusive "social engagement guarantee"
Gareth	Achieved at a cost to his well-being?. "Hardwired" willingness to serve and the emotional costs?. Sees his future happiness outside of aviation. "Since we last met I am even more tired and I am beginning to be concerned about my health and my well-being" "I can't remember when I last woke up rested"
Julian	Aspires to a "work-life" balance but does not feel he has achieved this yet. His physical well-being is greatly affected by his emotional state. "My situation is bad and upsetting but I am still here and I am still alive and I am still able to do what I want to do"-freedom but at what cost?
Justin	Self perceives as a "get up and go" sort of person.-a "people person" with the sunny disposition glass "half full" perspective. "I have always been a "go lucky" person. If someone says 'it is going to rain today' I will say 'well the sun might come out later' ". "Looking forward" ,"having meaning" having "pride" and "mattering to others".
Mairead	Cornerstone to a happy life in her eyes are "family enduring friendships and loving reciprocal relationships". Being active ,keeping fit and having many interests to sustain inside and outside the home. Sense of fun and sharp wit.
Sandra	Ability to "live" and not just exist away from home. Anticipates and manages fatigue with a well-developed personal system. Strategic in her management of time and ensures a proper worklife balance. S appears to "know herself and her preferred rhythm of existence" "gets the job to work for her". Seeking out polar opposite experiences of her work whilst at home "swapping face powder for dust" and fresh air and the 'aircraft cabin' for the great outdoors.