

Customer responses to emotional labour in discrete and relational service exchange

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I worked with one flight attendant who put on a fake voice. On the plane she raised her voice about four octaves and put a lot of sugar and spice into it... I watched the passengers wince. What the passengers want is real people.

A flight attendant, quoted by Hochschild (1983, p. 108)

Expression of emotion as part of the work role has attracted considerable interest from researchers (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Fondas and Stuart, 1994; Grover, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Price *et al.*, 1995; Sutton and Rafaeli, 1988; Wharton, 1993). Hochschild (1983), for example, has examined the expressive demands placed on flight attendants, and Leidner (1993) has researched the ways in which fast-food employees strike a balance between pre-scripted and spontaneous expressions of emotion. Such work is important to the practice and research of services marketing because service employees are often required to express certain emotions as a part of their jobs. For instance, the training and marketing of "friendly" service employees has been reported in not only traditional service industries such as healthcare (Rogers, 1995), banking (Siles *et al.*, 1994), and airline travel (Goldsborough, 1987), but also in professional services such as accountancy firms (Andrus *et al.*, 1990) and in less prototypical service arenas such as automobile dealerships (Harris, 1988), motor gasoline stations (Rickard, 1995), government agencies (Bidlake, 1993), and clothing stores (Paris, 1986).

Managerial expectations for certain types of emotional expression can compel service providers to express emotions that they do not truly feel. Hochschild (1983, p. 7) has called this "emotional labour," which she defines as "induc[ing] or suppress[ing] feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others." Research has suggested that

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emotional labour is easier for some individuals than for others (Lennox and Wolfe, 1984; Snyder, 1974) and for some work roles than for others (Leidner, 1993; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Wharton 1993), but overall negative effects of emotional labour on service providers have been documented. These effects have included creating role stress (Price *et al.*, 1995), fostering questions about identity (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983), and causing “emotional exhaustion” (Wharton, 1993). Given these potentially negative human-resources consequences, it is important to understand the ways in which customers respond to a service provider’s emotional labour. When a customer believes that an employee is not being genuine in his or her expression of emotion, how does this impact the customer’s evaluation of the service?

As the quotation at the outset of this paper suggests, customers may not respond favourably to emotional expression that seems faked. However, it is no secret that service employees are being paid for what they do, and customers may therefore know that it is unreasonable to expect true feelings from every provider (Bitran and Hoech, 1992, p. 90; Deighton, 1992, p. 366; Hochschild, 1983, p. 34; Solomon *et al.*, 1985, p. 4). Thus, perception of emotional labour may not negatively affect evaluations of the service. To test how – or if – customers balance their desire for “real” emotions with their recognition that emotional labour is part of the service experience, this paper uses the impression management framework to operationalize perceived emotional labour, and its opposite, perceived emotional effortlessness. It then tests the impact of these perceptions on customer evaluations. Results suggest that customer perceptions of emotional labour or effortlessness may not significantly impact customer evaluations, except in relational (versus discrete) marketing exchanges.

Impression management in marketing: overview and adaptation

To provide a foundation for the laboratory experiment reported later, it is important to be clear how emotional labour might be operationalized. Impression management (Goffman, 1959, 1969) provides a useful foundation for an operationalization. However, because certain important elements of the impression management framework have not been fully applied in the marketing literature, this section offers a brief critical review of impression management theory and its applications in marketing.

Front and back stage

During most social interactions, individuals will often try to display that which meets social expectations and/or supports a desired impression (Solomon *et al.*, 1985). They also will choose not to exhibit many other things – including that which is felt to be private, irrelevant, difficult to communicate, or threatening to the achievement of the goal (Derlega *et al.*, 1993; Gilbert, 1976; Goffman, 1959). To describe this social process, the impression management framework refers to two regions, or “stages,” of interaction (Scheier and Carver, 1983; Schlenker, 1980). The “front stage” is that which is chosen to be shown as part of the focal

interaction; the “back stage” is that which is not. For example, a restaurant’s management is likely to decorate the dining area tastefully and to staff it with customer-oriented employees, thus contributing to the customer’s impression of polished, personal service. However, the restaurant’s kitchen area is likely to be hidden because its employees and appearance might give customers an impression of mass-production or messy working conditions (Grove and Fisk, 1991, p. 66). In marketing, front and back regions are almost universally defined from the consumer’s perspective (e.g., Mangold and Babakus, 1991), although customers do also have front and back stages (Grove and Fisk, 1992).

Biases in the application of impression management

Historically, the study of impression management activity has reflected a bias toward situations in which an appealing or acceptable front stage is constructed in order to mask an unpleasant or unacceptable back stage (Jacobs, 1992; Schlenker, 1980, p. 8). For example, a hair stylist in a beauty salon may express interest in and sympathy with the problems of a customer, but during a coffee break may confess total boredom with the conversation (Thomas, 1937, p. 135). Despite this research tendency, the impression management framework allows conceptualization of other front-stage/back-stage combinations. For example, interactants may choose to present a negative front stage while hiding a positive back stage. This is illustrated in Becker and Martin’s (1995) study of employees who perform poorly at work in order to avoid onerous tasks and workplace competition. Researchers have also noted instances in which interactants try to bring their front and back stages into consonance. This has been described as “authentic self-presentation” (Leary, 1993, p. 146), “deep acting” (Hochschild, 1983, p. 33), and “self projection” (Schlenker, 1980, p. 8). The concept of “authentic self-presentation” emphasizes the fact that performances in the front stage are not always crafted to cover up or suppress feelings in the back stage, although they may still require some effort on the part of the performer.

In marketing, the application of impression management has reflected a further bias: front and back stage are generally defined in terms of whether or not an area is seen by a customer. As illustrated in Figure 1, front stage is said to be whatever falls within the customer’s view, and back stage is whatever does not (Gummesson, 1990, p. 44; Lovelock, 1991, pp. 14-15; Shostack, 1981, 1987)[1]. For example, hospital operating rooms tend to be kept from customers’ view, and are therefore considered to be back stage. When managers allow a patient’s family into the operating room – thus revealing what has previously been hidden – their actions have been described by marketing researchers as bringing the back stage into the front stage (see, e.g. Grove and Fisk, 1989, p. 436; Grove *et al.*, 1992, p. 111).

This approach to front and back stage has provided the basis for useful conclusions about services marketing (e.g. Grove and Fisk, 1989; Matteis, 1979). However, it reflects a simplification of the impression management framework as developed by sociologists, and therefore does not permit a full investigation

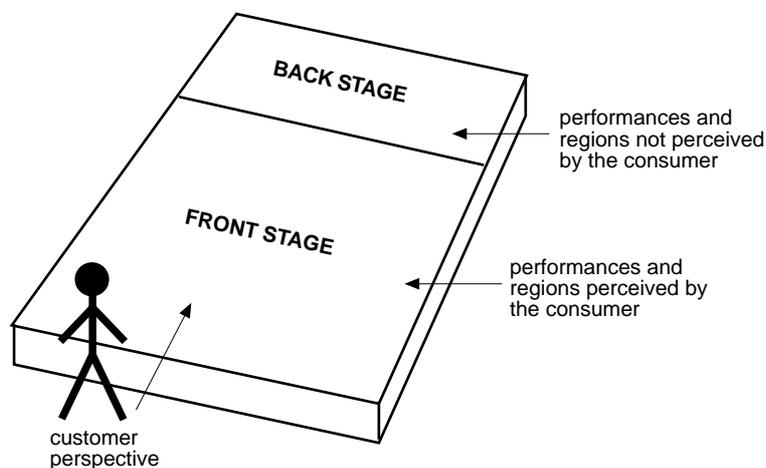


Figure 1.
Conception of front and back stage in marketing

of impression management phenomena. As a number of impression management scholars have asserted (Goffman, 1959, p. 209; Schlenker, 1980; Tedeschi and Reiss, 1981; Thomas, 1937, p. 137) – and as some marketing researchers have mentioned (Grove and Fisk, 1989, p. 436; Price *et al.*, 1995, p. 90) – customers may be exposed to what they believe to be the back stage, despite the fact that the region is no longer hidden. For example, when exposed to a hospital operating room, customers may report that they have had a glimpse into the back stage. Because of this, customers will evaluate this area much differently than if they perceive it to be front-stage.

Adaptation of previous models

To accommodate the above aspect of impression management theory, this paper proposes an adaptation of the conventional marketing framework by adding a third region called the “perceived back stage” (see Figure 2)[2]. Customers can gain exposure to this perceived back stage as a result of three types of experiences: unstaged exposure, staged exposure, and hypothetical exposure (see Table I). These types of exposures depend on whether the customer and/or the marketer believe that the area exposed is a back-stage area. For instance, with unstaged exposures, a customer is exposed to an area or a performance that both the marketer and the customer believe to be back stage. Goffman (1959, p. 209) refers to these as “inopportune intrusions” because they often happen by surprise to both the marketer and the customer. However, unstaged exposures are not always a surprise to the marketer. For example, as Price *et al.* (1995, p. 90) observe, white-water rafting guides who meet fellow guides during a trip may consciously take a “moment out of trip” to interact informally with their colleagues. A by-product of this interaction is the knowing but unstaged exposure of customers to the guides’ back stage (which, in Price *et al.*’s words, is bringing the “back stage” into the “foreground”).

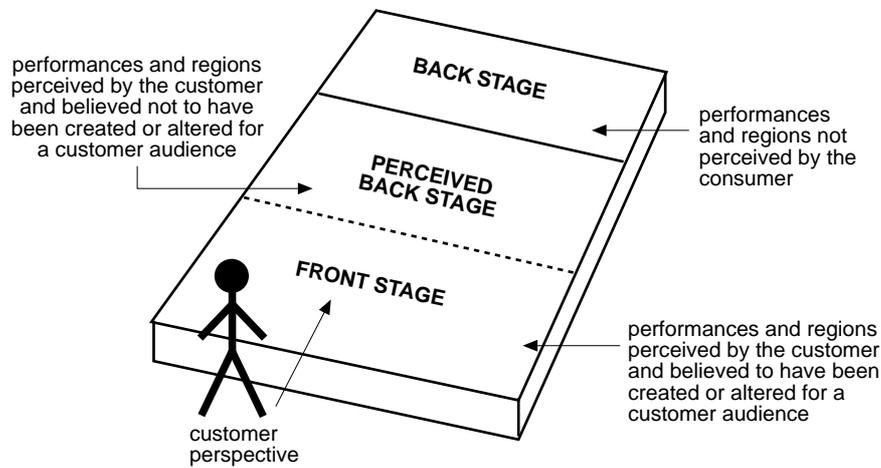


Figure 2.
Adapted conception of front and back stage

Type of exposure	Perceived by consumer?	Thought by consumer to be back-stage?	Thought by marketer to be back-stage?	Example: a car repair shop's repair area
None	No	Yes	Yes	A car repair shop keeps customers in the reception area and does not let them see the dirty and disorganized repair area
Unstaged	Yes	Yes	Yes	A customer unexpectedly enters the repair area and sees that it is dirty and disorganized
Staged	Yes	Yes	No	The repair shop has its PR firm create a "behind-the-scenes" promotional video which is played in the reception area and which presents the image of a clean and organized repair area
Hypothetical	Yes	Yes	-	A customer imagines that a car repair shop's repair area is dirty and disorganized

Table I.
Comparison and contrast of different types of back-stage exposure

A second type of back-stage perception may result from a staged exposure – when a customer is exposed to an area or performance designed by the marketer to give the impression of seeing the back stage. MacCannell (1976, p. 79) refers to this as a “staged back region,” because the marketer views it as a front-stage performance but the consumer sees it as the back stage. Lastly, back-stage perceptions may occur because the customer uses front-stage cues to imagine what the back stage might be like. This is called hypothetical

exposure because the customer is not actually exposed to a region, and the marketer is usually unaware that this “exposure” has occurred.

The concept of a perceived back stage helps to emphasize that the distinction between front and back stage is not physically defined – for example, by a wall or barrier – but is instead socially determined (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1976, p. 92)[3]. As illustrated in Figure 2, customers making a decision about front and back stage will focus on whether or not the area (or performance) was created or altered with a customer audience in mind (MacCannell, 1976, p. 100). Customers will base such a decision on a number of cues, including not only whether or not the cues are shown, but also the way in which they are shown and the social context in which they are shown (Belk, 1975; Kleine and Kernan, 1991; McCall and Simmons, 1982, pp. 407-9; Schutz, 1970, p. 81). Thus, for the purposes of estimating customer evaluations, it is more important to know whether or not a customer perceives that a service provider is performing emotional labour than to know whether or not the service provider actually feels the way she or he is acting.

Based on the preceding theoretical development, this research will use the following definition of perceived emotional labour/effortlessness:

Perceived emotional labour is a customer’s perception that the service provider’s emotional expressions in the front stage are incongruent with his/her expressions in the back stage.

Perceived emotional effortlessness is a customer’s perception that the service provider’s expressions in the front stage are congruent with those in the back stage.

This front-stage/back-stage definition is convergent with Hochschild’s (1983, p. 7) definition of emotional labour (mentioned above), and is parallel to Price *et al.*’s (1994) operationalization of “authenticity,” which they define in part as genuineness and being one’s “own person.” Although the use of terms such as “(in)sincere” and “(in)authentic” may at first appear to be more natural and appropriate for describing the constructs in this paper, sincerity and authenticity have been previously examined and defined in ways that are divergent with the concept of perceived emotional labour (Stern, 1994; Taylor, 1991; Trilling, 1971).

Having outlined a framework for defining perceived emotional labour/effortlessness, the paper moves on to present two theoretical explanations for why this perception may have a negative impact on evaluations of service performance. However, before moving on, it is important to note that there are perspectives on the self that are different from the dichotomous front-stage/back-stage perspective presented by scholars on impression management and emotional labour. For example, a number of scholars have argued that the self is much better understood as polychotomous, with not just two but multiple “stages” of the self, often existing simultaneously (e.g., Elster, 1987; Lyotard, 1979; Radden, 1996). However, although these alternative views have opened new avenues for understanding the self, they have not made the dichotomous view irrelevant or defunct. As emphasized by the more recent references in this paper, as well as by the empirical results of

this research, the dichotomous model remains a useful way of understanding customer perceptions of marketing interactions.

Distaste for emotional labour: two theoretical explanations

Scholars in sociology and social psychology have noted that human communication can carry two types of value (Athay and Darley, 1982; Daft, 1983; Eisenstadt and Roniger, 1984; Foa and Foa, 1980; Haas and Deseran, 1981; Hirschman, 1987). One value is hedonic: it is inherent in the communication itself and often serves emotional needs (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982; Price *et al.* 1995, p. 85). The other value is instrumental: it serves a rational need or is a means to an end. Service provider communication may offer hedonic value by engaging the customer's interest, entertaining the customer, or using courtesy and tact to make an interaction go smoothly. Service-provider communication may create instrumental value by reminding guests about hotel check-out times, describing the ingredients used in a restaurant entree, or predicting the likely outcome of a legal case. Although these two values are conceptually and practically distinguishable, most communication will carry both (Daft, 1983). For example, a hotel desk clerk's story about a local landmark may be hedonically valuable because of the story's entertaining qualities, and instrumentally valuable because of the story's information about sightseeing opportunities. The distinction between hedonic and instrumental communication value provides the basis for two different (but not mutually exclusive) explanations for why perceived emotional labour may have a negative impact on customer evaluations. Each of these explanations is described below.

Perceived emotional labour and hedonic communication in western culture

Research in sociology and anthropology suggests that western consumers (as opposed to consumers from other cultures) may find emotional labour to be inherently less enjoyable than perceived emotional effortlessness. As a number of scholars have observed, (Abiodun *et al.*, 1990; Cheek and Hogan, 1983; Drewal, 1977; Fenigstein *et al.*, 1975; Hamaguchi, 1985; Goffman, 1959; Scheier and Carver, 1983), cultures differ in terms of the importance placed on the congruence between front and back stage. For instance, Japanese society historically has discouraged individuals from allowing themselves to be influenced by "the straightforward claim of the naked ego" (or back stage), and has instead encouraged the presentation of a front stage that meets a complex set of social expectations (Hamaguchi, 1985, as quoted by Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Similarly, daily interaction among members of Africa's Yoruba culture emphasizes the role of the front stage (the *ori ode* or "outer head") in masking the back stage (i.e., the *ori inu* or "inner head") (Abiodun *et al.*, 1990; Drewal, 1977). In these cultures, interactions are generally more enjoyable when they follow social norms, and more importance is therefore placed on managing the front stage to be congruent with these norms.

In contrast, Western cultures place more importance on managing the front stage to be convergent with what is in the back stage (Bond, 1983; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Shweder and Miller, 1985). Scholars studying this tendency have traced its roots to Western socio-political forces such as rapid urbanization, growing democratization, and advances in technology (Eisenstadt and Roniger, 1984; Halttunen, 1982; Orvell, 1989; Trilling, 1971). However, regardless of this tendency's origins, Westerners place great inherent value on feelings that are "authentically" felt and communicated; and on individuals who present their "real" selves in interactions (Carter, 1982; Gurevitch, 1985). In Western cultures, better interpersonal and psychological experiences are said to result from situations in which individuals are showing their true selves (Jourard, 1964; Price *et al.*, 1994; Taylor, 1991). Building from this, the following hypothesis may be offered, which formally summarizes this paper's central research question:

H1A: Customers will evaluate a service more highly when they perceive a congruence between the service provider's front stage and perceived back stage than when they perceive an incongruence.

In their analyses of sincerity and authenticity, Trilling (1971) and Taylor (1991) assert that Western culture has gone so far as to value any genuine feeling, even if it is negatively valenced. While this may be the case in some of the political and artistic arenas mentioned by these authors, it is not likely to hold true in service encounters, where customers are generally paying for positive experiences. This leads to an intuitively obvious modification of the first hypothesis:

H1B: Customers will evaluate a service more highly when the service provider's emotional expression is positive than when the emotional expression is negative.

To understand more clearly the impact of emotional expression in services, it must be placed in relation to the impact of other aspects of the service provider's performance. Previous research on services has suggested that, on the whole, customers place greater relative importance on the "core" of the service offering than on its interactional elements. For instance, in their study of life-insurance services, Crosby and Stephens (1987) support the claim that an agent's personal communication can add value to the service package, but cannot substitute for an exceptional core offering. And, in their study of convenience-store cashiers, Sutton and Rafaeli (1988) found that cashier friendliness had a negative impact on consumer satisfaction because it was perceived to interfere with the service efficiency that is core to the convenience-store offering. This suggests that, in order for emotional expression to have a differential impact on service evaluations, the core of the service must be good:

H2: Hypotheses H1A and H1B will hold when the core is positive, but not when it is negative.

Emotional labour may also affect the instrumental value of an interaction by communicating to the customer that the service provider cannot be trusted. As part of what has been called a “major directional change in both marketing theory and practice” (Morgan and Hunt, 1994, p. 20), marketing researchers have recently devoted considerable attention to the importance of trust in the development of exchange relationships (e.g., Ganesan, 1994; Morgan and Hunt, 1994). Trust has generally been defined in terms of “reliability,” using indicators relating to promise-keeping and truth-telling (e.g., Ganesan, 1994, p. 3; Larzelere and Huston, 1980, p. 595-6; Morgan and Hunt, 1994, p. 23). Although breaking a promise or telling a lie is not the same as ending a conversation with an insincere “Have a nice day,” there are two related explanations for why emotional labour (or a perceived lack thereof) may impact perceptions of trust.

First, Haas and Deseran (1981) have argued that trust is built not only on objective grounds (via such things as telling the truth and keeping promises), but also on symbolic grounds (via such things as giving gifts and offering positive expressions about the relationship). The latter are communicative symbols, which are processed as “documents or evidences of certain orientations” (Haas and Deseran, 1981, p. 5). In other words, although a genuine greeting is not reliable *per se*, it may nonetheless support a climate of trust by symbolizing openness. Secondly, as MacCannell (1976, p. 94) writes, Western society’s emphasis on back-stage knowledge “supports the popular beliefs regarding the relationship of truth to intimacy.” Thus, customers may well have an implicit personality theory (Schneider 1973) relating emotional labour to such attributes as insincerity, dishonesty, promise-breaking, and deception, all of which have been used as indicators of trust in previous research (Crosby *et al.*, 1990; Ganesan, 1994; Moorman *et al.*, 1993; Morgan and Hunt, 1994).

Although some previous research on relationships in marketing has examined the impact of communication, few have studied emotional expression. Most have taken what Mohr and Nevin (1990) call a “mechanistic perspective” on communication, examining such attributes as the timeliness and frequency of communication (Anderson and Narus, 1990; Anderson and Weitz, 1989; Moorman *et al.*, 1992; Morgan and Hunt, 1994). One exception is Moorman *et al.* (1993), who found emotional expression (or “congeniality,” defined in terms of friendliness, agreeability, good disposition) to have a significant but small negative effect on trust in relational marketing exchanges. However, this study did not measure whether or not the emotional expression was (in)genuine – a factor which may explain the negative correlation between communication and trust. Price *et al.*, (1995) more clearly support an association between authentic expression and boundary-open relationships, but this was only for extended, affective, intimate service encounters. However, in their extension of this research to service encounters that are more discrete (Price *et al.*, 1994), they did not find a differential effect for perceived authenticity between discrete and relational encounters. Thus, the following hypothesis proposes to test whether

or not the Price *et al.* (1994, 1995) findings can be replicated in a laboratory setting:

H3: The impact of the relationships described in H1A and H1B will be stronger when the exchange situation is more relational than discrete.

Two studies were implemented to test the hypotheses presented above. The first study tested H1A, H1B, and H2. Then, building from the results in Study One, Study Two tested H3. The two studies are described in sequence below.

Study one: Emotional labour and core performance

Summary of design

The design for this study is similar to that used by Kiesler *et al.*, (1967) and Baron (1988), who asked subjects to make evaluations based on information about both the perceived back stage and the front stage of individuals. In the present study, subjects were exposed to expressive communication in the perceived back stage via an audio tape of a private interview with a hotel desk clerk. In the portion of the interview played to subjects, the clerk expressed either positive or negative emotion about working with customers. Subjects were then exposed to an audio tape of the same service provider handling a problem at the front desk. The clerk was either helpful or unhelpful in solving the problem, and expressed either positive or negative emotion towards the customer. The resulting study tested hypotheses H1A, H1B, and H2 in a 2 (positive/negative expressive back stage) X 2 (positive/negative expressive front stage) X 2 (good/poor core performance) full-factorial between-subjects design. Implicit in this design was a manipulation for emotional labour/effortlessness. When front stage and perceived back stage were both positive or both negative, the performance communicated emotional effortlessness. When front stage and perceived back stage had different valences, the performance communicated emotional labour. Details of the study's method are described below.

Independent variables and creation of stimuli

The focus for this study was a business customer's encounter with a hotel desk clerk. The hotel service environment was chosen because emotional expression has been shown to be important to business customers at hotels (Weaver and Oh, 1993), and because of the likelihood (confirmed during the experiments) that subjects had had previous experience as hotel customers. To develop the stimuli, the author spent three days observing the front desk at each of two Midwestern hotels, both of which were part of a national chain and served primarily business customers. Front-desk interactions were recorded in field notes and were discussed with the customer service managers at each of these hotels. Two types of customer service problems were selected as representative, and scripts for these interactions were developed from field notes and from Leidner's (1993) field work on service interactions. Actors then performed these scripts in a professional audio recording studio, and the resulting tapes were

edited and mixed for realism and for between-stimulus similarity. The two sets of interactions were then played to colleagues who were blind to the study's hypotheses, and the most realistic interaction (in which a customer's no-smoking room smelled like smoke) was chosen. In this chosen set of customer interactions, the employee's core response to the problem was either good (the clerk sends up an air freshener and ionizer to deodorize the room) or poor (the clerk asks the customer to put up with the smell for a day). It was also either pleasant (the clerk's tone was warm and friendly) or unpleasant (the clerk's tone was cool and sullen). The duration of each interaction was approximately 60 seconds.

The actor performing the clerk role also recorded a series of scripted one-on-one interviews with the author. The same questions were asked by the author (e.g., "What do you like most about your job?"), but different answers were given. In one version, the clerk expressed positive affect towards working with customers (e.g., "working with customers, I mean, that's definitely a plus," and "it's kind of like making new friends in a way for me, in a way, and I like that"). In another version, the clerk expressed negative affect (e.g., "dealing with customers . . . y'know that's definitely not, y'know, my favourite part of the job," and "some people really enjoy the interaction and helping people and all that but . . . it's just not for me"). Several versions of these interviews were then played to colleagues who were blind to the study's hypotheses, and the most realistic interview segments were chosen. The duration of each interview segment was approximately 90 seconds.

Method and dependent measures

Subjects were 64 students attending a Midwestern graduate business programme. Four subjects were withdrawn from analysis because they had not stayed at a hotel within a year of the study and/or were not native to Western culture (which was the focal culture in this study). Subjects' average age was 27.2 years and average work experience was 4.6 years.

Subjects were told that they would be hearing different audio tapes that were recorded as part of a long-term research project at a local three-star hotel, and that they would be asked to imagine how they would respond if they themselves were a customer at this hotel. The study's instructions explained that employees at this hotel were interviewed in a hotel conference room under assurances that the resulting audio tapes would not be reviewed by management. Subjects were then exposed to the perceived back stage by hearing a portion of a one-on-one interview with a hotel desk clerk. After this, subjects were exposed to the front stage by hearing an interaction between the same employee and a customer.

Manipulation checks were taken throughout the experiment regarding perceptions of how nice and helpful the employee was; and how much his front stage matched his back stage. Because attribution theory presented a possible alternative explanation for the results, measures were taken of perceptions of the distinctiveness, consistency and consensus of the clerk's behaviour. The key dependent variables were four five-point semantic differential scales adapted

from Bitner (1990); two relating to subjects' evaluations of the service provider, and two relating to evaluations of the hotel.

Methodological considerations

As advised by Cook and Campbell (1979) and reflected in such studies as Bitner (1990) and Surprenant and Solomon (1987), the controlled role-playing method was chosen to enhance attributions of causality (internal validity) and to decrease the likelihood of random variation in the data (statistical conclusion validity). Because human interactions can vary on so many dimensions (Jackson and Jacobs, 1983), a laboratory setting is useful for controlling the independent variables of interest (both within and between experimental cells), while keeping other variables constant (Keppel, 1976, p. 265). For example, in this study, exactly the same customer-response tape was carefully edited onto every stimulus. As a result, the customer reaction heard by each subject was exactly the same and completely consistent across all factors and levels, regardless of employee performance.

Although the above considerations tend to interfere with statistically supportable external validity (Cook and Campbell, 1979), considerable care was given to ensure a match between the stimuli and subjects' experience, and to maximize the realism of the audio tapes and transcripts. In addition to professional studio assistance and peer checks on the stimuli, subjects were asked at the end of the experiment to write down "anything at all about the experiment (e.g., the audio tapes, the questions) that the experimenters should be aware of, or that should be improved." No comments or suggestions were offered about the audio tapes. Also, when told in the debriefing that the tape they heard was recorded for experimental reasons in a studio, many subjects expressed surprise and said that it had sounded "real" to them.

Results

Independent-variable measures: As Table II shows, manipulation checks for each of the independent variables were in the correct direction and highly significant (except for the match/mismatch between front and back stage, which was marginally significant at 0.063)[4].

Dependent-variable measures: Although it was anticipated that the employee and hotel measures would reflect two different factors, the intercorrelations among the four measures did not support this, and an exploratory factor analysis strongly pointed to a one-factor solution (see Table III). Thus, the four dependent measures were analysed as one evaluative construct (Cronbach alpha = 0.836), and MANOVA was used to test the hypothesized effects of the independent variables. Table IV reports the MANOVA results. To illustrate the trend of these results, an average of the four ratings was taken for each subject, and means for each cell are reported in Table V and plotted in Figure 3. (Note that the audio tapes depicted a relatively serious customer problem, so all customer ratings fell in the lower half of the rating scale.)

Manipulation	Low Condition	High Condition	<i>P</i>
<i>Perceived back stage</i>			
Likes job	2.300	3.600	0.000
Enjoys people	1.100	4.067	0.000
<i>Front stage</i>			
Nice	1.655	2.774	0.000
Solved problem	1.833	3.067	0.000
<i>Match between front and back</i>			
Acted like self	3.103	3.677	0.063

Table II. Manipulation checks*, study one

	Employee 2	Hotel 1	Hotel 2
Employee 1	0.555	0.667	0.602
Employee 2		0.484	0.419
Hotel 1			0.638

Table III. Dependent-variable correlations, study one

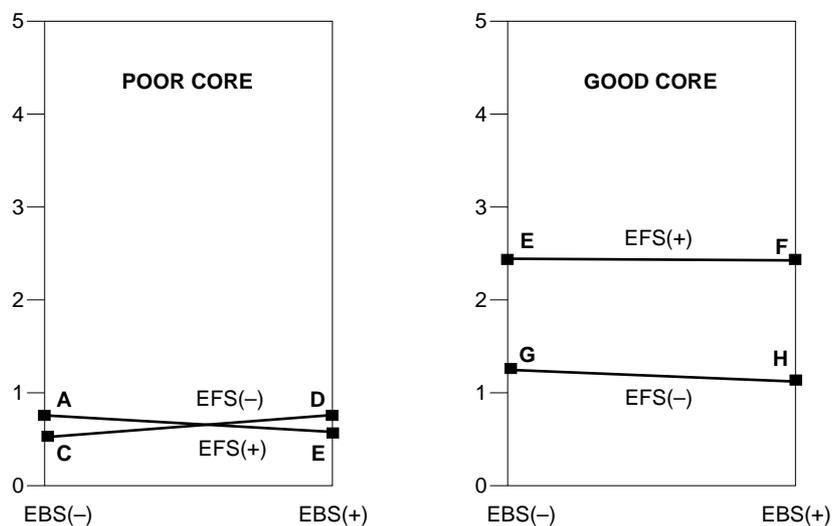
Independent variable	<i>F</i>	<i>Pr > F</i>
Expressive back stage (EBS)	0.621	0.650
Expressive front stage (EFS)	4.348	0.004*
Front stage: core (CFS)	14.335	0.000*
EBS*EFS	0.889	0.477
EBS*CFS	0.825	0.516
EFS*CFS	3.454	0.015*
EBS*EFS*CFS	1.395	0.250

Table IV. Type III F-tests for MANOVA effects, study one

	Poor core Expsv Front Stage (+)	Expsv Front Stage (-)	Good core Expsv Front Stage (+)	Expsv Front Stage (-)
Expressive back stage (+)	0.594	0.786	2.438	1.179
Expressive back stage (-)	0.778	0.563	2.500	1.286

Table V. Mean subject evaluations, study one*

Note: * Numbers in Table are an average of the four dependent measures used in the study and are representative of the MANOVA centroids actually analysed



Note: EFS = expressive front stage; EBS = expressive back stage. Each point in these graphs represents a MANOVA centroid. MANOVA contrasts indicate no significant differences between points A, B, C, D; between E, F; and between G, H. Contrasts indicate significant differences between E, G; and between F, H.

Figure 3.
Illustrations of study one results

The MANOVA results show two main effects and an interaction. The main effects were for core front-stage performance and for expressive front stage, and the interaction was between these two factors. No other main effects or interactions were found. In addition (as illustrated in Figure 3) MANOVA contrasts reveal that the only statistically different cells are those in which both the core and the expressive front stage were positive (contrast between the MANOVA equivalents of E and G produced $F = 5.456$, $p = 0.001$; contrast between the MANOVA equivalents of F and H produced $F = 2.836$ and $p = 0.034$). Any other differences should be attributed to random variation. For a richer view of the data, Table VI reports individual means for each of the four individual dependent variables, and Table VII reports the results of individual ANOVA analyses for each of these dependent variables. These tables illustrate the general trend seen in the MANOVA analysis.

Analysis of results

The results suggest that, in this simulated service setting, both core and emotional aspects of the service are necessary to affect customer evaluations. The impact of positive expressive front-stage communication was significant only when the core front stage was good, and vice versa. This finding supports the null of H2, which predicted that competence was a necessary precondition for satisfaction, but that niceness was not. In contrast with H1A and H1B, performance in the perceived expressive back stage had no impact, neither

Table VI.
LS means for
individual measures,
study one

Point*	Core	EBS	EFS	Employee 1	Employee 2	Hotel 1	Hotel 2
A	Poor	(-)	(+)	0.50	0.38	0.75	0.75
B	Poor	(+)	(+)	0.43	0.71	0.86	1.14
C	Poor	(-)	(-)	0.29	0.29	1.00	1.57
D	Poor	(+)	(-)	0.50	0.63	0.25	0.88
E	Good	(-)	(+)	2.75	1.88	2.75	2.38
F	Good	(+)	(+)	3.13	1.75	3.25	1.88
G	Good	(-)	(-)	1.29	1.00	1.29	1.14
H	Good	(+)	(-)	1.43	1.14	1.14	1.43

Note: *To facilitate comparisons with the figures, this column refers to the points illustrated in Figure 3

Table VII.
F values (and *p* values)
for individual measures,
study one*

	Employee 1	Employee 2	Hotel 1	Hotel 2
Core	56.42 (0.00)	18.21 (0.00)	26.36 (0.00)	5.51 (0.02)
EBS	0.52 (0.47)	0.62 (0.43)	0.07 (0.79)	0.24 (0.63)
EFS	10.19 (0.00)	3.54 (0.06)	13.11 (0.00)	1.13 (0.29)
Core × EBS	0.17 (0.68)	0.56 (0.46)	0.85 (0.36)	0.01 (0.93)
Core × EFS	10.87 (0.00)	2.18 (0.14)	8.78 (0.00)	4.46 (0.04)
EBS × EFS	0.00 (0.95)	0.09 (0.76)	1.91 (0.17)	0.08 (0.77)
Core × EBS × EFS	0.32 (0.57)	0.09 (0.76)	0.04 (0.84)	3.14 (0.08)

Note: * Based on Type III SS

alone nor in interaction with other factors. Whether or not the employee was perceived as performing emotional labour had no significant impact on consumer evaluations.

These results point to several general conclusions. First, they suggest that consumer evaluations in short-term, low-affect, low-intimacy service encounters are not differentially affected by perceived emotional labour, or lack thereof. This supports the assertion that customers realize that service providers are not always expressing their “real” emotions, and that customers therefore do not expect – or care – when they perceive that providers are emotionally labouring. Results from Study One also suggest that customer evaluations are instead affected by the front-stage performance of service employees. Emotionally labouring to be nice received the same evaluation as effortless niceness. Lastly, both good core and expressive performances are necessary in the front stage in order to positively impact customer evaluations.

In terms of this paper's theoretical propositions, the results suggest that the hedonic value of a perceived lack of emotional labour is not important to customers. However, the instrumental value remains to be tested. Because subjects in Study One were not told about the nature of their relationship with the hotel, they may well have thought of it as a discrete relationship. If discrete exchange dampens the instrumental value of genuine expression, this may explain the null results for genuine expression in Study One. Thus, Study Two was designed to test H3, which focused on perceived emotional labour in relational vs. discrete exchange.

Study two: emotional labour and relational exchange

Summary of design

The stimuli used in this study were a subset of those implemented in Study One. Because of the overwhelmingly low evaluations of poor-core interactions in the first study, only good-core interactions were used in Study Two. Thus, Study Two focused on those service situations in which expressive front-stage communication had previously been shown to have an impact on customer evaluations. To explore the potential impact of relational variables, the good/bad core factor was replaced with a relational factor, which is the key focus for this second study.

Method and dependent measures

Subjects were 119 students attending a Midwestern graduate business programme. Thirteen subjects were withdrawn from analysis because they were not native Westerners and/or had not stayed at a hotel within a year of the study. Subjects' average age was 27.8 years and average work experience was 5.1 years.

The audio tapes were presented as described in Study One, with one exception. Early in the study, subjects were given information about their relationship with the hotel. To maximize similar vividness and subject involvement for both levels of this relationship factor, a similar number of descriptors were used to describe the relationship in each scenario. For one condition (discrete exchange), subjects were asked to imagine that they (a) were staying at the hotel for one night on business, (b) did not expect to come back again, and (c) would not see this particular desk clerk again because of the automated check-out procedures. For the second condition (relational exchange), subjects were asked to imagine that they (a) come often to the hotel on business, (b) expect to return to the hotel again on business, and (c) have interacted with this clerk before and probably will again. The resulting study tested H3 in a 2 (positive/negative expressive back stage) X 2 (positive/negative expressive front stage) X 2 (discrete/relational exchange) full-factorial between-subjects design.

Results

Independent-variable measures: As Table VIII shows, manipulation checks for each of the independent variables were in the correct direction and highly significant[5]. (Note that because of the marginal significance in Study One of the manipulation check for match/mismatch between front and back stage, the question was altered for Study Two). Also, because trust was proposed as a central explanatory variable, a manipulation check was taken for this construct, and was significant for both the relationship factor ($F = 5.70, p = 0.019$) and for the expressive back-stage factor ($F = 9.63, p = 0.003$).

Dependent-variable measures: As with Study One, neither the intercorrelations among the four measures nor an exploratory factor analysis supported the existence of two factors (see Table IX). Thus, the four dependent measures were analyzed as one evaluative construct (Cronbach alpha 0.821), and MANOVA was used to test the hypothesized effects of the independent variables. Table X reports the MANOVA results. To illustrate the trend of these results, an average of the four ratings was taken for each subject and means for each cell are reported in Table XI and plotted in Figure 4.

Manipulation	Low Condition	High Condition	p
<i>Perceived back stage</i>			
Likes job	2.370	3.490	0.000
Enjoys people	1.426	3.796	0.000
<i>Front stage</i>			
Nice	2.268	3.638	0.000
<i>Match between front and back</i>			
Behaved as in interview	1.813	3.509	0.000
<i>Relationship</i>			
Duration	2.265	4.093	0.001
Customized	2.148	2.796	0.002
Cooperation	2.574	3.184	0.000
Closeness	1.759	2.469	0.000

Table VIII.
Manipulation checks*,
study two

Note: * LS means and Type III SS

	Employee 2	Hotel 1	Hotel 2
Employee 1	0.567	0.590	0.519
Employee 2		0.497	0.352
Hotel 1			0.684

Table IX.
Dependent-variable
correlations, study two

The MANOVA results show two main effects and an interaction. The main effects were for expressive front-stage performance and for discrete/relational exchange. The interaction was between expressive perceived back stage and expressive front stage. Despite the lack of a three-way interaction, there was an effect for all three factors. This – combined with the planned comparisons implied by the research hypotheses – warrants MANOVA contrasts similar to those implemented in the previous study (Keppel, 1982, pp. 106-7). In the discrete-exchange condition (left side of Figure 4), the equivalent of a main effect can be seen for expressive front stage performance (contrast between the MANOVA equivalents of A and C produced $F = 3.678$, $p = 0.008$; contrast between the MANOVA equivalents of B and D produced $F = 6.255$, $p = 0.000$). In the relational-exchange condition, the key cell is the “genuine expression” cell, i.e., where both expressive front stage and expressive back stage were positive (contrast between the MANOVA equivalents of E and F produced $F = 3.399$ and $p = 0.012$; contrast between the MANOVA equivalents of F and H produced $F = 7.824$ and $p = 0.000$). Note that contrasts between the MANOVA equivalents of A and E; C and G; and D and H were not significant. Thus, the significant main effect for the relational factor was driven primarily by the rise that occurred when there was perceived emotional effortlessness during relational exchange. For a richer view of the data, Table XII reports individual means for each of the four individual dependent variables, and Table XIII reports the results of individual ANOVA analyses for each of these dependent

Independent variable	<i>F</i>	<i>Pr > F</i>
Expressive back stage (EBS)	1.559	0.192
Expressive front stage (EFS)	16.144	0.000*
Relationship (REL)	8.394	0.000*
EBS*EFS	2.474	0.050*
EBS*REL	1.937	0.111
EFS*REL	0.324	0.861
EBS*EFS*REL	0.953	0.438

Table X.
Type III F-tests for MANOVA effects, study two

	Discrete exchange		Relational exchange	
	Expsv Front Stage (+)	Expsv Front Stage (-)	Expsv Front Stage (+)	Expsv Front Stage (-)
Expressive back stage (+)	2.146	1.150	2.688	1.150
Expressive back stage (-)	1.841	1.234	1.667	1.083

Table XI.
Mean subject evaluations, study two*

Note: * Numbers in Table are an average of the four dependent measures used in the study and are representative of the MANOVA centroids actually analysed

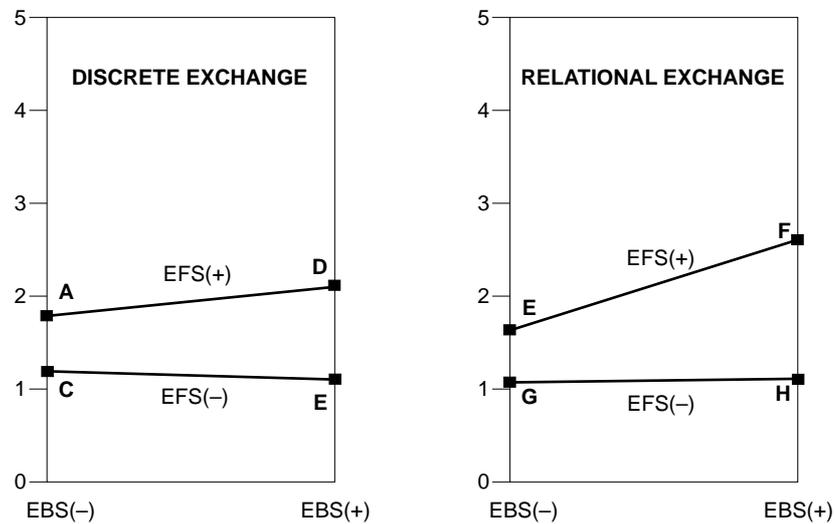


Figure 4.
Illustrations of study
two results

Note: EFS = expressive front stage; EBS = expressive back stage. Each point in these graphs represents a MANOVA centroid. MANOVA contrasts indicate no significant differences between points A, B; between C, D; and between E, G, H. Contrasts indicate significant differences between A, C; and between B, D; between F, H; and between F, E.

variables. These tables illustrate the general trend seen in the MANOVA analysis.

Analysis of results

These results replicate Study One’s finding that expressive front stage has an impact on customer evaluations when combined with service that offers good core performance. This is shown by the main effect for this factor, and is illustrated in Figure 4 by the general upward trend of the positive expressive

Point*	Core	EBS	EFS	Employee 1	Employee 2	Hotel 1	Hotel 2
A	Disc	(-)	(+)	2.36	1.09	2.55	1.36
B	Disc	(+)	(+)	2.75	1.42	2.75	1.67
C	Disc	(-)	(-)	1.56	1.06	1.31	1.00
D	Disc	(+)	(-)	1.27	0.87	1.80	0.67
E	Rel	(-)	(+)	1.75	1.33	2.00	1.58
F	Rel	(+)	(+)	2.83	2.08	3.00	2.83
G	Rel	(-)	(-)	1.13	1.07	1.20	0.93
H	Rel	(+)	(-)	0.90	1.20	1.00	1.50

Table XII.
LS means for
individual measures,
study two

Note: *To facilitate comparisons with the figures, this column refers to the points illustrated in Figure 4

	Employee 1	Employee 2	Hotel 1	Hotel 2	Customer responses to emotional labour	
Rel	3.54 (0.06)	4.10 (0.04)	1.86 (0.18)	8.58 (0.00)	145	
EBS	1.78 (0.19)	2.71 (0.10)	2.83 (0.09)	5.91 (0.02)		
EFS	46.98 (0.00)	7.87 (0.01)	31.60 (0.00)	20.75 (0.00)		
Rel × EBS	1.16 (0.28)	1.50 (0.22)	0.01 (0.90)	6.32 (0.01)		
Rel × EFS	0.14 (0.70)	0.86 (0.36)	0.48 (0.49)	0.71 (0.40)		
EBS × EFS	8.03 (0.00)	3.41 (0.07)	1.07 (0.30)	3.23 (0.07)		
Rel × EBS × EFS	0.81 (0.37)	0.02 (0.88)	2.80 (0.10)	0.00 (0.95)		
Note: * Based on Type III SS						Table XIII. F values (and <i>p</i> values) for individual measures, study two*

front-stage-points (relative to the negative expressive-front-stage points). Furthermore, a comparison of the left side of Figure 4 with the right side of Figure 3 lends support to the claim that subjects in Study One were considering their hotel experience to be discrete. In both of these graphs, the lines are statistically parallel, indicating no effect for back stage and a main effect for expressive front stage.

This claim is given further support by the statistically different pattern emerging in the relational exchange condition (the right side of Figure 4). In this portion of the experiment, the only statistically distinguishable cell is that in which both front and perceived-back-stage expression were positive (i.e. perceived genuine expression). This suggests that both the main effect for the discrete/relationship factor and the interaction between expressive front stage and expressive back stage are driven primarily by this difference. It should be noted that – although contrasts reveal statistically different patterns for discrete and relational exchange and help to account for the main effect for the relational factor – there is a visible rise in evaluation for emotional effortlessness in both discrete and relational conditions (see points B and F in Figure 4). This is reflected in the overall interaction between expressive front stage and expressive back stage, and appears to have made the patterns similar enough to dampen the three-way interaction. This reinforces the fact that evaluations of service employees exist on a continuum ranging from no perceived impression management activity to a great deal of perceived impression management activity. Customers in discrete encounters may indeed perceive differences between emotional labour and lack thereof, but it does not affect their evaluations as strongly as those in relational encounters.

In sum, the results from Study Two suggest that positive expression is generally valued by customers, but that positive expression that is perceived to be effortless is more important to customers involved with relational exchange

than with discrete exchange. Furthermore, this clarifies the hedonic and instrumental utility of perceived emotional labour/effortlessness. Taken together, the studies suggest that emotional effortlessness is not significantly more hedonically valued than emotional labour, but is instrumentally valued because it communicates information about the provider's trustworthiness (and by implication the company's trustworthiness). Because information about trustworthiness is more important in relational (as opposed to discrete) exchange, the impact of perceived emotional effortlessness is more likely to be found in relational exchange.

Conclusions, limitations and applications

I'm talking about the "How may I help you?" syndrome It's all a tedious waste of time. Worse, it's damaging. We all know the staff don't mean it. We know it gets in the way of fluid conversation. And we know, deep down, that forcing them into a verbal corset is self-defeating because as everyone does it, it loses novelty, spontaneity and meaning. Bell (1995)

Judging from editorials and opinion pieces, managers and consumers develop personal models for the type of expression that works best in services (see, e.g., Bell, 1995; Kinsley, 1992; Sturani and Kline, 1995; Wyatt, 1993). Building from previous research, this paper continues academic inquiry into the validity of these personal models. First, it uses the impression management framework as a basis for clarifying and operationalizing emotional labour/effortlessness in services marketing. In so doing, it highlights an aspect of impression management theory that has not been fully applied in marketing, and argues for an adaptation of previous models by identifying the "perceived back stage" as an area that may influence consumers and may be manipulated by marketers.

Next, this framework is used to test the potential value of genuine expression in services marketing. Although several studies have examined how service providers respond when they are required to enact (in)genuine expression (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987, 1989), fewer have given primary attention to its impact on consumers. Results from Study One falsify the hypothesis that a perceived lack of emotional labour is hedonically valuable to consumers to the point that evaluations are significantly affected. No statistically supportable impact was found for back-stage expressive performance (neither alone nor in conjunction with the other experimental factors), and a significant influence was instead found for front-stage expression and core performance. These findings cast doubt on the hypothesis that genuine expression in services is hedonically valuable. Results from Study Two point to relational exchange as a key moderating influence on the impact of the variables in question. Subjects were influenced by perceived emotional effortlessness, but only within the context of relational exchange, thus emphasizing the instrumental value of genuine expression.

There are several research limitations which temper the strength of these conclusions. Despite attempts to emphasize the realism of the audio stimuli, this

laboratory-based project is nonetheless vulnerable to concerns about how well the tapes reflected an actual service encounter, and how well the hotel interaction reflected service interactions in general. The stimuli involved only one type of encounter in a particular type of service environment, so generalization to other types of service environments (including other hotels) is not statistically supportable. Although both experiments involved three fully crossed factors, the second focused only on service encounters where the core service was positive, so generalization to encounters where the service is not positive is speculative. And although careful steps were taken to ensure that subjects had previous experience with hotels, they represented a unique customer group, and generalizability to other consumer groups (especially non-Western ones) is also speculative.

These limitations assist in pointing to potential extensions for this paper. First, to support the theoretical links made in the paper, non-Western consumers might be included in a similar study. For example, if effects found in this paper were found to be less strong for Japanese consumers, this would further support this paper's theoretical development of front and back stage and emotional labour. Because individuals with a Japanese cultural background have been found to value emotional labour more than their American counterparts, even opposite effects could be justifiably hypothesized. Secondly, to increase the external validity (and therefore managerial applicability) of this paper's findings, other settings and interactions could be tested in a similar experimental design. For example, respondents could be told that the hotel is a one-, two- or four-star hotel; the hotel clerk could be female; the customer's problem could be different; or the setting could be another service environment altogether. Exploring the external validity of these experimental results is particularly important because this study's conclusions diverge from some of the conclusions in Price *et al.* (1994), which was based on data that were not experimentally manipulated.

Any additional unanswered question from this research relates to the impact of genuine expression on evaluations of the employee vs. evaluations of the firm. Because of the high intercorrelations of the dependent measures in these studies, differences were difficult to support statistically. This could be explained by the fact that the clerk's ability to handle the problem could be attributed to the hotel's policies and training or to the employee's ability as a clerk. Lastly, examination of the imagined back stage would help to further test the ways in which customers can be influenced by back-stage exposure. For example, customers in field or laboratory settings could be asked to imagine the back stages of service settings, and results could be correlated with the constructs specified in this paper.

However, results from this paper's two experiments do provide an initial test of theories relating to emotional labour in service encounters. In addition, they provide a basis for recommendations to practitioners. For service industries in which more discrete exchanges are the norm, perceived emotional labour may not be valued significantly less than a perceived lack of emotional labour,

especially if the front-stage performance is exceptional. Thus, although an employee's "true" sincerity will often be an important hiring consideration, the results from this paper suggest that an individual's ability to perform may be as important as – if not more important than – sincere niceness. This is an important consideration for two reasons. First, genuine expression – or "deep acting" – can be more tiring than "surface acting," which simply requires choosing the appropriate pre-written script (Hochschild, 1983, pp. 126-36). This is one reason that some service firms train employees to use specific interactional scripts (or routines) when communicating with customers (Leidner, 1993, pp. 24-43). Since customers in discrete marketing exchanges may not be negatively affected by interaction routines, this effort-saving approach to service delivery may well be appropriate.

Second, genuinely nice employees are likely to cost significantly more to select and train than employees who can successfully communicate a script (Leidner, 1993, p. 27). Of course, all things being equal, managers will prefer employees who are genuinely nice and who are good actors when needed. However, especially given limited resources, this paper offers tentative guidelines for investment priorities. For example, training for discrete service exchanges might more effectively focus on "saying the right things" than on "really meaning what you say" (see, e.g. Anderson and Zemke, 1991, pp. 59-60). As Hochschild (1983) describes in detail, many service professions have indeed opted to focus on the performance aspect of service delivery. As she also emphasizes, this raises considerable ethical issues for the service manager, in terms of both human resource management and customer deception. These ethical issues arise because managing performance only (without worrying about the true feelings of service providers) does appear to have a positive impact on customers in some service professions, so it is a strategy used by some managers.

In contrast, for service situations in which relational exchanges are the norm, a focus on fostering genuine positive expression may be worth the investment. This may involve selection and training processes similar to those described by Hochschild (1983), in which employees are asked to use feelings from other aspects of life as the basis for generating feelings about customers. However, this paper suggests an alternative to managing employee emotions: the management of customer perceptions. By creating staged back regions and encouraging customers to imagine the back stage, companies may be able to give the impression of genuine expression without the associated human-resources costs. For example, by mounting photographs and biographies of employees in front lobbies, removing physical barriers between the front and back stages of service environments, and inviting customers for informal weekend get-togethers, companies can positively impact customer evaluations in relational exchange. Of course, these strategies will be successful only to the extent that consumers perceive that the back and front stages are both positive and congruent. And there may be a potentially high cost if customers see

through the staged back region and realize that it is just as staged as the front region.

Lastly, researchers from a variety of disciplines have examined consumer culture's growing preoccupation with genuine and not-genuine experiences – not just in conventional service environments, but also in entertainment, architecture, politics, art, advertising, tourism, and product/object ownership (Baudrillard, 1983; Belk, 1990; Boorstin, 1961; Eco, 1983; Huxtable, 1992; Schechner, 1985; Silver, 1993; Taylor, 1991; Trilling, 1971). In addition, advertisers are seeking greater realism in their production techniques (Elliott, 1993; Miller, 1993), and brand managers are seeking to emphasize the authenticity of their products (Liesse and Levin, 1994). Thus, the findings from this paper may therefore be considered not only within a services marketing context, but also from a broader marketing perspective. Although Eco (1983, p. 57) may claim that Americans “seek reassurance through imitation,” and Huxtable (1992) may argue that Westerners place undue “emphasis on surface gloss,” this paper suggests occasions in which Western consumers do in fact prefer consumption of the authentic or genuine.

Notes

1. Note also that front and back stage can be defined using consumer senses other than vision (Goffman, 1959, p. 106). For example, the front stage of some professions exists on an almost entirely aural level, as with telephone operators, stock brokers, taxi-cab dispatchers and radio personalities.
2. As emphasized earlier, Figure 2 represents an adaptation of marketing's dominant conception of front and back stage, but reflects the conception of impression management scholars from other fields. Thus, Figure 2 builds directly from the writing of Goffman (1959) whose comments about the perceived back stage are mentioned later in this paper. Figure 2 also parallels the writing of MacCannell (1976, pp. 101-2), who delineates six stages of tourist settings. The figure is also similar to the “Johari Window” (Luft, 1963/1970; Scott and Powers, 1978, pp. 184-5), which diagrams an individual's knowledge of self.
3. This distinction builds from Deighton's (1992) discussion of imputed motive in marketing, and is analogous to his contrast between a “performance” and an “occurrence” (which can be respectively viewed as front and back stage). The current paper adds the further argument that occurrences (and not just performances) may be used by consumers as evidence for a judgement of quality or satisfaction.
4. The attribution measures reflected no statistically significant differences between treatments in the experiment, and are therefore not addressed in this paper.
5. The attribution measures reflected no statistically significant differences between treatments in the experiment, and are therefore not addressed in this paper.

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Appendix of measures used

Manipulation check: expressive back stage

- How much would you say this employee likes his current job overall?
- How much would you say this employee enjoys working with people?

Manipulation check: expressive front stage

- During this interaction, how nice would you say the desk clerk was?

Manipulation check: core performance

- How much would you say the desk clerk tried to help solve the customer's problem?

Manipulation check: emotional labour

- (Study one only) During this interaction how much would you say this desk clerk was acting like himself?
- (Study two only) When you consider the desk clerk's performance with this customer, how close would you say it was to the way he described himself in the interview?

Manipulation check: discrete or relational exchange (Study two only)

- How would you describe the duration of your relationship with this hotel?
- How customized do you think your relationship with this hotel should be?
- How willing do you think you would be to work with hotel management to make them more attentive to your needs?
- How close would you say the relationship would be between your company and this hotel?

Dependent variables: satisfaction with hotel and employee

- If you were the customer in this situation, how satisfied would you be with this interaction with this employee?
- If you were the customer in this situation, how satisfied would you be with this stay at this hotel?
- If you were the customer in this situation, what is the likelihood that you would ask the same customer service employee for assistance if you had another problem?
- If you were the customer in this situation, what is the likelihood that you would recommend the hotel to a colleague staying in the area on business?