

MANAGING EMOTIONS: WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES AND THE EMOTIONAL LABOR THEORY

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of Otago, Dunedin
New Zealand
February 18th, 2011

ABSTRACT

In 1983 Arlie Russell Hochschild published a book approaching the management of emotions in flight attendants and bill collectors. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* discussed the relationship between workers and emotions introducing the term ‘emotional labor’, a justification for the management of emotions as well as the techniques used to manage feelings. Hochschild’s book was influential in many studies regarding different types of workers including lawyers, teachers and nurses. The purpose of this thesis was to understand the management of emotions in white-water rafting guides using the emotional labor theory elaborated by Hochschild (1983) as the theoretical framework. This study also aimed to explore the elements of emotional management in white-water rafting guides; to investigate white-water rafting guides’ perceptions of emotional labor; and to comprehend the relationship between work and non-work and its influence in the emotional management of rafting guides. To achieve these aims an empirical research and data collection process was undertaken in Queenstown, New Zealand, where the author spent fifty days interviewing and observing white-water rafting guides.

Many elements of the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983) were identified in the interpretation of the data collected including deep and surface acting and the burnout effects resulting from the management of emotions. However not all the data collected with rafting guides corroborate with the emotional labor theory. Indeed, the concept of work, vital for Hochschild’s (1983) theory, was presented in a different way by white-water rafting guides when compared to the flight attendants and bill collectors analysed in the original theory. The results of this thesis indicate that white-water rafting guides approach their work activity in two different ways and for this reason they were divided in this thesis into two groups; namely ‘occupational devotees’ and ‘lifestylers’. The ‘occupational devotees’ are committed to the organisational rules but at the same time they are passionate for their work; seen by themselves as a self-enhancing activity. The ‘lifestylers’ on the other hand are transient workers and their work is their leisure, their lifestyle, and it is incorporated in their personality and behaviour. To ‘lifestylers’ the work self is also their real, personal self and consequently they are committed to their own lifestyle.

After analysing and discussing the emotional management of white-water rafting guides using Hochschild’s (1983) work and considering the incompatibilities between what is proposed in the emotional labor theory and the data collected, this thesis presented a new

conceptual model called Emotional Life. While the idea of emotional labor regards specifically the management of emotion at work with limited connections to the non-work environment, the Emotional Life framework links, with blurred boundaries between them, the emotional performance at work and at non-work and the emotional performance originated by ‘non-real’ events (the emotional simulacrum).

Acknowledgment

This thesis would not have been possible without the support, guidance and help of several individuals who contributed in many different ways in the preparation and completion of this study. First of all I want to thank the University of Otago. Without the Postgraduate Scholarship and all the support you offer to PhD students, my dream would be just a dream.

Secondly, I owe my deepest gratitude to Associate Professor Neil Carr who since the preparation of this project in early 2007 has encouraged and guided me. It was great to have you as my supervisor and mentor during this process. I am grateful to Dr. Anna Thompson who also supervised me in this process, thanks for your kindness, support and patience with me during these 3 years. Dear supervisors, there are no words in the dictionary that could describe my gratitude!

I would like to thank Helen, Di, Jo, Charlene, and Amanda staff at the Department of Tourism and School of Business. Thanks also to all the academic staff: James Higham, Tara Duncan, David Duval, Hazel Tucker, Brent Lovelock, Richard Mitchell, Jan Mosedale, David Scott, Eric Shelton, Donna Keen. I have learned a lot with you all.

Thanks to all my friends in Dunedin, people who supported and encouraged me in all my stressful moments: Arianne Carvalhedo Reis and family, Juan Puricelli and family, Adriana Campelo and family, Daniel Ribeiro and Daniela Aldabe, Eduardo and Luana Santos, Francisco Tigre, Marcela Silva, Fabia Oliveira and Bruce, Celia Mendes, Celia Corteletti and family, Kim Daufratshofer and Martin Lehmkoetter, Carol Loch, David and Lynn Keen, Sara Ferreira, Paulinha Magalhães, Alistair Senior and Pat Yelavich. Thanks to all the other people I have met in Dunedin. In one way or other you are part of this thesis.

Thanks to my lovely officemates and friends: Fernando Oyarzun (and awesome family), Deborah Hopkins, Richard Wright, Julia Albrecht, Changeto I love you all so much, thanks for all the great moments of my life and for teaching me so much.

To my PhD friends: Carla Jellum, Andrea Farminer, Adam Doering, Dzingai, Edieser, Ali, Andrea Valentin, Karla Boluk, Christina, Sarah, Fateme, and Caz. Special thanks to Paolo Mura, it was great to have you as my mentor during my first year (Thanks for all your help!!!).

Thanks to Melchester Sharks, great team, great boys!!!!

Thanks to all the rafting guides I met and helped me in this process!!! You are inspiring, and you have a great lifestyle... Keep happy and follow the mission!!!!

Thanks to Mayra Carneiro Fuzaro for sharing with me the NZ experience, for our 6 years together, for your friendship, love, and kindness. I will be always grateful and you will be always special. I wish you all the best now and forever.

To all my Brazilian friends and relatives who supported me even if I was physically far. Special thanks to my cousin Marcelo and his wife Marcia who helped me a lot in the most difficult time of my life.

I want to thank my family: Sandro, Angela, Paulo and André. I love you so much and I missed you a lot during these 3 years, but without your support, love and encouragement I would never be able to conclude this thesis. Pai, mãe e queridos irmãos, sem vocês nunca teria realizado este sonho! Esta tese é muita mais de vocês do que minha!!! Amo vocês demais! Finally, to the omnipresent God for giving me strength to plod, thank you so much Dear Lord.

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1- INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The central topic of this thesis is the management of emotions experienced by white-water rafting guides. While the concept of workers' emotional management has been applied to tourism and hospitality (Anderson *et al* 2003; Chu and Murrmann 2006; Van Dijk *et al* 2011), there is still a lack of information on adventure tourism and regarding guides and workers of activities involving risk. Consequently this thesis intends to contribute to the academic knowledge offering a new understanding of the management of emotions and by investigating the relationships between work, non-work, adventure and emotional management.

As this chapter will provide an overview of the topic, the next section introduces the theoretical framework of this thesis; namely the emotional labor theory (Hochschild 1983). Section 1.3 explores the adventure tourism industry to which the white-water rafting activity belongs (section 1.4). Section 1.5 provides an introduction of the white-water rafting guides in New Zealand since the data collection for this thesis was conducted in Queenstown, the self-marketed 'Adventure Capital of the World', located in the South Island of New Zealand. Queenstown was chosen as a research site because of its world famous adventure industry and the importance of white-water rafting to this industry. The specific characteristic of white-water rafting in Queenstown, providing half-day trips, was a further motivation. The study of emotional labor in 'half-day trip' white-water rafting guides differentiates this thesis from the research developed by Sharpe (2005) who focused on multi-day adventure trips. As such, the emotional management in white-water rafting guides is explored on section 1.6. Next, the overall objective and aims of this thesis, the study design and the research methods used in this thesis are introduced. Finally, the structure of this thesis is presented, along with an explanation of the connections between the subsequent chapters.

1.2 THE EMOTIONAL LABOR THEORY

Emotions have been recognised as an important element of human behaviour research in a range of fields including psychology (Lazarus 1993; Tobin *et al* 2000), sociology (Thoits 1989; Jackson 1993), anthropology (Lutz and White 1986; Reddy 1999), economics (Elster

1998; Loewenstein 2000), management (Simon 1987; Bodtker and Jameson 2001), and law (Karstedt 2002; Maroney 2006). However, some scholars have realised that human behaviour is not limited to the emotion itself but to how the emotion is socially presented, dissimulated, interpreted or managed by individuals (Hochschild 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton 1987; Jenkins and Karno 1992).

Among the social spheres, work became an opportune environment to study the management of emotions that is used to increase client's satisfaction and profit. From an organisational perspective, companies are not just interested in how their workers are feeling but also the way they are expressing their emotions to clients and if the emotions expressed are compatible with the organisational goals. Research on customer service emphasised the importance of workers performing the emotional displays suggested by the organisation in order to enhance the job's quality and client's satisfaction (Henning-Thurau *et al* 2006). The emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983) is one of the main theoretical approaches to understand the management of emotions at work and was used in empirical studies about professions such as flight attendants (Hochschild 1983; Wouters 1989), bill collectors (Hochschild 1983), teachers and professors (Bellas 1999; Bartlett 2001), care givers (James 1992; Lopez 2006), and hotel workers (Kim 2008).

To Hochschild (1983) emotional labor is the management of emotions to create a public bodily and facial display that is sold for a wage to satisfy organisational goals in a worker-client relationship. Emotional labor goes beyond the organisational suggestion about how to emotionally behave in a relationship with a client. Emotional labor also involves the selection, training and indoctrination of workers able to perform the emotional rules, the supervision and evaluation of workers' performance, and an analysis of the possible consequences to the worker and to the company, of the management of emotions. A relevant aspect to the performance of emotional labor is the capacity to be detached from emotions that are not pertinent to the work environment, leaving aside personal issues to perform exclusively the emotions required by the organisation. However, many conceptual and methodological problems have been raised by studies on emotional labor. One of the main issues is the historical and social context in which the development of the emotional labor theory is embedded. The American society of the 1970's is the background of Hochschild's (1983) theory, a society developed according to the 'protestant work ethic' as suggested by Weber (2001). Consequently Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory is limited to the American work environment and work philosophy at the time of its writing and its

application to different cultures and temporal realities can be considered conceptually problematic.

A second conceptual issue is the development of the emotional labor theory and the different interpretations present in the literature. Indeed, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Morris and Feldman (1996), and Grandey (2000) are some of the authors who have re-interpreted the emotional labor theory and developed the original meaning proposed by Hochschild (1983), as will be explained in section 2.3. One of the theoretical problems of the original idea of emotional labor was the division between public and private self that has been promoted by Hochschild (1983) in her book and criticised by Wouters (1989). The creation of this dichotomy was criticised mainly because Hochschild (1983) indicates that the private self, who is not performed at work, is free and pure while the public self is not because it needs to follow organisational and social rules. Other conceptual problems in the emotional labor literature will be discussed in greater depth in chapter 2.

The comprehension of emotional labor also raised methodological issues such as whether it is possible to measure the amount of effort in managing emotions. While some researchers developed scales such as the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge and Lee 2003), others adopted a qualitative ethnographic approach (Mears and Finlay 2005). The way the data is collected can also raise ethical issues. Studies on emotions and emotional management are seen as the exploration of a sensitive topic since the researcher investigates one of the most intimate aspects of a human being, and therefore participants can feel that they had their intimacy invaded (Vecchio 2000; Exley and Letherby 2001)¹. However, emotion is not the only sensitive topic, actually the power relationships between manager and guide and between guide and client in adventure tourism activities as well as the presence of risk in daily life are also considered sensitive in this thesis.

¹ The methodology used to research emotional labor and the ethical issues of this research will be explored respectively in sections 4.2 and 4.4 of this thesis.

1.3 ADVENTURE TOURISM

Among the industries where workers have direct contact with clients and need to perform emotional labor, tourism and hospitality have been the focus of many studies (e.g. Guerrier and Adib 2003; Anderson *et al* 2003; Sharpe 2005; Chu and Murrmann 2006; Van Dijk and Kirk 2007; Van Dijk *et al* 2011; Wong and Wang 2009). Indeed, workers in these industries often have direct face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with clients and need to display emotions that are required by the company in order to offer a certain level of standardised service. Tour guides (Guerrier and Adib 2003; Wong and Wang 2009) and hotel service employees (Kim 2008) are examples of workers that have been studied using the emotional labor theory. However, some sectors of the tourism industry, including adventure tourism, have not been deeply explored by researchers of emotional labor. Even if many publications have explored the emotional side of adventure tourism (e.g. Holyfield and Fine 1997; Holyfield 1999; Cater 2006; Carnicelli-Filho *et al* 2010), not much has been published about the emotional labor in adventure activities. Sharpe's (2005) article, for example, is one exception and, without using the term adventure tourism, her research explores the emotional labor of adventure guides in multi-day trips.

To Buckley (2006, p.1), adventure tourism is an outdoor guided commercial activity that requires specialised equipment and it is "exciting for the tour clients". Moreover, as a commercial product, adventure tourism requires a good quality service activity in order to satisfy clients and guarantee profits and revenue to the organisation and to the tourism industry as a whole. Adventure tourism has grown rapidly in recent years not just as a segment of the tourism industry but also as a field of research (Page *et al* 2005; Buckley 2006). Indeed, not only the number of commercial products offered by the adventure industry has increased but also academic publications about adventure tourism are now widespread focusing on activities such as rock-climbing, hiking/trekking, kayaking, ski/snowboarding, and white-water rafting (Holyfield 1999; Gyimothy and Mykletun 2004; Kane and Tucker 2004; Pomfret 2006). The adventure activity selected for the empirical research of this thesis is white-water rafting as will be explained in section 1.4.

Among the publications about adventure tourism many of the studies explore accidents and injuries (Hovelynck 1998; Whisman and Hollenhorst 1999; Bentley *et al* 2000; O'Hare *et al* 2002; Fiore 2003; Bentley and Page 2008; Davidson 2008). Other research focuses on aspects such as risk (Walle 1997; Callander and Page 2003; Cater 2006), motivations (Fluker

and Turner 2000), economic impacts (English and Bowker 1996; Hanley *et al* 2003), the commodification of adventure (Cloke and Perkins 2003; Varley 2006), the client's experience (Priest 1992; Arnould and Price 1993; Wu and Liang, *in press*) and emotions of clients and guides (Holyfield 1999; Holyfield and Jonas 2003; Carnicelli-Filho *et al* 2010). Other texts on adventure tourism concentrate specifically on the description and analysis of some of the adventure activities (Buckley 2006), on technical skills for adventure practices (Wagstaff and Attarian 2009) or on environmental impacts (Cole 2004). According to Buckley (2006) most adventure tourism publications have focused on the participants or on industry issues and relatively few researchers have examined the guides and their psychological aspects. It is an aim of this thesis to explore the gap in the knowledge related to the scarcity of studies and data concerning the workers of the adventure industry, specifically white-water rafting guides.

1.4 WHITE-WATER RAFTING

White-water rafting has been one of the most researched adventure activities (e.g. Arnould and Price 1993; Hovelynck 1998; Holyfield 1999; Whisman and Hollenhorst 1999; Arnould *et al* 1999; Fluker and Turner 2000; O'Hare *et al* 2002; Fiore 2003; Morgan *et al* 2005; Buckley 2010). Publications about this adventure activity are spread over many different research areas including health sciences, marketing, and sociology and utilise approaches varying from superficial descriptions of white-water rafting trips, to economic impacts of the white-water rafting activity. Buckley (2006), for example, describes some world famous white-water rafting trips and depicts aspects such as the trip's place, and the operational organisation, community's involvement as well as the environmental characteristics. On the other hand English and Bowker (1996) and Hjerpe and Kim (2007) were interested in the economic impacts and benefits for the regions hosting the activity. There are also many studies exploring health issues in white-water rafting focusing on diseases, injuries and accidents involving both clients (Hovelynck 1998; O'Hare *et al* 2002) and guides (Decker *et al* 1986; Jackson and Verscheure 2006). Section 3.2.6 of this thesis will explore previous research on white-water rafting in greater depth.

In geographical terms, many studies were developed in New Zealand (Kearsley 1993; Bentley *et al* 2004; Cater 2006), a country with famous rivers for white-water rafting trips including the Kawarau, the Shotover and the Rangitata. Considering the reviews on

accidents, injuries and death in the New Zealand adventure industry (Bentley *et al* 2000; Bentley *et al* 2001; Bentley and Page 2008), and the search of adventure clients for emotional experiences, it becomes relevant to study the individuals who clients believe can protect them against misfortunes and stimulate emotions. In this context this thesis will focus on white-water rafting guides and their emotional behaviours.

1.5 WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES IN NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand, several organisations are responsible for verifying the qualifications of, and providing certification for, white-water rafting companies and guides. Maritime New Zealand, for example, is the government body that specifies the commercial white-water rafting operators' and guides' responsibilities (Appendix I). Maritime New Zealand also investigates all white-water rafting operations as well as all incidents and accidents. Otherwise, Maritime New Zealand relies on industry feedback to ensure that legislation works for everyone. According to Maritime New Zealand, (2010) the white-water rafting guides have important responsibilities; for example complying with maritime rules for rafting and operating in accordance with the requirements of the safe operational plan (Appendix I). Skills Active, the Industry Training Organisation (ITO) responsible for sport, fitness, community recreation, snowsport and outdoor recreation, also has a particularly important function in relation to white-water rafting, namely to manage and organise white-water rafting guides' training. Skills Active (2010) is one of the ITO's established by the government in 1992 through the Industry Training Act and fulfils three important roles for the rafting industry: to set standards and create qualifications; to facilitate workshop training; and to provide leadership for the industry. Hence, in 1996, it implemented a system of Rafting Awards, certificates that constitute a national legal requirement mandatory for all raft guides. According to Skills Active (2010), these awards have been reviewed twice since their creation and the last update resulted in a division of the awards into five categories: National Raft Guide Grade 2; National Raft Guide Grade 3; National Raft Guide Grade 4/5; National Senior Raft Guide Grade 3; and National Senior Raft Guide Grade 4/5.

As noted previously, much has been published about adventure activities in New Zealand (e.g. Bentley *et al* 2000; Cloke Perkins 2002; Kane and Zink 2004; Page *et al* 2005; Cater 2006; Bentley and Page 2008; Kane 2010). However, even if New Zealand is one of the leading countries in the practice of adventure activities, there is still a lack of research about

the workers in this industry. Indeed publications about white-water rafting guides have focused mainly on the North American industry. The profile of the white-water rafting guides in Queenstown, site of this research, will be discussed more in-depth in section 5.4.

1.6 WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES AND EMOTIONAL MANAGEMENT

Adventure guides have been described as workers with sufficient knowledge to lead an adventure activity, to organise an environmentally and socially responsible touristic product, and to protect clients from misfortune (Weiler and Davis 1993; Paisley *et al* 2004; Priest and Gass 2005). Guides' technical knowledge is also essential to guarantee the quality of the trip that is sold to clients and organisations rely on their skills to provide an 'extraordinary experience' (Arnould and Price 1993). The extraordinary experience² depends on the emotional inputs provided by guides to their clients. Fun is the emotional outcome that should be provided by adventure guides as part of their responsibilities (Sharpe 2005). However, to Sharpe (2005), promoting fun is just one of the three responsibilities of adventure guides; the other two being ensuring the safety of the trip and encouraging a sense of community among the clients. Sharpe's (2005) research on emotional labor of adventure guides was influential in motivating this thesis as will be discussed in section 3.4.

Both the direct face-to-face contact with clients and their position as employees in a commercial organisation, make white-water rafting guides a group of workers that could be studied using the emotional labor theory, as suggested by Hochschild (1983). Moreover, despite the importance of white-water rafting guides to the adventure tourism industry and the importance of their customer service to satisfy clients, this work category has been relatively unexplored in the tourism literature. Some emotional aspects of white-water rafting guides have been explored by scholars such as Holyfield (1999), Fluker and Deery (2003), and Holyfield and Jonas (2003). However, the rafting guides' ways of managing emotions, the feeling rules required by white-water rafting companies and the consequences of the emotional management, are topics that have been overlooked by academia.

² See section 3.2.4

1.7 RESEARCH AIMS

Studies about emotional labor have contributed to a better comprehension of the relationships between clients and workers. Hochschild (1983) claims that to perform emotional labor the worker needs to have a face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with clients and that this performance is sold for a wage. Such performance is present in many different occupations and one of the industries where studies about emotional labor have been developed is tourism. Among the segments of the tourism industries, this thesis will focus specifically on adventure tourism and its guides who are responsible for satisfying the client's demand for emotional experiences. Considering the variety of activities offered by the adventure tourism industry in New Zealand, white-water rafting was selected due to its collective characteristic (guides interact with more than one client at the same time), and due to the previous literature exploring emotions and white-water rafting. Based on this context the overall objective is to examine the emotional management of white-water rafting guides according to the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983) having as particular aims:

1. To explore the elements of emotional management in white-water rafting guides
2. To investigate white-water rafting guides' perceptions of emotional labor
3. To comprehend the relationship between work and non-work and its influence in the emotional management of white-water rafting guides.

1.8 STUDY DESIGN

Considering that it is the objective of this thesis to investigate the management of emotions in white-water rafting guides according to the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983) it is believed that a similar methodological approach could contribute to the discussion of similar issues such as the use of deep and surface acting and the consequences of emotional labor. So, this thesis will follow the methodological characteristics used by Hochschild (1983) including the qualitative methods and the interpretative nature of the data analysis. Furthermore it has been claimed that qualitative

methods allow the researcher to explore the emotional perspectives of people being studied (Bryman 1988; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Qualitative research also offers the possibility to investigate issues that were not considered in the initial stages of the research, re-elaborating questions and expanding aims during the data collection (Marshall and Rossman 1989). An example is the use of participant observation to formulate the interview questions, mixing, in this way, the knowledge gained before the fieldwork with the knowledge gained *in situ*.

The research for this thesis uses a combination of two methods: namely, empathetic open-ended interviews and overt participant observation. Apart from the similarity to Hochschild's (1983) empirical research, another reason for conducting empathetic open-ended interviews was the efficiency in approach and to explore the meanings of individual's emotional experiences (Gullone 2000). Interviews with an empathetic approach are also able to make the researcher closer to the interviewee, and make the informant more comfortable in presenting their points, opinions and experiences to the researcher (Fontana and Frey 2004). However, Mason (2002) believes that interviews should be complemented with information gathered from observation in order to check if what is said matches with what is observed. For this reason and also as a tool to develop an empathetic relationship with the white-water rafting guides, the researcher spent 50 days in Queenstown, New Zealand, observing and taking notes related to the emotional management performance of white-water rafting guides.

Participant observation is able to produce documentary information regarding the impressions and point of view of the researcher during fieldwork (Tedlock 2004). To Jorgensen (1989) participant observation can create a closer relationship with the informants and enrich the data collected using other methods such as interviews or focus groups. Patton (1990) complements this position claiming that to create a close relationship an overt, instead of covert, observation is needed. For this reason the participant observation used in this thesis was overt and started three weeks before the first interview. This delay was intentional in order to create a comfortable and close relationship between the researcher and the white-water rafting guides.

It is believed that the interpretation of the data gathered using interviews and participant observation starts simultaneously to the data collection process and that the questions asked during an open-ended interview are partially a product of an *in situ* interpretation of the observation (Dey 1993; Lofland and Lofland 1994; Silverman and Marvasti 2008). However an interpretative post-fieldwork analysis based on reading the data literally, interpretively and reflexively was also developed (Mason 2002).

1.9 THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is formed by nine chapters. After this introductory chapter, chapter 2 reviews the theoretical framework of this thesis: the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983). Then the chapter presents the critiques made of Hochschild's (1983) theory by previous literature and the different perspectives on emotional labor suggested by authors such as Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Morris and Feldman (1996), and Grandey (2000). Chapter 2 also discusses some publications that relate to emotional labor and gender, emotional labor and tourism, and the gaps in the understanding of emotional labor.

Chapter 3 focuses on the literature published on adventure tourism, adventure guides and white-water rafting. These are, respectively, the field, the group of workers and the activity in which the empirical research of this thesis is based. Chapter 3 also explores the adventure industry and the white-water rafting activity in New Zealand, the country where the fieldwork took place, and discusses the importance and influence of Sharpe (2005) to the development of this thesis.

The data collection methods are presented in chapter 4, which starts with a systematic review of the methods used in past emotional labor research. This review is followed by an explanation and justification of the research strategies, along with the ethical and methodological issues that were involved in the empirical research.

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 present and discuss the data collected using interviews and participant observation during the fieldwork in Queenstown, New Zealand. Chapter 5 starts by introducing Queenstown the site where the data collection took place. The history and the organisation of the white-water rafting industry and the guides' roles are then explored before examining the profile of white-water rafting guides and the rafting community in Queenstown. Chapter 6 explores the emotional labor of white-water rafting guides according to Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory. Elements of the management of emotions in the different roles performed by guides including deep acting, surface acting and burnout are explored in chapter 6. In chapter 7 aspects of emotional management that contrast with or were not explored by Hochschild (1983) are presented. The chapter examines the heterogeneous characteristics of the guiding group that are divided in this thesis into two categories: 'occupational devotees' and 'lifestylers'. The way work and non-work is mixed for some of the white-water rafting guides and the possibilities for job satisfaction in

performing emotional labor are also discussed in chapter 7. So, based on the commonalities and differences presented in chapters 6 and 7 and in the data collected with the white-water rafting guides, chapter 8 presents a new framework called 'Emotional Life'. The 'Emotional Life' framework has three components that interact with one another: emotional performance at work, emotional performance at non-work, and emotional simulacrum (divided into emotional memory, emotional expectation, and emotional hyperreality). The intention of the new framework presented in chapter 8 is not to ignore previous research on emotional management but to complement them and offer a broader approach.

Chapter 9 is the final and conclusive chapter of this thesis and provides a summary of the results and key findings. The implications of this thesis as well as recommendations for future studies are also presented in this chapter.

2 – THE EMOTIONAL LABOR THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter introduces the main theoretical background of this thesis: the emotional labor theory. For almost three decades the concepts of emotion work and emotional labor have inspired research in different areas of study. This chapter reviews the history of emotional labor theory, the research published and the advances made, as well as noting gaps evident in the literature that could furnish opportunities for further research. The first part of this chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the book that coined the term “emotional labor”: *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* published by Arlie Russell Hochschild in 1983. Even if essentially descriptive, this analysis is necessary considering that the emotional labor theory provides the theoretical framework for this research. The second part of this chapter goes beyond a merely descriptive analysis, presenting a critical discussion of publications relating to Emotional Labor. Section 2.3.2 examines three different perspectives on emotional labor based on the work of Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Morris and Feldman (1996), and Grandey (2000). Publications on tourism and leisure studies that have used the emotional labor concept are the focus of section 2.4.3. The final section of the chapter offers a critical analysis of gaps evident in the literature relevant for this thesis.

2.2 HOCHSCHILD AND *THE MANAGED HEART*

In 2008 the book *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, by Arlie Hochschild commemorated 25 years of its first edition. Since the book’s first release, the concept of emotional labor has inspired research in different areas of study, becoming nowadays an important element not only in the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology and management, but also in tourism (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987; Wharton and Erickson 1993; Ashforth and Humphrey 1995; Leidner 1999; Grandey 2000; Zapf *et al* 2001; Sharpe 2005; Wong and Wang 2009). However, to be able to analyse the publications that have used the concept of emotional labor, it is necessary to understand the origin of Hochschild’s theory and the structure of her book as it was first published in 1983. An analysis and critical

understanding of Hochschild's publication will provide a solid foundation for the discussion of the topics that will be presented further in this thesis.

Hochschild's article "*Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure*", published in 1979 in the American Journal of Sociology, can be considered the basis of the emotional labor concept. However, this article did not use the term emotional labor but emotion work, even though it is possible to affirm that emotion work is the embryo of the theory that was fully developed subsequently in Hochschild's 1983 publication. The differences between emotion work and emotional labor are explained by Hochschild:

"I use the term emotional labor to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value. I use the synonymous terms emotion work or emotion management to refer to these same acts done in a private context where they have use value." (Hochschild, 1983 footnote p.7)

Even if the definition of the term emotional labor is treated thus briefly, the origin of her thoughts and ideas is discussed fully by Hochschild in the preface of her 1983 publication. The starting point of her interest in emotional labor was a childhood episode, when she started to observe with more attention the management of emotions in relationships between her parents and their invited guests. A second influence that stimulated her curiosity about the management of emotions was the chapter entitled "The Great Salesroom" of C. Wright Mills book "White Collar". The idea of selling the personality that was hypothetically proposed by C. Wright Mills made Hochschild, a graduate student at the University of California - Berkeley, think about an emotional system comprising: individual acts of emotion work (i.e. the act of trying effectively to change an emotion or feeling), the emotional rules imposed by different social contexts, and the continuous processes of social exchange in these are manifested in people's public or private lives.

Hochschild's main interest was to understand how and why people control their appearances and Goffman's ideas of front-stage and backstage helped her to create the concepts of surface and deep acting. At the same time, after studying Freudian theory, Hochschild applied the signal function that Freud posited only in relation to anxiety, to the whole emotional universe. To Freud (1949) anxiety had a unique signal function in relation to

the ego, usually predicated on the proximity of a dangerous situation, but to Russell (2006) all emotional affects serve as signals and indicators of reality. To Hochschild (1983, pp.29-30) “not every emotion signals danger. But every emotion does signal the ‘me’ I put into seeing ‘you’”. Moreover, Hochschild had to show that the change in the emotional aspect happens not just at a superficial level, in the ‘face’ but also in the ‘hearts’ of those experiencing emotional change, at deeper levels of feeling. To create a strong base to support her theory Hochschild presented empirical data from research undertaken with flight attendants and bill collectors that investigated the workdays of these people and the emotional aspects of their jobs.

Flight attendants represent not just a frontline service in a job with high emotional demands, but they also fulfil a significant symbolic role among workers in the tourism industry. These workers have a direct contact with customers, representing their company and constituting part of the service sector. The second class of workers used by Hochschild were the group of bill collectors. According to Hochschild (1983) the participation of bill collectors is invaluable in the context of research into the relationship between humans and emotions because bill collectors have been perceived, since biblical times, as “non-emotional” functionaries, oblivious to the emotional situation of the debtor and inured to humane sympathy. Hochschild’s (1983) research based upon these two groups made emotional labor theory an interpretive connector between two essential aspects of human life: work and emotions.

The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling is divided into two main sections: Private Life (chapter 1 to 5) and Public Life (chapter 6 to 9) and the main concepts explored are: the way people manage their feelings and the concepts of surface and deep acting; the reasons people manage their emotions (feeling rules); the commodification of human feelings and the use of these emotion for commercial purposes; the link between public and private acts (transmutation of the emotional system); the influence of gender in the emotional labor performance; the search for the authentic self; and the costs of emotional labor for workers.

2.2.1 Surface acting

The term “surface acting” first appears in the second chapter of Hochschild’s (1983) book when she explains that “feeling can be used to give a clue to the operating truth” (p.33) and that, with surface acting, people deceive others about their feelings but they cannot hide

the emotions from themselves. However, the concept is better explored in the third chapter where Hochschild dedicates a sub-section to explain surface acting behaviour. This acting behaviour is connected to the necessity or intention of people to change the way they externally appear. Hochschild (1983) compares surface acting with the performance of an actor who is representing Hamlet and needs, through the operation of muscles and gestures, to represent the character's feelings. In this way "the actor does not really experience the world from an imperial viewpoint, but he works at seeming to" (Hochschild 1983, p.38).

Basically, in its origin, the concept of surface acting is not connected to the idea of emotional labor and the commercialisation of feelings at work, and possible links are explored only at a later stage of Hochschild's 1983 publication. Chapter 6 of Hochschild's (1983) book is the first chapter of the public life section and it is where the commercial aspects of the management of emotions and the influence of institutional rules on the workers' display of emotions begin to be addressed. It is also in chapter 6 that Hochschild makes a clear connection between emotional labor, surface acting and deep acting. According to Hochschild (1983), flight attendants believe that they possess a particular work self that is not 'real' and it is this self that makes them perform deep acting (see section 2.2.3). However "while they have the skills of deep acting, they can't always bring themselves to use them" (p.134), and that is why they need to disguise their emotions using the surface acting technique.

To Hochschild (1983) the workers' preference is for deep acting but, under certain conditions of rush and stress, they cannot invoke this 'second' self and that is why they fall back on surface acting. So, surface acting is the way social actors present a persona as if on a theatre stage. It is a technique to manage emotions in order to create a public face that does not sincerely represent the internal feelings. Surface acting is not exclusively a property of emotional labor; rather it is a technique that can be performed away from the work sphere, in private life. In addition, as with any other art or technique of representation, it has limitations that Hochschild (1983) explains using a quote from Stanislavski (1980). According to Stanislavski (1980), this type of art is more immediately effective than powerful. It is more about senses than about inner feeling and its effect is sharp but not lasting. Of a different order is the second technique proposed by Hochschild (1983) that involves more than just the manipulation of an external appearance: deep acting.

2.2.2 Deep acting

Different from surface acting, deep acting is not just a physical modification of the external expression but can be performed in three distinct ways. According to Hochschild (1983) deep acting can be done by a direct exhortation of feeling; by the use of imagination in an indirect way, or using the body not to show feeling but to inspire feelings. This third way is considered by Hochschild (2003, p.257) only in a footnote and it is called the “surface-to-center” approach. However, the definition of deep acting given by Hochschild (1983) is qualified by the statement: “only the second [technique] is true Method acting” (p.38). According to Hochschild (1983) the direct exhortation of feeling only addresses the capacity to avoid things that evoke feelings but does not use the capacity of humans to interpret imagery and does not involve the real and “deeper work of retraining the imagination” (p.40). In this case, for deep acting, it is important that the actor believes that what is imagined is actually happening at that moment.

Initially, Hochschild (1983) discusses the use of deep acting in the daily life of people and gives examples of common actions that evoke feelings such as sorrow, empathy and love. As one of the examples Hochschild (1983) cites the relationship between two teenagers who pretend they love each other and that pretending creates an illusion that sustains their feelings. However, Hochschild (1983, pp.46-47) asserts that “once an illusion is clearly defined as an illusion, it becomes a lie. The work of sustaining it then becomes redefined as a lying to oneself so that one becomes self-stigmatised as a liar” but in “real life, the lie to oneself is a sign of human weakness, of bad faith”. Such conflict between the representation of illusory feelings and the spontaneous expression of genuine inner feeling constitutes one of the main points in the construction of Hochschild’s (1983) deep acting thesis.

Hochschild’s (1983) discussion of the deep acting concept focuses not only on everyday life but also on institutional aspects, showing how these twin strands are inseparably intertwined. Hochschild (1983, p.49) points out that “some institutions have become very sophisticated in the techniques of deep acting” and that those who cannot control their emotions are sometimes sent to institutions such as mental hospitals or prisons. Actually, the emotional labor theory mainly involves an examination of how workers control and manage their emotions using deep and surface acting. The institutionalised and commercial use of deep acting is central to the concept of emotional labor as a commodity that “is sold for a wage and therefore has an exchange value” (p.7). Examples of deep acting in Hochschild’s empirical research with flight attendants reinforce the point that techniques

refining the presentation of emotions form part of the employee's professional role and are integral to the company's requirements about the relationship between workers and customers. Indeed the companies train their employees to manage their emotions and stimulate them to use their imagination in showing empathy for the clients' situation (Hochschild 1983). Thus, companies create their own feeling rules and emotional culture. Workers in the company where Hochschild (1983) did her research were selected according to their ability to project the required emotions and trained to follow the company's feeling rules.

2.2.3 Feeling rules

The importance of feeling rules for Hochschild (1983) is evident in many parts of her book. Indeed, chapter 4 is dedicated exclusively to this topic and indicates that feeling rules are the guiding element in the management of emotion in private life. Chapter 4 cites a bride and a mourner as two examples that elucidate the way people behave according to feeling rules. It is expected that a mourner should feel sad in a situation of bereavement. However, "[w]e can offend against a feeling rule when we grieve *too much* or *too little*, when we overmanage or undermanage grief" (Hochschild 1983, p.64, italic in the original). On the other hand a bride should be happy during her wedding and feelings of depression or emotional dysfunction would not be coherent with social requirements. Another point made by Hochschild (1983) is that, contrary to what it is imagined, the deeper the social connection between people as, for example, between parents and children or husbands and wives, the more emotion work is required. Consequently, the family, often considered as a social institution away from emotional and social pressures, has its own emotional obligations (Hochschild 1983). In fact, each customary social role (husband, wife, mother, father, sister, brother) also prescribes its appropriate feelings and, when the roles change, the feeling rules also change in step with the way emotions are managed.

Companies mandate their feeling rules that usually are identified and established in order to guarantee benefits to the corporate system. Flight attendants and bill collectors represent the commercial side of feeling rules in Hochschild's (1983, p.141) work: "Like the flight attendant, the bill collector observes feeling rules. For the flight attendant, trust must not give way too easily to suspicion... the collector, on the other hand, must not let the suspicion give way too easily to trust". Moreover, Hochschild (1983) believes that these mandated rules about how to see and how to feel about things can become internalised as part

of one's personality. Observing the top echelons of the commercial hierarchy, Hochschild (1983) asserts that the way tycoons feel and show either hostility or gratitude is absorbed, becoming an official culture that shapes the feeling rules system of top employees and percolates downwards. Thus, "in the matter of what to feel, the social bottom usually looks for guidance of the social top" (p.75). A hierarchical system tends in a certain way to direct the feeling rules, as when a child learns from the parents how much fear to feel and from a teacher how much pleasure an art masterpiece can engender.

Just as in private life, institutional organisations such as businesses can shape the emotional aspects and feeling rules of people's public life. To Hochschild (1983), when these rules are set by company management plans, when deep and surface acting are part of the labor that is sold, and when the capacity to manage feelings is used to satisfy corporate interests, emotion work becomes emotional labor. It is the commercial use of feelings that became fundamental to emotional labor theory.

2.2.4 Commercial use of feelings

The second part of Hochschild's (1983) book relates to public life and the opening chapter explores how feelings can be managed to satisfy commercial interests, create profit and make money. Surface and deep acting are seen as techniques that help in the manipulation of emotions and as tools of the capitalist system: "surface and deep acting in a commercial setting, unlike acting in a dramatic, private, or therapeutic context, make one's face and one's feelings take on the properties of a resource...It is a resource to be used to make money" (Hochschild 1983, p.55). Instead of expressing their personal feelings the flight attendants who participated in Hochschild's research were expressing feelings imposed by the company and its training sections. Flight attendants need to participate in five weeks' training where they learn, among other things, how to deal with their emotions as well as clients' emotions (Hochschild 1983). In this way workers emotionally display what is learned from, and induced by, the company, leaving behind their personal feelings.

According to Hochschild (1983), conflict between personal feeling and company-mandated feeling can be a point of estrangement. The commercial use of feelings creates an identity crisis between the 'real' self and the work self. However, Hochschild (1983, p.136) points out that "when feelings are successfully commercialised, the worker does not feel phony or alien; she feels somehow satisfied in how personal her service actually was... but when commercialisation of feeling as a general process collapses into its separate elements,

display becomes hollow and emotional labor is withdrawn”. Such a phenomenon happens because, even when people are paid to display a specific emotion, it is hard to keep performing for an extended period. When workers are able to meet a requirement of sustained emotional projection, what follows is a sensation of success.

This feeling of success is mainly about satisfying a work identity that is not completely dissociated from the private self. Indeed, even if people are paid to perform in a specific way, they feel proud when they can perform in the best way possible. In search of that performance, individuals use private emotional resources to create a situation of illusion that works in the context of commercial life. According to Hochschild (1983), the achievement of an emotional performance is just possible through the transmutation of the emotional system involving emotion work, feeling rules and social exchange.

2.2.5 Transmutation of the emotional system

The transmutation of emotional life is the connective point between private and public lives (Hochschild 1983). The concept is so important within the dynamics of emotional labor theory that Hochschild (1983, p.19) tries to define it early in the book: “I mean to convey what it is that we do privately, often unconsciously, to feelings that nowadays often fall under the sway of large organisations, social engineering, and the profit motive”. An example given by Hochschild (1983) is the flight attendant who is induced to think and act as if the cabin was his or her living room and then he or she will be able to present a nice and relaxed face when interacting with customers.

Transmutation can be a beneficial and important achievement for workers who deal directly with customers. According to Hochschild (1983), the transmutation of the emotional system is based on emotion work, feeling rules, and social exchange. However, the emotion work is no longer a private but a public act, the feeling rules are imposed, and the social exchange does not involve individual emotional aspects. Indeed, the emotion work is a product that is bought, sold and directed by managers who select, train and supervise workers. The feeling rules can be found publicly in manuals and be learned in training programs. The emotional exchange that, in private life, has as its purpose the welfare and pleasure of the individual becomes geared to a profit motive in its public reconfiguration (Hochschild 1983). With this in mind, deep acting seems to be the vehicle for the transmutation of feelings from the comfortable and safe environment that is represented by private life to the commodified public realm, specifically, the work setting. Moreover, the

change from private to the public realm involves the creation of an illusory state and not just a change in physical appearance. However, when the time available for social interaction is insufficient to create such a state of fantasy, the transmutation fails.

The increased output demands that affected the airline industry in the 1970's is seen by Hochschild (1983) as a crucial component in the transmutation crisis. Flight attendants, previously seen as cheap workers, changed their status when their union started to be more organised and pressed companies for better wages. However, in response to economic pressure, US companies decided to have larger airplanes, with more clients but the same number of flight attendants. This was fatal to the quality of interaction between attendants and clients; there was no more time for deep acting but only for surface acting:

“...before the speed up, most workers sustained the cheerful good will that good service requires. They did so for the most part proudly; they supported the transmutation. After the speed-up, when asked to make personal human contact at an inhuman speed, they cut back on their emotion work and grew detached” (Hochschild 1983, p.126).

Personal characteristics of individuals and the way they manage their emotions can also impact in the transmutation emotional life. Indeed, Hochschild (1983) believes that women deal better than men with emotions and consequently they tend to achieve the transmutation in a more consistent way. So, Hochschild (1983) looks to the performance and management of emotions also through the lens of gender and her choice for studying flight attendants and bill collectors was based on the idea that the emotional performance of these workers may be gender-conditioned.

2.2.6 Gender and Emotional Labor

Hochschild (1983) believes that, among all the women working, 50% have jobs that ask for the performance of emotional labor. Women are the ones who traditionally have managed emotions in private life and consequently they are more likely to inject emotional labor into their professional career (Hochschild 1983). Consequently, to Hochschild (1983) women also are likely to know more about the costs of the performance of emotional labor.

Hochschild's (1983) book is mainly about American society in the late 1970's and early 1980's and, according to Hochschild, American middle class women in this period tended to

do more emotion work and manage feelings to a greater extent because they had an economic dependence on men. In a wider context, Hochschild (1983) believes that women have cultivated the emotional art of managing feelings and use their facility in emotion work in order to achieve their needs and aims. These aims may be achieved through enhancing the status and well being of others and, to do that, women use the management of emotions. Thus, the flight attendants participating in Hochschild's (1983) research commented on their strategies for enhancing clients' status and making them feel good by using a friendly approach, instead of adopting the deference, coldness and distance of formal politeness. The women's role, in this case, differs from that of the male flight attendant who needs to prove his masculine identity and status in a 'female job'. Accordingly, the male flight attendant is the one who deals with the rude and tough passengers. Hochschild (1983) believes that, being women in a low-status category, female flight attendants are more exposed than men to rude clients' behaviours and their "shield against abuse is weaker" (p.175). From this perspective, it is not logical to have women working as flight attendants. However, when the woman's role is seen as "protomother, then it is natural that the work of nurturing should fall to her" (Hochschild 1983, p.176). Moreover, the tolerance required by the flight attendant job is seen commonly as a female characteristic. Because of their experience in emotion management at home, women have been drawn into emotional labor careers but, even in these situations, a lower status is given to females compared with males and their own feelings are considered less important (Hochschild 1983).

The tension inherent in the gender aspects of emotional labor becomes evident when flight attendants seek to improve their positions through performing two traditionally female roles: that of mother and that of sexual partner (Hochschild 1983). The necessity of endowing these two personal roles with a corporate meaning results in women being unable to reconcile their real identity with their "on-stage" self. To Hochschild (1983), this process transforms women into vulnerable individuals who cannot enjoy their innate capacity to perform the partner and mother roles because this capacity has been appropriated by the corporate environment. The conflict between the 'real' self and 'on stage' self is what drives flight attendants to search for authenticity and also to portray their feelings as being authentic when dealing with clients.

2.2.7 The Search for Authenticity

Hochschild's (1983) theory is based on the idea that, when an employee manages his or her feelings in order to do a job, this is no longer a personal matter but an organisational and corporate game. The private act of managing emotions is sold to satisfy employers, and as well as feelings becoming commodity, the management of emotions becomes a capitalist instrument. The private act of managing emotions, as discussed by Hochschild (1983), underpins her contention that the search for authenticity is the search for the 'real' self that can only be found in private life.

The 'real' self is, to Hochschild (1983), in conflict with the 'false' self that is imposed by companies. This conflict arises mainly because organisations try to transform the 'false' self into a 'pseudo-real' self, at odds with the essentially private nature of the authentic 'real' self. It is clear that, according to Hochschild (1983), every person has a 'real' self that is revealed only in private life, away from rules and pressures of the capitalistic system. Among the 'false' selves, Hochschild's (1983) emphasis is on the narcissist and altruistic selves. On the one hand, the narcissist self is mainly developed by men who have an insatiable need for interaction, love and admiration. On the other hand, the altruistic self is, according to Hochschild (1983), more connected to women's historical role of caring for the needs of others. The flight attendants in Hochschild's (1983) research use this altruistic self in order to satisfy clients and fulfil the company's requirements of friendship and good customer service. According to Hochschild (1983), these requirements are elements of a capitalistic society that is pivotal in influencing the commodification of human feelings.

The conflicts that can be created between selves can impose costs on individuals who are constrained to adapt their performance according to the social sphere. The costs of emotional labor are not neglected by Hochschild (1983) who dedicated parts of her book to explaining burnout and estrangement factors and how these problems can affect workers' health.

2.2.7.1 The Costs of Emotional Labor

To Hochschild (1983), some of the main issues in the performance of emotional labor relate to the identity estrangement of workers and the attempt to avoid the fusion between personal identity and the work role. Indeed Hochschild (1983) defends the idea that the "worker has to develop the ability to 'depersonalize' situations" (p.132), even if companies try to meld the personal satisfaction of workers with the idea of the companies' well-being.

However, only people with the ability to develop deep acting can personalise or depersonalise work situations.

Most of the participants in Hochschild's (1983) empirical research asserted that only the non-work self as revealed in private life is the 'real' self. However, some participants pointed out that each self has its validity and is real according to the situation. Those who have more experience in the performance of emotional labor are more likely to divide their identities into work and non-work selves. Those who can do this usually are working for companies that do not focus on the fusion of employee and organisational identities. Actually, Hochschild (1983) analyses the cost of emotional labor under three categories: the worker who is too identified with a mandated role and collapses and suffers burnout; the worker who keeps his/her identity separate from the job and is less likely to suffer burnout; and third, the worker who "sees the job as positively requiring the capacity to act" (p.187).

To Hochschild (1983) the first group of individuals cannot see their job through an acting perspective. People in this group are not aware of the distinction between the real and false self and for this reason they are not good at depersonalisation. These individuals usually take work problems on to a personal level and consequently they are more susceptible to burnout. The second group develops a clear separation between self and the work role, creating intentionally an estrangement situation because they cannot recognise themselves in their work role. On the other hand, this group of workers can differentiate between acting and non-acting, between the real and false self and thus "make themselves less vulnerable to burnout" (Hochschild 1983, p.188). The third group is, according to Hochschild (1983), mainly characterised by surface acting. Heightened output and performance demands among some companies that require emotional labor of their workers is the origin of estrangement, because workers in such companies do not have time for deep acting. Workers who cannot deliver deep acting are inclined partly to detach themselves from the job. They will perceive their work performance as poor and, as a consequence, will experience feelings of frustration.

Hochschild (1983) believes that the main costs of emotional labor are psychological. Burnout and estrangement are emphasised by Hochschild (1983) as the two main results of the stressful conflict between real (and private) and false (and commercial) self. In her book, Hochschild (1983) relates estrangement to emotional confusion between the personal and public identities, even if sometimes she uses the term as synonymous with alienation and qualifies it as "healthy" (p.188), not causing problems to the self. Burnout, on the contrary, is harmful to workers, who may develop the habit of hiding their inner feelings and

consequently lose the capacity to interpret the emotional world wherein they live. Burnout and the emotional labor costs are, from Hochschild's (1983) perspective, outcomes generated by the transformation of feelings into products that belong no longer to individuals but to companies by which the 'products' are marketed.

2.2.8 The 2003 Afterword

In the twentieth anniversary edition of the book *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* Arlie Russell Hochschild added an Afterword where she reflected about the course her theory took as well as pointing out her perceptions as to how societal changes are affecting the performance of emotional labor. The first thoughts of Hochschild's (2003) afterword are dedicated to the emotional labor workers and their feedback after the book's publication. Following that, Hochschild (2003) devoted some words to an analysis of academic works developed using her theory. She asserts: "I was gratified to see my ideas applied, refined, and richly developed by other researchers" (Hochschild 2003, p.200).

Books and articles about nurses, lawyers, receptionists, personal trainers, telemarketers, professors, and caregivers among others have been published since 1983 using the emotional labor theory. Some of the researchers cited by Hochschild in her 2003 Afterword to illustrate the dimensions that the emotional labor theory attained in academia were: Jennifer Pierce, Cameron Macdonald and Carmen Sirianni, Gideon Kunda and Aviad Raz. Pierce's (1995) research focuses, for example, on well-paid professionals, conflicting with MacDonald and Sirianni (1996) who published about the emotional proletariat. Kunda (1992) focused on emotional labor in the American culture while Raz's (2002) research was a comparison between American and Japanese cultures.

Beyond emphasising the development of research using the emotional labor or emotion work theories, Hochschild (2003) discusses some questions suggested by other studies that also touch on the management of emotions. The link between social contradictions and the private management of feelings shows that, contrary to what is suggested in the original book, emotion is not simple; it may have a plurality of functions for any given individual, and the emotion management process accordingly is also complex. To Hochschild (2003) social contradictions are based in the space left between home and work. Work and home that, previously, were seen as two separate worlds now are intermingled, and a third sector of social life emerges under the guise of the "marketized private life" (Hochschild 2003, p.203).

The participants in the “marketized private life” do not work in an office or in a job that may keep them disconnected from home. Moreover they are not engaged in personal relationships (with parents, lovers or relatives) at home. Their main characteristic is to have, as a workplace, someone else’s home, which doubles as their own home environment. Examples given by Hochschild (2003) of the marketized private life are nannies, *au pairs* and servants who can become part of the family. Also, Hochschild (2003) uses, as further examples of the third sector, companies that offer to workers various services related to the personal life of individuals, such as birthday party planners, personal chefs or a breast feeding consultation. Hochschild (2003) cites an advertisement posted by a businessman looking for a personal assistant to justify her claim that “on the fringe of this third sector of marketized domesticity, we find jobs which are a commercial extension not of a mother but of wife” (p.205). The man does not want to be a husband but the job description indicates that he wants someone to perform the wife role. Understanding the dynamics of emotional attachment and detachment in this ‘marketized private’ life is the theme addressed by Hochschild in the final page of her 2003 Afterword. It is clear that Hochschild’s (2003) analysis refers to American society and this is her main focus. However, many aspects of her emotional labor theory have been used in worldwide research (e.g., James 1992; Morris and Feldman 1996; Bellas 1999; Grandey 2000; Bartlett 2001; Brotheridge and Lee 2003; Lopez 2006; Kim 2008) that has contributed to a better understanding of the human management of feelings.

2.3 CRITIQUES OF HOCHSCHILD: THE EMOTIONAL LABOR THEORY THROUGH DIFFERENT LENSES

To Hochschild (1983), from her dramaturgical perspective, the management of emotions is a way of achieving organisational goals, where the worker is the actor, the customer is the audience and the workplace is the stage. However, even if widely used by researchers in different areas such as psychology, sociology and management, Hochschild’s (1983) approach has been criticised as well as re-interpreted by scholars (Wouters 1989; Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Morris and Feldman 1996; Grandey 2000; Bolton 2005; Brook 2009).

Critiques of the emotional labor theory centres on four main issues: The dichotomy created between private and public selves; the use of the words *public* and *commercial* as

synonymous (Wouters 1989); the idea that workers who have some emotions commodified are thereby intrinsically alienated (Tolich 1993); the under theorisation and, specifically, lack of discussion regarding Marx's dimensions of alienation as well as an explicit class analysis (Brook, 2009). Consequently, the different ways to approach and comprehend emotional labor (see section 2.3.2), including Wouters (1989), Tolich (1993), Morris and Feldman (1996) and Grandey (2000), were based initially in critiques of Hochschild's (1983) theory.

2.3.1 Critiques of Hochschild

In 1989 Wouters published a commentary in the journal *Theory, Culture & Society* asserting that Hochschild's 1983 book is disappointing and that it was widely accepted only because of the lack of empirical research in the sociology of emotions. The main critique made by Wouters (1989) is related to how Hochschild (1983) constructed the arguments to sustain her theory. The inconsistency of arguments and the ambiguity of theoretical assumptions such as the alienation process were also noted by researchers such as Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Wharton (1999) and Brook (2009).

Hochschild's (1983) arguments about the workplace relationships, based on Marx's idea of commodity fetishism³, were also critiqued by authors such as Brook (2009, p.21) who believes that "she is ambiguous as to the extent to which it exists in other spheres of commodified social relations". However, the ambiguity present in Hochschild (1983) regarding the alienation process is a purposeful aspect that leaves opportunity for a space free from alienation when away from workplace relations, where the true self can be found (Brook 2009).

The differentiation between true and false selves is another ambiguity present in Hochschild (1983). Wouters (1989) points out that there is inconsistency between Hochschild's definitions of self and the concept of self as it appears in the examples she uses. Wouters (1989) also asserts that the concepts of 'true' and 'false' selves and private and public selves are used interchangeably, suggesting problems with these distinctions themselves (Tracey 2000; Bolton 2005; Bolton 2009). Even though Hochschild's (1983) participants said that "each self is meaningful and real in its own different way and time"

³ Commodity Fetishism is a term used by Marx (1976) to denote a multi-dimensional phenomenon when commodities are understood in a relation to other commodities and without taking into consideration the social relationships that have produced it (Billig 1999).

(p.133) it seems that Hochschild believes that the private self is the pure and real one. However, Wouters (1989) believes that there is no division between private and public, but a continuum conflicting with the dichotomy created by Hochschild (1983). In her reply to Wouters (1989), Hochschild (1989) counters that she does not believe that the individual is 'freer' in private life but she recognises that maybe her writing was unclear when discussing this point. Hochschild (1983) suggests that, with the use of emotional labor, the division between 'real' and 'false' self tends to be even more evident making the real self inaccessible and alienating the worker. This concept clearly conflicts with the post-structural concept of identity based on a Foucauldian prospective, where the identity, instead of having a true and false self, is fragmented and many different selves emerge according to the context (Tracey 2000). Other than the dichotomy between private and public and between 'real' and 'false' selves, Hochschild (1983) also dichotomises the commercial interests, taking into consideration only company and workers. Hochschild (1983) neglects the role and interests of customers in the performance of emotional labor as well as limiting emotional labor to those jobs with a face-to-face or voice-to-voice relationship with the clients and under a supervisory control (Wouters, 1989).

Workers who supervise their own emotional management are not considered performers of emotional labor because they "fill only two of our three criteria" (Hochschild 1983, p.153). The three characteristics that emotional labor jobs have in common are, according to Hochschild (1983): face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the customer; the requirement of producing an emotional state in someone else; and the intention of "the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees" (p.147). This point too is criticised by Wouters (1989), who believes that there exists a valid dimension of emotional management in jobs where workers need to supervise their own emotional labor. On the other hand, Bolton (2005) believes that such a distinction is consistent with the Marxist analysis of the labour process that Hochschild (1983) defends as the basis of her theory. Also, jobs where the influence of the private social sphere is high are neglected in the first edition of *The Managed Heart*. However, this point is emphasised by Hochschild in the 2003 afterword where she uses the term "marketized private life" (Hochschild 2003, p.203) to identify jobs such as nannies and *au pairs* that mix work and family cultures.

To Hochschild (1983), the relationship between work and non-work spheres happens in terms of emotional management through the concept of transmutation of the emotional

system. To Bolton (2009) the idea of transmutation and, consequently, the shift of the control of emotions from the private to public spheres, as well as the negative outcomes of this process for the individual's true self, are the main points in Hochschild's (1983) theory. However, Bolton (2005) criticises such an absolutist emphasis where, independent of whether the worker is performing surface or deep acting, her/his self will always be altered and damaged. This critique is based on the idea that customer service interactions are double-edged and that commodified emotions can also be source of satisfaction (Tolich 1993; Korczynski 2002). Another critique of the transmutation concept comes from Wouters (1989), who found a contradiction between the idea of family as the ground where transmutation evolves and it is shaped and the 'real' self that is located in the private realm. The idea that the same realm wherein the 'real' self is presented is also the realm where emotional labor is taught and where children learn the importance of managing feelings from their parents is indeed a contradictory stance.

Other points of contradiction emerge among critiques of the emotional labor theory. Bolton (2005; 2009) believes that the Hochschild's theory tries to capture the entire complexity of emotion work and its commodification and, in so doing, becomes superficial and confused. In a similar vein Brook (2009, p.533), even if writing a critical defence of emotional labor, asserted that Hochschild's (1983) thesis "inadequately captures the complex and contradictory nature of emotion work", in an over simplification of the phenomenon. Bolton (2005) asserts that the theory fails in the distinction between the control and standardisation of emotional labor, and the mechanisation of the individual identity. This mechanisation of the individual self suggests that there is no possibility of a person's learned self-regulation and no scope for an internalised control of emotions (Wouters 1989). In this way, Hochschild's (1983) theory focuses on a regulation of emotions that is shaped by outside influences, maintaining that, without these outside influences, individuals are liberated to find the true self.

The emotional exchange process that, according to Hochschild (1983), was idiosyncratic in private life became "standardized and unavoidable" (p.186) in the public realm, according to common practice in capitalistic society. This standardisation of emotional exchange contrasts with the idea of informalisation proposed by Wouters (1989). Informalisation is representative of a more "permissive society" (Wouters 1989, p.105) where the emotional exchange is open and varied. Meanwhile Hochschild (1983) categorises social institutions as a capitalist element, ignoring a more flexible structure. Wouters (1989),

echoing Norbert Elias' work, sees an informalisation process happening in some organisational contexts with flexibility in work roles, the dissipation of boundaries between work and non-work and a more personal relationship between the employer and the employee. The informalisation process as well as non-'absolutist' approaches are elements in the development of new perspectives and interpretations regarding the management of emotions.

2.3.2 Different Perspectives on Emotional Labor

Besides criticising Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory other authors have presented different perspectives that can be contradictory and conflicting between them (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Morris and Feldman 1996; Grandey 2000; Brook 2009). These contradictions and difficulties in the conceptualisation of the term emotional labor were problematic for the development of new research, in that the common theoretical and academic basis was not solid. This lack of consensus regarding the theoretical framework is probably due to the multiplicity of areas that relate to the emotional labor phenomenon, including psychology (Zapf 2002; Gosserand and Diefendorff 2005; Diefendorff *et al* 2005), management (Shuler and Sypher 2000; Grandey 2003), gender studies (Lois 2001; Guy and Newman 2004), sociology (Steinberg and Figart 1999; Tolich 1993; Brook 2009), and hospitality (Johanson and Woods 2008; Guerrier and Adib 2003). Problems in research activity predicated on the concept of emotional labor may derive also from the range of ontological and epistemological backgrounds encompassed in an inherently interdisciplinary phenomenon.

The different dimensions and ways of conceiving and understanding the emotional labor phenomenon are not necessarily in conflict; they can be viewed also as complementary (Glomb and Tews 2004). Glomb and Tews (2004), for example, used Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) idea about the relationship between emotional labor and task effectiveness in their framework as an additional point complementing aspects such as the possibility of underlying emotions, the recognition of genuine emotions and displays, the division of emotions into positive and negative, and the inclusion of other affective states such as moods. Glomb and Tews' (2004) framework is representative of a paradoxical period when at one hand there was no consensus regarding theoretical and methodological aspects among emotional labor researchers but at the same time previous work were used to complement new ideas.

Another example of different conceptualisation regarding emotional labor is afforded by Zapf (2002) who, in a review of the academic literature, classifies emotion work⁴ as a multidimensional construct that includes not just the frequency of interactions with clients but also the intensity, duration, variety of emotions to be expressed and emotional dissonance/emotional effort. Frequency constituted the essential element within Hochschild's (1983) assumption that more interaction with clients would lead to more instances of failure at the emotional interface and, thus, to more negative consequences such as alienation and burnout.

The intensity, duration and variety of emotions were proposed by Morris and Feldman (1996) as significant qualifying factors of emotional labor. To Morris and Feldman (1996), very short interactions as experienced, typically, by supermarket cashiers involve lower emotion work effort as compared with the long interactions experienced, for example, by a multi-day rafting guide, because the script pertinent to a brief interaction is clearly defined. The intensity of the emotion that has to be expressed constitutes another dimension of emotion work. Zapf (2002), for example, cited anger as being less intense than fury. Intensity is also connected to the range and variety of emotions that each job requires. According to Morris and Feldman (1996), some jobs ask for just a few emotions whereas others span an emotional spectrum.

The final dimension relates to dichotomy of emotion dissonance and emotion effort, posited within the two-dimensional view proposed by Kruml and Geddes (2000). This dichotomy between emotional dissonance and emotion effort is based on Hochschild's (1983) acting perspective, wherein emotional dissonance refers to surface acting and passive deep acting, while emotional effort is the dynamic deep acting involved when "employees actively try to change their inner feelings to match the feelings they are expected to express" (Zapf 2002, p.245). Zapf (2002) defines emotional dissonance as a personal state and not a process of emotion work. Emotional dissonance is the state of dissimilitude between inner feeling and emotional display. In addition, Zapf (2002) coins the term "deliberative dissonance acting" (p.246) to refer to occupational feeling rules that guide not only the external expression of emotions but also the inner feelings required for the job. This is the professional emotional

⁴ Zapf (2002) use the term emotion work because, according to the author, in psychology the term labor is not used for individual behaviour and intrapsychic concepts. So "to be compatible with other fields of work and organizational psychology, the term *emotion work* is preferred" (p. 239)

detachment necessary in some jobs where, for example, the worker's real emotions cannot be allowed to influence the emotions that need to be shown. In this case the organisational rules are directed, not just to the display, but also to the internal regulation and management of employees' emotions.

The management, regulation and cohesive display of emotions within organisational rules and for organisational goals seem to be the basic ground of the discussions regarding emotional labor (Grandey 2000). Deep and surface acting are seen as essential tools in the emotional labor plot (Grandey 2003) that involves three categories of participating actor: employee, employer, and customer. However, there are many possibilities for emotional interaction between these three actors. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), for example, use the terms *emotional harmony* and *emotional deviance*. Emotional harmony describes relationships where the emotions felt and expressed by the employee, interacting with a customer, are compatible with the emotions required by the organisations. Emotional deviance is almost the opposite of emotional harmony and represents the lack of intention or inability on the part of employees to display the organisational rules. Zapf (2002) uses action theory to clarify patterns of interaction between clients, employees and employers. In terms of action theory, Zapf (2002) asserts that emotional management action can happen on three different levels: an intellectual level, where action regulation is conscious; the level of flexible action patterns, wherein action plans have been previously established and the regulation of routine action does not require much attention; thirdly, the sensorimotor level, wherein action is largely unconscious, calling for little subjective effort. Following this framework, Zapf (2002) maintains that interactions between clients and workers, mediated through employer influence in the guise of organisational emotional rules, can happen through a conscious initiated or unconscious and automatic surface acting, or through conscious regulation of deep acting⁵. In case of conscious deep acting, Zapf (2002) believes that this is possible if the primary task, for example of guiding a raft, is interrupted or if the primary task can be performed routinely with little conscious application or at a sensorimotor level.

⁵ To Zapf (2002), when a person is doing two different actions at the same time such as emotion work and an objective task such as guiding a boat, there is a hierarchy and it is impossible to keep both actions on the same intellectual level. One of the actions will be eventually regulated automatically at the sensorimotor level.

Besides different theoretical perspectives, emotional labor studies have also generated methodological discussions⁶. Hochschild's (1983) research, based on qualitative methods, was subsumed within quantitative applications and scales such as the Emotional Labour Scale (ELS) elaborated by Brotheridge and Lee (2003), the Discrete Emotions Emotional Labor Scale (DEELS) developed by Glomb and Tews (2004), and the Hospitality Emotional Labor Scale (HELs) by Chu and Murrmann (2006). To Brotheridge and Lee (2003), the quantitative method and the use of ELS are an attempt to satisfy the necessity of understanding and measuring emotional labor as a multidimensional construct. To Chu and Murrmann (2006) the necessity of an emotional labor scale specific to the hospitality industry comes from the lack of quantitative evidence and empirical studies to support theoretical research. Another quantitative research project that collaborated with studies in emotional labor is that of Totterdell and Holman (2003), which empirically tested the theoretical model proposed by Grandey (2000). Grandey's (2000) model combines Hochschild's (1983) tools of emotional labor, namely surface acting and deep acting, and the emotional regulation ways, both antecedent-focused and response-focused, proposed by Gross (1998). Totterdell and Holman's analysis (2003), using a multilevel regression modelling within a time-sampling methodology, alleged to show that "Grandey (2000) was correct in thinking that emotion regulation is a good basis for understanding employee-focused emotional labor" (p.71). On the other hand, as will be shown in chapter 4, many are the research exploring the emotional labor similarly to Hochschild (1983), using qualitative approaches and methods including qualitative content analysis and ethnographic research (Yanay and Shahar 1998; Taylor and Tyler 2000; Mazhindu 2003; Zembylas 2004; Mears and Finlay 2005).

Overall, since the publication of *The Managed Heart* in 1983, studies about emotional labor have approached the phenomenon in many different theoretical and methodological ways. A range of different definitions and conceptualisations as well as qualitative and quantitative approaches can be found in academic literature. The feminist and qualitative approaches made by Hochschild (1983) have also stimulated academic discussion and publications during the past 27 years.

⁶ Chapter 4 will better explore the different methodological approaches present in past research.

2.4 RESEARCH ON EMOTIONAL LABOR

As pointed out in the previous section, there are many areas of research that have used emotional labor as a theoretical ground. However, among all this research in many different areas of expertise, studies on emotional labor mainly focus on three different aspects: gender issues (section 2.4.1), the consequences of emotional labor (section 2.4.2), and evaluative methodologies and scales development (chapter 4). Admittedly, these are not the only points raised in studies about emotional labor, a theory that, although extant for less than 30 years, has already thousands of academic citations. However, as will be demonstrated in the following sections, many discussions involving emotional labor touch on at least one of these three aspects.

2.4.1 Emotional Labor and Gender

According to Acker (1990) organisational structure and jobs are not gender neutral and the most powerful positions are still occupied by men or by females performing as men. However, it seems that the organisational scenario is changing with constant improvement in equal opportunities legislation and with women achieving high hierarchical positions.

To Hochschild (1983), it is women who specialise in emotional labor and because, “our culture invites women more than men to focus on feeling rather than action” (p.57), “men who do this work well have slightly less in common with other men than women who do it well have with other women” (p.20). Gender aspects are so important in Hochschild’s (1983) conceptualisation that she dedicates a whole chapter to explaining its relationship with emotional labor⁷. After Hochschild (1983), many studies have emphasised the gendered element and sex segregation in the performance of emotional labor and emotion work (Martin 1999; Steinberg and Figart 1999; Taylor and Tyler 2000; Lois 2001; Erickson and Ritter 2001; Mulholland 2002; Guy and Newman 2004; Erickson 2005; Meier *et al* 2006).

Jobs that socially have been seen as male and female can involve similar emotional labor performance. However, the amount of emotional labor and the emotions that need to be expressed or suppressed can vary according to the job (Martin 1999). Meanwhile some jobs are stereotyped as being for women such as service workers (Leidner 1999), strippers (Wood 2000), and nurses (Staden 1998; Henderson 2001). Others, such as police officers (Martin

⁷ See section 2.2.7

1999) and bill collectors (Hochschild 1983), are typically classified as male-dominant. Even though antidiscrimination and equal employment opportunities legislation has been developed around the world during the last 50 years, references to sex segregation, salary differential and gender prejudice can still be found in academic literature related to jobs involving emotional labor (Guy and Newman 2004). To Bellas (1999), the skills and abilities involved in performing responsibilities such as emotional labor are socially defined as feminine and unrewarded even if performed by men. Emotional labor is seen as a feminine ability to manage feelings as well as to induce emotions in others and such performance is popularly contrasted with masculine technical abilities (Mulholland 2002). Similarly, Taylor and Tyler (2000, p.91) believe that “emotional labour is seen as ‘women’s work’ in that the majority of those employed to undertake it are women, and it is deemed to draw on abilities which women are supposed to possess by virtue of their sexual difference from some norm of masculinity”. Paradoxically, some studies present an increasing number of men entering and succeeding in supposedly ‘women’s’ occupations (Young and James 2001) as well as women working in jobs that have traditionally been dominated by men (Cox and Harquail 1991; Phillips and Imhoff 1997). At the same time, many jobs such as police officers and bill collectors ask concomitantly for the feminine characteristic of emotional management and aspects socially related to masculinity such as physicality and fearlessness.

The connections between gender and work (Wigfield 2001; Casey and Alach 2004) are also relevant to the relationship between gender and emotions (Crawford *et al* 1992; Shields 2002) and gender and emotional labor (Martin 1999; Taylor and Tyler 2000; Lois 2001). In particular, research on emotional labor and gender differences has been more concentrated on jobs that were seen as dominated by men or by women, for example nurses (Mazhindu 2003) and flight attendants (Hochschild 1983; Wouters 1989; Taylor and Tyler 2000) or bill collectors (Hochschild 1983) and police officers (Martin 1999), instead of discussing the possibility of more effective power relationships in jobs that are performed by both sexes. One of the few articles about emotional labor that is not exclusively dedicated to one gender but to a broader gendered perspective is that of Bellas (1999). One major point made by Bellas (1999), who studied academic professors, is that activities where emotional labor is the main skill, such as teaching and service, are not rewarded equally with activities such as research and administration where, although emotional labor is present, the emphasis falls on other skills. This point is followed by a gender based discussion to the effect that teaching

and service are activities aligned to a social perception of femininity while “research and administration are culturally defined as masculine activities” (Bellas 1999, p.97).

It is since the publication of *The Managed Heart* that gender aspects have been critical in the elaboration of empirical and theoretical research on emotional labor. In fact, gender plays an important role, not just because some jobs requiring emotional labor are socially and culturally connected to a specific gender, but also because emotions and the management of emotions have been historically associated with the feminine figure (Hochschild 1983). To Erickson and Ritter (2001), previous research about emotional labor focused mainly in highly sex-segregated service-sector jobs and more specifically in the effects of emotional labor to women. The empirical results of the study conducted by Erickson and Ritter (2001) contributed to an advance in the discussions about gender and the effects of emotional labor, emphasising that gender has no significant effect on the management of positive or negative emotions or in the feelings of burnout, considered one of the consequences of emotional labor.

2.4.2 Research on consequences of Emotional Labor

Hochschild (1983) suggested that the performance of emotional labor can be harmful to workers (see section 2.2.8.1). Wharton (1999) suggests that Hochschild presents three possible harmful consequences when emotional labor is performed. The first one is that emotional labor can cause a fusion and confusion between the private and public selves, or between self and the work role, and consequently “the worker has no awareness of a false self” (Hochschild 1983, p.187). In this fusion individuals cannot depersonalise and separate their worker self from the true private self. Workers usually take professional problems into the personal sphere, increasing the risk of burnout. The second condition is an estrangement between the private and public selves that comes at the expense of the private self. In this case workers do not recognise their real selves in the work role but blame themselves for the insincerity of their actions. The third condition is an estrangement between the public and private selves that comes at the expense of the public role. Here, workers distinguish themselves from the work role and believe that the ‘false’ acting is positively required by the job. To Hochschild (1983), people able to keep their false and true selves relatively separate are less vulnerable to negative outcomes related to the performance of emotional labor than workers who fuse these two identities. However, such estrangement is also called emotional

dissonance and occurs in situations of conflict between what is felt and what is required to be expressed.

To Van Dijk and Kirk (2007) emotional dissonance is a consequence of emotional labor originating in the management of emotions over long periods of time. Emotional dissonance can be an incongruence between two sets of emotions, those actually felt and those socially required, but also it can take the form of an incongruence between conflicting inner emotions, or between what is felt and what one wants to feel. Recent research has brought new aspects relating to emotional dissonance and the consequences of emotional labor into discussion (Pugliesi 1999; Zapf *et al* 1999, 2001; Zapf 2002; Anderson *et al* 2003). Specifically, the estrangement between the private self and public self that comes at the expense of the organisational role has been seen as a positive consequence that can enhance job satisfaction (Wharton 1993; 1999).

Extensive quantitative and qualitative data found in academic research asserts the significance of emotional labor and emotional dissonance in relation to job satisfaction or dissatisfaction and to workers' well-being (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Wharton 1993; Morris and Feldman 1997; Zapf *et al* 1999; Lewig and Dollard 2003). A negative correlation between emotional dissonance and job satisfaction and a positive correlation between emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion was found by Morris and Feldman (1997). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) believe that an identification process between the individual and the role to be assumed may transform emotional labor into an enjoyable activity as well as enhance well being. Similarly, Tolich (1993) asserts that the customer service performed by supermarket clerks can either exacerbate or alleviate a clerk's alienation from work depending on whether the employee is in a situation of regulated emotion management or autonomous emotion management.

In a regulated emotion management situation workers are conscious of their role and know that their work is highly regulated and supervised by another person and their behaviour should be based on the organisation requirements. On the other hand, in a situation of autonomous emotion management, "the conception and management of emotions is regulated by the individual" (Tolich 1993, p.378). To Tolich (1993), worker's autonomy in emotion management can be a source of job satisfaction, producing joy and fun. Morris and Feldman (1996) suggest that not only is job autonomy positively related to job satisfaction but also it is negatively related to emotional dissonance. Grandey (2000) also reports that the display of positive emotions has a positive correlation with job satisfaction and can result in

higher customer service performance. However, to be emotionally involved with the organisational role can lead to negative consequences such as burnout (Jackson *et al* 1986).

Hochschild (1983) suggests that the main harmful condition for workers is the fusion between private and public selves, which can increase the risk of burnout. Burnout became one of the most studied outcomes of emotional labor in academic literature (Lee and Ashforth 1996; Wharton 1999; Erickson and Ritter 2001; Zapf 2002; Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Zammuner and Galli 2005). One of the most common definitions of burnout is that offered by Maslach and Jackson (1986) and is based on three components: emotional exhaustion; reduced personal accomplishment and depersonalisation.

To Cordes and Dougherty (1993), emotional exhaustion is characterised by a lack of energy and the entire consumption of emotional resources; reduced personal accomplishment is related to workers' negative evaluation of themselves; and depersonalisation is the treatment of clients as objects and a detachment from organisational structure and rules. To Deery *et al* (2002), emotional exhaustion is the core element of burnout and it is strictly related to employee withdrawal. Deery *et al* (2002) also observe that symptoms of emotional exhaustion are usually tiredness and fatigue. Lee and Ashforth (1996) and Zapf (2002) believe that emotional exhaustion is related to job stressors such as workload and, especially, role conflicts. They cite empirical research findings that variables relating to high emotional demands, such as frequent interactions, high caseloads, and severe clients' problems, were significantly correlated to burnout. Moore (2000) provides an analysis of the antecedents and consequences of emotional exhaustion that can affect not only organisational productivity but also employees' health and well-being. Lee and Ashforth (1996) reject a possible positive correlation between age and emotional exhaustion and find no association between personal accomplishment and other burnout dimensions proposed by Maslach and Jackson (1986). Actually, to Shirom (1989), reduced personal accomplishment is not in itself a burnout category, as proposed by Maslach and Jackson (1986), but rather a potential consequence of burnout and emotional exhaustion. Koeske and Koeske (1989) support the idea that emotional exhaustion is the sole category of burnout and that reduced personal accomplishment is simply a related variable.

The diminished personal accomplishment is, according to Cordes and Dougherty (1993, p.646), generated by high levels of depersonalisation because, "when individuals develop negative, cynical attitudes and withdraw physically or psychologically from the situation, they find that they are no longer willing, or perceive that they are no longer able, to perform

their jobs effectively”. To Maslach (1993) the consequences of emotional labor have a different order, starting with workers experiencing emotional exhaustion, and followed by depersonalisation and diminished personal accomplishment. On the contrary, for Golembiewski and Munzenrider (1988), burnout starts with a depersonalisation which induces reduced feelings of accomplishment and ends in emotional exhaustion. Previous research have not presented a common definition for the term depersonalisation and for Hochschild (1983), depersonalisation is not just a detachment from the organisational structure but actually a detachment from the true self through deep acting. Thus, depersonalisation leads to a loss of the emotional identity that according to Burke and Tully (1977) is the set of meanings applied to the self depending of the social role or situation.

Emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and diminished feelings of accomplishment are the three parts of burnout originated by the performance of emotional labor (Maslach and Jackson 1986). However other negative consequences of managing emotions have been identified by researchers including alienation, the absence of a capacity to feel, an anaesthetic effect that induces in the self a permanent emotional nullity or numbing, and the generation of emotional or mental disorder such as depression, phobic anxiety or schizophrenia (Kemper 1978; MacLeod *et al* 1986; Mathews and MacLeod 1994). The lack of consensus regarding the consequences of emotional labor can be related to the different characteristics of the industries that have been used by emotional labor researchers including the airline, social service, educational, hospitality, and tourism industries.

2.4.3 Research on Emotional Labor and Tourism

A face-to-face or voice-to-voice relationship between workers and clients as well as training and supervision are needed for a job be considered as emotional labor (Hochschild 1983). The leisure and tourism industries are characterised by jobs that have these requirements and consequently are considered emotional labor. Indeed research on emotional labor among tourism and leisure workers is neither new nor limited (Guerrier and Adib 2003; Anderson *et al* 2003; Sharpe 2005; Chu and Murrmann 2006; Van Dijk and Kirk 2007; Van Dijk *et al* 2011; Wong and Wang 2009). Even Hochschild’s (1983) and Wouters’ (1989) research can be interpreted using the tourism lens, considering that flight attendants effectively are workers in the tourism industry. However, despite the amount of research published to date, there is not a consensual approach about the way emotional labor is performed, and its benefits and consequences to the leisure and tourism industries.

Research about emotional labor in the leisure and tourism industries consists in its totality of empirical studies using either qualitative (Guerrier and Adib 2003; Sharpe 2005; Wong and Wang 2009) or quantitative methodologies (Chu and Murrmann 2006; Kim 2008; Kim and Han 2009; Van Dijk *et al* 2011) but contains little theoretical discussion. However, considering the multiple variables such as time, place, type of contact with the client and type of supervision that are involved in the leisure and tourism industry, these articles have contributed, to some degree, to a better understanding of emotional performance. Guerrier and Adib (2003), for example, studied tour representatives performing a job where the boundaries between work and leisure are not clearly defined. These workers are, in this way, different from the flight attendants and bill collectors studied by Hochschild (1983) and the supermarket clerks investigated in Tolich (1993). Indeed, some jobs in the tourism and leisure industries go beyond the norms of organisational, commercial and public life and offer the possibility of a mixing of leisure and work.

A similar discussion about the boundaries of public and private life is developed by Sharpe (2005) in relation to multi-day trip adventure guides. Through an intensive ethnographic research, Sharpe (2005) investigated not only how multi-day trip guides deal with their emotional performances as well as their clients' emotions, but also the emotional labor expectations and demands in the guiding role. Moreover, in Sharpe's (2005) research guides' time of performance was of very long duration compared with flight attendants who need to manage their feelings for periods of hours rather than days. Such prolonged emotional display requires more effort and leads to more emotional labor than display of a short duration (Kim 2008). Even if not deeply emphasised in research, the component time is very important both in the quality of emotional labor performance and also in relation to employees' attitudes (Kim and Han 2009) and well-being (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993).

Time is not the only essential factor that influences the performance of emotional labor. Wong and Wang (2009) found that the emotional labor of tour reps is highly influenced by rewards coming from customers. In Wong and Wang's (2009) study, the tour guides did not have a fixed stipend, and their income depended on tips received from the customers and a percentage they received from souvenir sales. For this reason, the tour reps felt pushed to perform emotional labor in the best possible way to satisfy the customers. Moreover, to Wong and Wang (2009), the tour reps' performance involves at the same time emotional labor and aesthetic labor, mainly because they are the "face" (p.257) of the companies they work for. Warhurst *et al* (2000) believe that aesthetic labor as well as emotional labor is

involved in the employee's appearance, effort and modification of the self to address employers' and customers' expectations.

The management of appearance and modification of the emotional self in order to satisfy organisational requirements and customer expectations are so important to the capitalist system that training and supervision of these functions are needed to guarantee standard levels. Many organisations provide training about their display rules (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987) and, in the tourism and hospitality industries, the practice is no different (Anderson *et al* 2003; Wong and Wang 2009). However, Kim and Han (2009, p.238) suggest that it is not just the training and supervision that are important but also the recruiting process because "there is a limit to encouraging the laborer to perform emotional labor through the display of genuine emotion by training on service provisions or training to enhance professionalism. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the common characteristics shared by workers who perform emotional labor through the display of genuine emotion". Anderson *et al* (2003) point out that, in the tourism and hospitality industries, the importance of recruiting employees having the right or ideal personality is widely recognised. Indeed employers need to recruit people with the right personality to perform emotional labor and able to deal with evaluations and supervision (Anderson *et al* 2003).

Supervision is the element that organisations use to guarantee that the emotions performed are compatible with their recommended behavioural rules and customer's requirements. However in some jobs within the tourism and leisure industries supervisory aspects are limited or even non-existent. Guerrier and Adib (2003) asserted that direct supervision and monitoring are limited among tour reps. A similar situation is presented by Wong and Wang (2009) where one of the only ways to supervise tour leaders is the use of customer feedback, although this is not a direct type of supervision. However, whether supervision is direct or indirect, the hierarchical structure of corporate organisations influences the performance of emotional labor, once the rules are formulated, based on a power relationship where the employee needs to obey the employer's impositions. In her quantitative research, Kim (2008) emphasised that companies, in this case hotels, should establish positive rules that motivate employees to do deep acting and consequently reduce the chance of burnout that is connected to surface acting.

Studies about emotional labor in the tourism and leisure industries have a common characteristic in that they focus on a specific niche of workers. However, methodologically the studies about leisure and tourism workers present significant differences. Among the

methodological differences, which will be discussed in more depth in chapter 4, and considering the field of research the case that is relevant to the present discussion is that of the Hospitality Emotional Labor Scale (HELS), an instrument specific to the measurement of emotional labor in the hospitality industry (Chu and Murrmann 2006). The HELS was developed having as its base the quantitative survey of Kruml and Geddes (2000) and the Emotional Labor Scale (ELS) created by Brotheridge and Lee (2003). To develop the scale, Chu and Murrmann (2006) followed the guidelines for scale development and analysis proposed by Hinkin *et al* (1997) that established a seven step elaboration. The seven steps utilised by Chu and Murrmann (2006) were: item generation, content adequacy assessment, questionnaire administration, factor analysis, internal consistency assessment, construct validity, and replication. The main intention of the instrument presented and validated by Chu and Murrmann (2006) was to help the tourism industry to assess the employees' emotional labor level as well as customers' perception of the desired or expected emotional effort. Chu and Murrmann's (2006) scale as well as Sharpe's (2005) ethnographic research and Wong and Wang's (2009) multi-method study show that, even if the theoretical discussions and advances are shallow, empirical studies have contributed to understanding the importance of emotional labor to the tourism industry and the influence of job variables in its performance.

2.4.4 Emotional Labor and gaps for new research

Almost all the research about emotional labor goes on to suggest directions for further studies. In a recent publication about emotional labor, Van Dijk and Kirk (2007), for example, suggest that further research should measure and investigate management of associated negative outcomes. A similar recommendation was made by Wharton (1999) who emphasises the importance of understanding the consequences of emotional labor. However, most of the recommendations for further research focus on the limitations of previous studies. A classic example relates to the number of participants in a research study and the problem of generalisation when the sample in the study is not representative, something by no means restricted to this area of academic endeavour. Wong and Wang (2009) as well as Van Dijk and Kirk (2007) and Anderson *et al* (2003) noted the number of participants as a limitation of their studies, suggesting for further research the use of quantitative methods involving a higher number of participants.

Apart from the importance of developing quantitative research linked to a significant sample size, other gaps can also be identified in the emotional labor literature. The

identification and filling of these gaps can both fortify the emotional labor concept and also heighten its significance for modern society. Originally, the emotional labor concept dates from the early 1980's and was created by an American sociologist reflecting on the American society in that period. So, it is important to contextualise the phenomenon, adapting it to different realities. The concepts of work, emotion and emotional experience, for example, can change according to location, reflecting the singularity of the national, cultural, and geographic context where the research is done (Scherer *et al* 1988; Matsumoto 1989; Manrai and Manrai 1995). Possibly, research about emotional labor in countries culturally different from western models will present interesting and different results that could be used to understand different aspects about globalisation, cultural power relations, and social influence in emotion management. However, it is also true that these social concepts will be analysed through the lens of a researcher who has his or her own values, beliefs, and cultural background.

In the Afterword of the twentieth anniversary edition of the book *The Managed Heart*, Hochschild (2003) analyses the route of her theory and discusses some research projects that refined the original theory: "...I was also gratified to see my ideas applied, refined and richly developed by other researchers." (p.200). Hochschild (2003) observes that since the term emotional labor was first coined in 1983, the work scenario has been divided in two. On the one side, some emotional labor has been replaced by machines such as self-checkouts in supermarkets and online services. On the other hand, jobs have such as childcare workers and nursing home attendants started to grow in importance and became widespread in the American society (Hochschild 1983). Indeed new research has been developed about the emotional labor of these 'new' workers (Himmelweit 1999; Lopez 2006). Another point made by Hochschild (2003) is how some occupational activities can become intertwined with private life. Hochschild (2003) defines as "marketized private live" the third sector of social life where people mix work and family cultures as in the case, for example, of nannies (see section 2.2.8). Actually the Afterword represents Hochschild's (2003) analysis of the subsequent development of her ideas by authors from different places in the world and with different backgrounds but also Hochschild's awareness of the problematic aspects of and gaps left by her theory. Indeed, Hochschild (2003) herself suggests further directions for emotional labor theory such as new research about the relationships between personal life and work, a gap explored in chapter 7 of this thesis.

In the fields of leisure, tourism and hospitality, new studies about emotional labor are necessary, not just because the performance of emotions is a requirement for most of the workers in these industries but also because the conception of 'marketized private life' and the integration between private and public, for example recreationists working in cruises, has been largely ignored. Previous research on emotional labor in the tourism, leisure and hospitality industries has suggested further directions for the development and practical application of the theory. Wong and Wang (2009, p.258) suggest some practical actions that can be useful for tour leaders because "explicit emotional display rules and training programs are lacking for most tour leaders....An effective training program thus should be prepared by observation and analysis of a tour leader who possesses desirable interactions with tour participants". According to Wong and Wang (2009) the display rules could be written in handbooks and taught in training sessions. Wong and Wang (2009) also assert that further research should be undertaken to examine whether the performance of emotional labor can have positive consequences both for workers and companies and, if yes, how these consequences can be achieved.

Morris (2003) indicates paths to be followed both by academic researchers and practitioners in the tourism and hospitality industry such as a new emphasis in the development and validation of emotional labor measures. Morris (2003) asserts that the direct observation of emotional expression can be helpful to quantify frequency, duration and variety of emotional labor. Secondly, Morris (2003) believes that more research about the consequences of emotional labor in the tourism industry is needed. One of the practical implications suggested by Morris (2003) involves new recruiting techniques and selection tools that help predict the employee's ability to display organisational emotions. Morris (2003) also alludes to the necessity of improving training methods used in the tourism and hospitality industry, specifically as regards training in display rules, norms, cultural awareness and sincerity. Similar suggestions are made by Kim (2008) who suggests that human resource managers in hotels should recruit more extroverted people because they are more likely to increase customers' satisfaction. Kim (2008) also points out two directions for future research. First, studies should be directed to establish a more comprehensive profile of people who are more likely to perform deep acting. Another direction offered by Kim (2008) is to understand the influence of job autonomy in relation to the consequences of emotional labor. Sharpe (2005), in a different way, believes that emotional labor plays a central role in maintaining the "customer's engrossment in the illusion of the fantasy world" (p.48) and

further studies should analyse in depth the meanings of fantasy leisure both for those who experience the phenomenon and also for those whose work in the leisure industry such as white-water rafting guides who are the focus of this thesis. Indeed not much has been published about workers in the adventure industry and even less about the emotions involved in adventure tourism or the inherent possibilities of emotional labor in this context. Such paucity indicates the need to conduct new studies on the emotions involved in the work of adventure guides.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the literature on emotional labor using the work of Hochschild (1983) as a theoretical base. The chapter has fallen into three main parts; the first part was dedicated to an analysis of Hochschild's (1983) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. This review established a conceptual starting point for an empirical understanding of emotional labor in white-water rafting guides. An analysis of the work that is theoretically fundamental to the thesis provided readers, whether specialists in emotional labor or not, with an understanding of the subsequent steps of the research. The review emphasised the main parts and ideas of Hochschild's (1983) theory such as surface and deep acting, feeling rules, transmutation of emotions, gender issues on emotional labor, and the human quest for authenticity.

The second part of the chapter focused on the critiques made by many academics of Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor concept as well as on different perspectives and conceptualisations of the management of emotions in the workplace. Critiques to the emotional labor theory range from the accusation that it dichotomises the private and public selves to the questioning of the idea that workers become alienated when they have their emotions commodified; and to the allegation that Hochschild (1983) did not discuss in sufficient depth Marx's interpretation of alienation. These critiques have led researchers to develop new perspectives and to generate a re-interpretation of the emotional labor theory that were tested in many different working groups and with different methodologies.

The third part of this chapter presented different areas of research on emotional labor. First, the relationship between emotional labor and gender issues was considered, taking into consideration the feminist perspective of Hochschild (1983), and her belief that the management of emotions has been seen as a female characteristic. Discussions about gender

are relevant if it is considered that white-water rafting guides, the target population of this thesis, are mainly men performing emotional labor similar to rescue workers' characteristics explored by Lois (2001). Second, section 2.4.2 of the chapter discussed the literature related to the consequences of emotional labor including burnout, estrangement, emotional dissonance and job satisfaction. Finally, this chapter focused on the literature published about emotional labor in the hospitality and tourism industries. However the adventure tourism industry as yet lacks a deep understanding of emotional labor performance. This dearth of research about emotional management in adventure tourism is one of the gaps discussed in the final part of this chapter. An analysis of the literature gaps and suggestions from past research was essential for an understanding of how the present study can contribute to the development of emotional labor theory. The next chapter will present the literature involving adventure tourism as well as the target population of this research, the white-water rafting guides.

3 – ADVENTURE TOURISM AND ADVENTURE GUIDES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Considering that the aim of this thesis is to explore the emotional labor of white-water rafting guides, this chapter provides an overview of the academic literature on adventure tourism, and adventure guides focusing specifically on the emotional issues. The chapter is divided into two main parts, where the first part contains a theoretical discussion referring to adventure tourism, while the second focuses on adventure guides. The first part introduces the concept of adventure and its evolution. Following this a discussion about risk in adventure tourism and its influence in the emotional state and emotional management of participants is presented. The chapter next highlights some emotional aspects of adventure tourism that have been foreshadowed previously in the literature. These emotional aspects connect with a discussion about adventure tourism as an extraordinary experience (Arnould and Price 1993) that is explored in section 3.2.4. Finally, the first section of this chapter presents literature on adventure tourism in New Zealand and more specifically about white-water rafting. The discussions that permeate the second part of this chapter involve a review of literature published on adventure and white-water rafting guides. A critical review of literature about adventure guides is relevant considering the focus of this thesis on this group of workers. Finally, the relevance of Erin Sharpe's (2005) work for this thesis, with respect to the congruent aspects as well as the differences between her study and the current research is discussed in this chapter.

3.2 ADVENTURE TOURISM

3.2.1 The Adventure element – From recreation to tourism

Recently, one of the topics that has been greatly explored in tourism and leisure literature is adventure (Bentley and Page 2001; Bentley and Page 2008; Swarbrooke *et al* 2003; Cater 2006; Pomfret 2006). The idea of adventure as a form of leisure or a recreational field, and presented by Vester (1987) as a multidimensional concept of experience, was largely researched in the 1980s (Ewert 1985; Ewert 1989; Martin and Priest 1986; Ewert and Hollenhorst 1989). However, adventure as an aspect of tourism attracted little academic attention until the early 1990s (Kane and Tucker 2004).

To Vester (1987) adventure is the leisure component that helps in the overcoming of the mundane social world and its everyday routine because of its “extra-mundane qualities” (p.237) such as uncertainty and risk. For Holyfield *et al* (2005) the term adventure includes a voluntary engagement in an uncertain and emotionally intense recreational activity that needs to have a balance between risk and safety. Risk and adventure are also connected by Priest (1990, p.115) who believes that adventure comes “from the risks inherent in the activity and becomes personally challenging when a person applies personal competence against the risks in an attempt to resolve the uncertainty”. Activities involving risk and adventure became known as adventure recreation, having their origins, according to Weber (2001b), in outdoor recreation. However, Ewert and Hollenhorst (1989) believe that adventure recreation differs from outdoor recreation because it involves a deliberate search for risk and uncertain situations. Indeed, for Ewert and Hollenhorst (1989, p.125) adventure recreation encompasses “self-initiated activities utilizing an interaction with natural environment that contains elements of real or apparent danger in which the outcome, while uncertain, can be influenced by the participant and circumstance”.

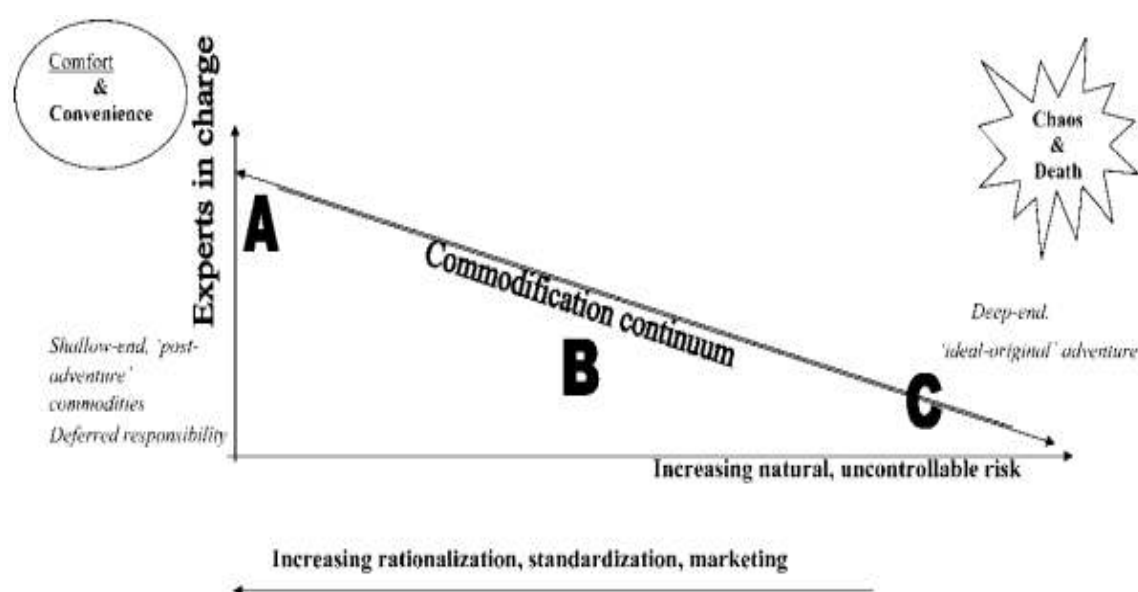
The commercialisation of these adventure recreation activities and even the commodification of the places where these activities take place developed into an interesting marketing aspect of the tourism industry. Varley (2006) elaborates an ‘adventure commodification continuum’ (Figure 3.1) which is a continuum of different possible adventure experiences presenting a relationship between highly-controlled, marketed and commodified activity and the “essential ideal of the original adventure” (p.188). In the model (figure 3.1) Varley (2006) establishes three different phases of adventure. Phase A is highly saleable as a tourist product. Phase B encompasses the outdoor pursuit market that involves skills courses, guiding and expert led expeditions. Phase C usually is not a commercial product because it is too close to possible misadventure, and includes activities such as solo mountaineering and independent expeditions. According to Varley (2006) the less risky an activity can be, the higher is the level of comfort to the participants and higher is the commercial and marketing appeal.

Cloke and Perkins (2002) assert that adventure has been for long a facet of tourism even if the ‘boom’ in the adventure tourism industry is relatively recent. Hall (1992) asserts that adventure tourism involves outdoor touristic activities in a natural environment and contains elements of risk and that are commercialised. However, to Walle (1997) not all the adventure tourism activities are risk-taking, but there are also adventures that are pursued to

gain knowledge and insight. Walle's (1997) position has been criticised by Weber (2001b, p.362) who believes that "learning and gaining insight are not possible side effects of risk/adventure recreation as argued by Walle, they are integral parts".

Galloway (2006) asserts that adventure is a relative concept because its perception as well as the perception of risk has a subjective characteristic. Indeed, it is likely to find different levels of perceived risk when comparing a tourist to a guide (Morgan 2000). Risk perceptions in adventure tourism are also explored by Cater (2006) who believes that there is an apparent movement towards risk-taking behaviour during leisure moments, moving in counterpoint to the reduction of risk in humans' everyday lives. However, the idea of tourists having more accentuated risk-taking behaviour during their holidays is just one possible approach in the comprehension of tourist behaviour. In contrast, when tourists arrive in their destination they can behave exactly in the same way they do at home (Krippendorff 1987), avoiding unnecessary risks and searching everyday emotional experiences.

Figure 3. 1 - The Adventure Commodification Continuum (Varley 2006, p.189)



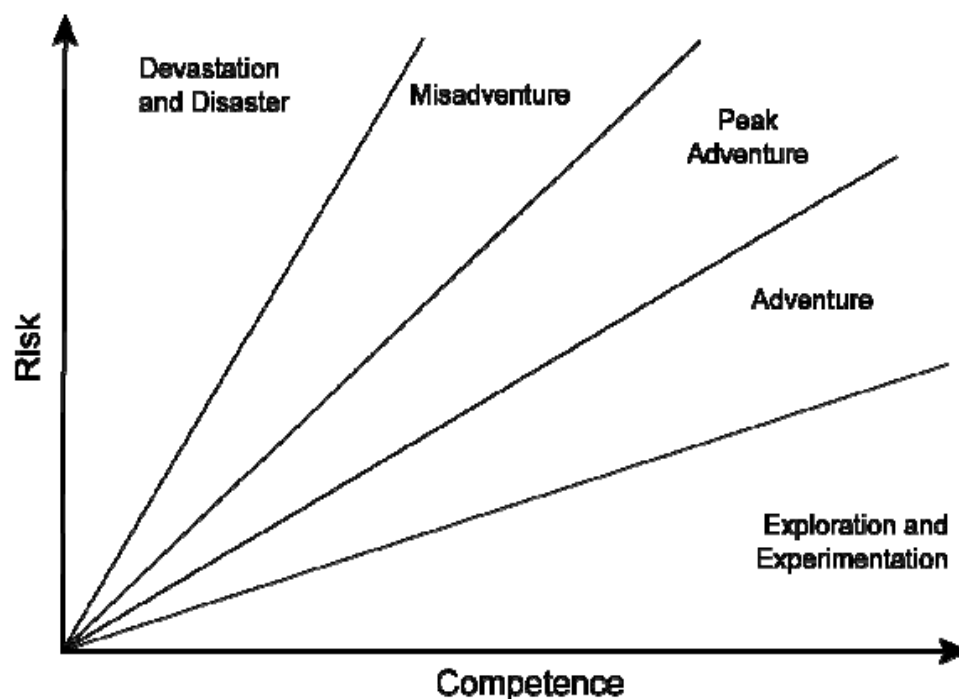
3.2.2 Adventure Tourism and Risk

Section 3.2.1 pointed out the importance of risk for the concept of adventure activities and tourism. Some studies have associated risk taking behaviour with personality (Lyng 1990; Watson and Pulford 2004) and others have posited that the expectation and experience of risky situations as well as the feeling of control over risk can be the reasons that explain adherence in adventure tourism (Walle 1997; Morgan and Dimmock 2006). The control over

risk depends, in its turn, on the competence of the adventure participant. In other words, different levels of risk (perceived and real) and competence (perceived and real) can affect the adventure experience (Martin and Priest 1986).

The Adventure Experience Paradigm model (Figure 3.2) presented by Martin and Priest (1986) is basically a correlation between risk and competence that determines the outcomes of an adventure experience such as a white-water rafting trip. The adventure experience can have five different outcomes ranging from devastation/disaster to exploration/experimentation (Martin and Priest 1986) depending on how competent is the adventurer and how risky is the activity. According to Priest (1992), in order to achieve joy and pleasure adventurers need to engage in activities where the levels of risk are in balance with their levels of competence. In this scenario, a novice kayaker will practice in low risk rivers, with easy rapids and experienced climbers will choose tough and high risky routes (Priest 1992). However these scenarios are not fixed and can change when participants gain experience, decreasing their perceptions of risk and increasing their perceptions of competence.

Figure 3.2 - Adventure Experience Paradigm (Martin and Priest 1986)



Research that has been undertaken in adventure tourism and risk has mainly focused on the inherent physical risks of activities. From a financial perspective, Callander and Page (2003, p.22) assert that “operators must become much more risk aware, both from a physical and a legal perspective, as these areas have enormous potential to impact on the level of financial risk and viability of their businesses”. Thus, adventure operators need to ensure they are covered against accidents (Callander and Page 2003) while promoting their paradoxically safe but risky activities (Fletcher 2010).

Holyfield *et al* (2005) suggest that adventure tourism augments the perceptions of apparent risk, creating an illusory situation for clients. On the other hand, according to Palmer (2004), adventure activities, even if presented as being without risk, have elements of real danger that can transform the pleasurable moment into a dramatic situation. The ‘illusion’ of risk (Holyfield *et al* 2005) or the real danger (Palmer 2004) present in adventure activities can stimulate clients’ imagination and also provoke emotional reactions.

3.2.3 Emotions in Adventure Tourism

The arouse of emotions is one of the many characteristics of adventure activities (Swarbrooke *et al* 2003; Holyfield *et al* 2005; Cater 2006) and a recurring topic in adventure tourism literature. Indeed, emotions such as fear are clearly connected to adventure tourism (Carnicelli-Filho *et al* 2010). To Holyfield *et al* (2005, p.174) “today’s adventure companies now compete to provide excitement and other intense emotions while guaranteeing the safety of those who do not wish to actually risk their lives experiencing these sensations”. Fletcher (2010) points out that adventure tourism has the potential for significant danger and guides work to inspire fear in clients.

To Varley (2006), the risk of death can be seen as an attracting element in adventure tourism and add elements of fear for participants. Carnicelli-Filho *et al* (2010) suggest that the presence of fear is a catalyst for participants’ imagination and their expectations of strong emotional experiences in their first exposure to adventure activity. However, even if emotions such as fear and apprehension seem to run counter to emotions such as fun, enjoyment and sense of achievement that are also present in adventure activities (Patterson and Pan 2007), previous research indicated that fear and pleasure are not necessarily conflictive (Carnicelli-Filho 2007; Mura 2009). Indeed, emotions such as fear and pleasure are present and constitute an interactive component in adventure activities (Swarbrooke *et al* 2003). To Willians and Soutar (2009), in adventure tourism experiences, emotions of fear, hesitation,

and apprehension may lead to exhilaration and excitement and also to clients' satisfaction even if to Arnould and Price (1993), clients do not know what feelings to expect prior to any given activity, giving vague answers in pre-trip questions including about their level of expectation and satisfaction.

The literature exploring emotions in adventure tourism focuses in both clients' (Carnicelli-Filho *et al* 2010) and workers' emotions (Sharpe 2005; Fluker and Deery 2003; Holyfield *et al* 2005; Holyfield and Jonas 2003; Holyfield 1999). Considering that the focus of this thesis is on rafting guides and their own perception regarding the management of emotions more emphasis was given to the literature about workers' emotions and their causes. To Sharpe (2005), for, example, guides have three responsibilities that can involve and stimulate emotions: ensuring safety, generating fun, and creating a sense of community. However, these three components are not simply emotional elements inherent in guides but, rather, related to their professional activity and their aim of satisfying customers. Fluker and Deery (2005), for example, believe that it is exactly the emotional game, the thrill and excitement of the outdoor adventure that attract people into the guiding activity. Holyfield (1999, p.10, italic in the original) believes that guides "must *embody* the excitement they are selling". It is compulsory for guides to never let clients know that their job can be mundane, and they should deal with moments of fear and anxiety using humour.

Actually, humour is a tool that guides use to generate fun and reduce stress moments that could impact on clients' satisfaction (Holyfield 1999). Humour is a tool to manipulate emotions, as well as the projection of danger that is used to elevate guides' identity as leaders in an environment that only experts can control (Holyfield and Jonas 2003). Indeed, for Holyfield *et al* (2005), commercial guides need to manipulate both their own emotions and those of clients, performing the emotions required by the company and enhancing the status and well being of clients as well as satisfying their emotional expectations. Holyfield and Jonas (2003) assert that guides present emotional cues that are perceived by clients and stimulate their emotional reactions, transforming the adventure experience either positively or negatively. Thus, guides play an important role in adventure tourism's emotional game and are responsible for clients' "extraordinary experiences" (Arnould and Price 1993, p.25).

3.2.4 Adventure Tourism and the 'Extraordinary Experience'

The emotions and risky situations involved in an adventure activity as well as a close sensory contact with the natural environment is something that is not often experienced by

people in urban centres (Holyfield *et al* 2005). So, to be displaced from the ‘cement jungle’ into an environment that humans have not completely changed creates an experience that goes beyond the usual in daily life for most people. Arnould and Price (1993) used the terminology ‘extraordinary experience’ to describe adventure activities and specifically white water rafting. The concept of extraordinary experience was previously explored by Abrahams (1986) but was mainly developed by Arnould and Price (1993, p.25), who have differentiated the term from other concepts germane to consumption experience such as peak experience, peak performance and flow:

“The term we use, "extraordinary experience," entails a "sense of newness of perception and process" (Privette 1983, p.1366; see also Abrahams 1986). By contrast with flow, extraordinary experience is triggered by unusual events and is characterized by high levels of emotional intensity and experience. By contrast with peak experience and peak performance (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993), extraordinary experience implies neither superior levels of effort nor an independent relational mode. In fact, an important trigger for this experiential state is interpersonal interaction (Abrahams 1986).”

To Arnould and Price (1993), consumers of ‘extraordinary experiences’ have vague expectations but desire emotional outcomes such as joy and excitement. The extraordinary experience is based on spontaneity that makes the events different from everyday routines (Arnould and Price 1993). The idea of the extraordinary is also present in Rojek and Urry (1997), for whom the redirection of the self towards extraordinary events, different from the ordinary and mundane, can heighten pleasure in the touristic experience. Beedie and Hudson (2003) similarly create a model to explain the role of extraordinary experience in mountaineering, in which home represents the ordinary world where risks are assessed and worry takes place and the mountains are the theatre where extraordinary experiences happen.

The extraordinary events in adventure tourism promote emotional experiences that can range from fear to excitement and are a main attraction to clients (Holyfield 1997; Cater 2006). Aware of this adventure market, the government of countries such as New Zealand, Australia and Canada started to explore and offer incentives to businesses in order to use the natural beauty and environment, adding an impressive dimension to their respective tourism

industries (Cloke and Perkins 2002). Accordingly, the following section will explore the adventure industry in New Zealand, the site of the empirical research of this thesis.

3.2.5 Adventure Tourism in New Zealand

New Zealand has been promoted overseas as an ideal country for outdoor activities, located in a scenic environment and enriched by a unique Maori culture (Ryan 1997; Cloke and Perkins 2002). Also, it is in the New Zealand's South Island that the town self-marketed as the adventure capital of the world is situated (Cater 2006). Queenstown, considered the 'Mecca' of adventure tourism (Cater and Cloke 2007), is the place where the research for this thesis took place and will be described in more depth in section 5.2.

Not just Queenstown but New Zealand in general has been the setting for much recent research on adventure activities (Bentley *et al* 2000; Cloke Perkins 2002; Kane and Zink 2004; Page *et al* 2005; Cater 2006; Bentley and Page 2008; Kane 2010). Most of the research conducted about adventure in New Zealand is published in leisure and tourism journals, although it is also possible to find publications in other fields such as Bentley *et al* (2001) and O'Hare *et al* (2002) in health science, Cater and Cloke (2007) in anthropology, and Morgan *et al* (2002) in marketing. Different approaches have been adopted in publications about adventure tourism in New Zealand. The range of discussion presented in these publications includes the following: analysis of accidents and an inquiry about the safety of adventure activities (McLaughlan 1995; Bentley *et al* 2000; Bentley *et al* 2001; Callander and Page 2003; Bentley and Page 2008); the commodification of adventure (Cloke and Perkins 2002); risk perception and management (Kane and Tucker 2004; Cater 2006); serious leisure (Kane and Zink 2004); and transactions between people and nature (McIntyre and Roggenbuck 1998).

Research on adventure tourism in New Zealand reflects the extent to which the country's policies are designed to provide incentives for the industry. Indeed, Cater (2006) cites changes in New Zealand legislation as one of the main factors stimulating the adventure industry in the country. Policies such as the Accidents and Rehabilitation Compensation Act and the Resource Management Act contributed to the adventure tourism industry. The first of these acts provides medical cover for overseas tourists on a no-fault basis, and the second stimulates the development of a more sustainable tourism. Queenstown is not the only place in New Zealand that offers adventure activities to tourists and shares the adventure market with other destinations such as Taupo, Wanaka and the Akaroa peninsula. Among the many

options offered by the adventure industry in New Zealand that range from marine activities such as scuba diving to activities in the air such as paragliding, this thesis focuses specifically on white-water rafting.

3.2.6 White-water rafting

The International Rafting Federation defines rafting in its website as follows: “Rafting is a human activity conducted on running rivers requiring physical skill using paddle and oar power in soft crafts and which is generally accepted as being a social, commercial and competitive sport” (IRF 2010). The first inflatable rafts were originally developed as life rafts and were later used during World War II as military equipment able to carry soldiers to difficult areas of jungle, mountain or in beach assaults. The history of the commercial rafting activities started in the 19th Century, when John Wesley Powell, using a wooden raft, organised the first known trip on the Colorado and Green rivers in the USA (Bennett 1996; Jonas 1999). Technology and knowledge development changed the activity and nowadays river’s rapids are classified according to a six level international scale, promulgated in 1987 by the American Whitewater Organization and categorised as follows in Section VI of the Safety Code of American Whitewater (2010, pp.9-10):

- Class I Rapids: Fast moving water with small waves. Few obstructions, all obvious and easily missed with little training. Risk to swimmers is slight; self-rescue is easy.
- Class II Rapids (Novice): Straightforward rapids with wide, clear channels which are evident without scouting. Occasional maneuvering may be required, but rocks and medium-sized waves are easily missed by trained paddlers. Rapids that are at the upper end of this difficulty range are designated “Class II+”.
- Class III (Intermediate): Rapids with moderate, irregular waves which may be difficult to avoid and which can swamp an open canoe. Complex maneuvers in fast current and good boat control in tight passages or around ledges are often required; large waves or strainers may be present but are easily avoided. Strong eddies and powerful current effects can be found, particularly on large-volume rivers. Scouting is advisable for inexperienced parties. Injuries while swimming are rare; self-rescue is usually easy but group assistance may be required to avoid long swims. Rapids that are at the lower or upper end of this difficulty range are designated “Class III-” or “Class III+” respectively.

- Class IV (Advanced): Intense, powerful but predictable rapids requiring precise boat handling in turbulent water. Depending on the character of the river, it may feature large, unavoidable waves and holes or constricted passages demanding fast maneuvers under pressure. Rapids may require “must” moves above dangerous hazards. Scouting may be necessary the first time down. Risk of injury to swimmers is moderate to high, and water conditions may make self-rescue difficult. Group assistance for rescue is often essential but requires practiced skills. Rapids that are at the lower or upper end of this difficulty range are designated “Class IV-” or “Class IV+” respectively.
- Class V (Expert): Extremely long, obstructed, or very violent rapids which expose a paddler to added risk. Drops may contain large, unavoidable waves and holes or steep, congested chutes with complex, demanding routes. Rapids may continue for long distances between pools, demanding a high level of fitness. What eddies exist may be small, turbulent, or difficult to reach. At the high end of the scale, several of these factors may be combined. Scouting is recommended but may be difficult. Swims are dangerous, and rescue is often difficult even for experts.
- Class VI (Extreme and Exploratory Rapids): These runs have almost never been attempted and often exemplify the extremes of difficulty, unpredictability and danger. The consequences of errors are very severe and rescue may be impossible.

Research on white-water rafting have not focused much on the technical aspects of the activity with some exceptions such as Buckley (2010), who examines the relationship between communication among guides and safety issues. Actually injuries and health problems related to white-water rafting have also been studied in areas such as sport medicine and environmental medicine (Hovelynck 1998; Whisman and Hollenhorst 1999; O’Hare *et al* 2002; Fiore 2003). Whisman and Hollenhorst (1999), for example, analysed the injuries in commercial white-water rafting in the United States and verified that most are facial injuries resulting from collisions between clients or between paddle and clients. A similar study was developed by O’Hare *et al* (2002) in an analysis of fatal and non fatal incidents in the New Zealand rafting industry. Fiore (2003) analysed injuries in white-water rafting and kayaking and compared some data with other adventure activities such as mountain biking. However, studies on white-water rafting are not limited to safety issues going beyond this topic focusing for example on the clients’ expectations, experiences and emotional aspects of the

activity (Arnould and Price 1993; Holyfield 1999; Arnould *et al* 1999; Fluker and Turner 2000; Morgan *et al* 2005); on the economic impact of the white-water activity (English and Bowker 1996); and on the personnel employed as white-water rafting guides (Holyfield 1999; Holyfield and Jonas 2003; Fluker and Deery 2003), who are the focus of this thesis.

3.3 ADVENTURE AND WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES

Before discussing the white-water rafting guide, who is the main interest of this thesis, it is important to understand the concept of ‘guide’ and how previous research have classified the guiding activity. Indeed, research about tour guides has been widely published (Cohen 1985; Mancini 1990; Pond 1993; Mossberg 1995; Ap and Wong 2001; Reisinger and Steiner 2006). Cohen (1985), for example, identified four types of guides: originals, animators, tour leaders and professionals. Originals are the pathfinders, people who can guide clients safely in an environment that is not familiar to tourists. Animators are those who interact and socialise with clients, respecting tourists’ desires and preferences. Tour leaders are those who try to integrate the tourist with the environment. Professionals are guides with a teaching role, explaining to tourists everything that is involved in their experience (Cohen 1985).

In the literature about tour guides, a wide diversity of guiding roles was identified. To Cohen (1985), guides have an instrumental role, an interactional role, a social role and a communicative role. To Weiler and Davis (1993), guides are also motivators and environment interpreters. Pond (1993) develops Cohen’s (1985) classification in a more detailed way and believes that guides need to be responsible leaders, educators helping guests in their limitations, ambassadors of hospitality, hosts creating a comfortable environment for guests, and social facilitators. Holyfield and Jonas (2003) and Sharpe (2005) include the emotional perspective and an emotional managerial role for guides. Randall and Rollins (2009) tried to verify the importance and performance of the tour roles identified by Cohen (1995) and Weiler and Davis (1993) and found that just five of the six roles (instrumental, interactional, social, communicative, motivator, and environmental interpreter) are relevant with the communicative role being the less evident in the participants’ answers. However, Buckley (2010) contradicts Randall and Rollins (2009) and maintains the importance of the communicative role in adventure tourism asserting that “guides need to be sure that clients have both (a) understood the technical aspects of what to do, and (b) appreciated the importance of doing so” (p.14).

To Beedie (2003) guides sell their knowledge to clients because they are experienced in their activities, with skills and expertise to conduct a group, and the medium through which adventure tourists, that is people who buy holidays, experience the adventure. Thus, adventure guides are the professionals who can show something extra-ordinary to clients (Arnould and Price 1993), while functioning also as the guardians and trustees of clients' safety. Simultaneously with needing to control, teach and lead clients, guides also need to empower clients and make them part of the adventure and not merely buyers of it (Priest and Gass 2005). To Priest and Gass (2005), guides are also facilitators of the adventure experience and play an important role in the educational process through adventure. Priest and Chase (1989, p.10) believe that the outdoor leader has a legal and moral influence on the group he or she is leading: "Legally, the outdoor leader is responsible for the learning, the safety, and the positive well being of the group members. Morally, the outdoor leader helps the group members to create, identify, work towards, achieve and share in common goals". In adventure tourism, where clients are also looking for an emotional experience, it is part of the guide's role to work towards this goal. It is part of the adventure guiding role to offer feeling cues to clients and to contribute in the generation of appropriate emotions (Arnould and Price 1993; Holyfield 1999).

According to Holyfield and Jonas (2003), white-water rafting guides play a leading role in the construction of danger but also in its management, as well as the subordination of the passengers who, in that environment, have less knowledge than white-water rafting guides. This emotional role is part of the identity formation process of, for example, the 'River God' or 'Goddess' who are the entities able to control the natural environment and protect humans against misfortunes (Holyfield and Jonas 2003). The perception of risk as constructed by guides is a technique to enhance their status and to create an 'authentic' identity and provide a perception of adventure for their clients (Palmer 2002; Holyfield and Jonas 2003; Sharpe 2005). To Holyfield (1999), the need to create excitement and thrilling experiences dominates the values of companies working with white-water rafting. Guides are actively involved in the white-water rafting experience of clients who have needs and expectations regarding their leisure moment (Arnould and Price 1993; Holyfield 1999; Sharpe 2005). The emotional expectations of clients can also go beyond the limits of the activity and according to Fluker and Deery (2003) involves sexual aspects, and affective or sexual relationships between guides and clients. This sexual involvement between clients and guides described by Fluker and Derry (2003) is another element that could possibly have an influence in the emotional

labor of guides. However, the presence of elements regarding the sexual involvement between clients and guides was ignored or not verified by Sharpe (2005) in her study about emotional labor and adventure guides.

3.4 THE INFLUENCE OF SHARPE (2005)

Sharpe's (2005) work is one of the few publications that associate in a direct way emotional labor and adventure guides and, for this reason this article represents an important influence for the present thesis. However, some differences between this thesis' aims and Sharpe's work will also be noted in this section. In her ethnographic study, Sharpe's (2005) aim was to describe the emotional experiences of adventure guides and according to her "the examination of emotional labor of guides makes apparent the extent to which outdoor adventure resembles fantasy" (p.29) offering something extraordinary to clients. The findings of her research are mainly divided into three parts: the guides' responsibilities, the guides' techniques for managing feelings, and the guides' interpretations of emotional demand and the influence of such demand upon self comprehension. The three main responsibilities of adventure guides are, according to Sharpe (2005): to ensure safety, to generate fun, and to create a sense of community.

The first responsibility of guides is to ensure a safe trip or, at least, to create the impression that they have the trip under control which, according to Sharpe (2005), can happen through control over emotions such as anxiety and fear. The second responsibility is to generate fun for clients, considering that the white-water rafting activity is a recreational experience where the main focus is the participants' enjoyment (Sharpe 2005). The third responsibility accredited to guides is to encourage a sense of community among the clients (Sharpe 2005). However, this last responsibility presented by Sharpe (2005) is particularly evident in multi-day trips where participants are together for a long period of time and share many moments with guides ranging from camping together, hiking to running river rapids. In half day trips that have been explored in relatively few publications, the contact between guides and clients is shorter and limited to few hours of interaction. Morgan *et al* (2005), for example, asserted that also, in short trips, the guides' main responsibility is to protect the client and to control risk exposure.

According to Sharpe (2005, p.41), "guides developed strategies to help them manage the emotional labor of their job. These strategies are 'external' and 'internal'". External

strategies are represented by the necessity of guides to go to backstage areas and “temporarily be themselves” (p.42). In other words, guides find ‘excuses’ to be away from the clients’ group and be for a moment with their ‘real’ selves. The internal strategies involve the management of emotions using deep acting⁸, entailing the manipulation of emotions in order to display in a genuine way the emotions required by the position. The final section of Sharpe’s (2005) findings focuses upon the guide’s role and upon conflicts between the plural “selves”. Sharpe’s (2005 p.44) participants “recognized they were giving a performance, they also generally resisted describing their actions as simply an enactment of the Wanderlust⁹ adventure guide persona”. Sharpe’s (2005) participants also believed that they acted differently according to different social settings, but they could not define where the ‘real’ self is performed, whether at home or in the workplace.

Sharpe’s (2005) research is an important influence to this thesis because of her use of the emotional labor theory to elucidate emotional aspects among adventure industry workers. The insights offered concerning the guide’s role and the analysis of the concept of “self” are also relevant because they depart from the original emotional labor theory as proposed by Hochschild (1983). Indeed, Sharpe’s (2005) participants did not consider their emotions fake because the adventure self is for them an “equally true manifestation of who they really were” (p.47). Differently from Hochschild’s (1983) flight attendants who spend a limited number of hours interacting with clients, the adventure guides in Sharpe (2005) interact with clients during many days. The research offered in this present thesis focuses on the emotional labor of white-water rafting guides, in a way similar to Sharpe (2005), but in a different context. While Sharpe (2005) focuses on long-term interactions (multi-day) between guides and clients, this thesis focuses on half day trips and short relationships (up to 4 hours) with clients, in a manner similar to Hochschild (1983) and her flight attendants. Such a difference is significant firstly because most adventure tourism activities, as regards the interaction between worker and clients, do not exceed couple of hours’ duration, as in a paragliding flight, a ski class, or scuba diving. The difference is also relevant because, in half day trips, white-water rafting guides need to repeat the same information and run the same rapids twice a day which is different from multi day trips and the need for repetition possibly could have

⁸ See section 2.2.3

⁹ Adventure company where Sharpe (2005) developed her research

implications for the management of emotions. So, this thesis complements Sharpe's (2005) work offering the perspective of short interactions between clients and guides.

Another difference between Sharpe's (2005) research and the current study relates to the investigation of the relationship amongst guides and the guide-client relationship when away from the work environment. Sharpe (2005) explores some of the emotional aspects of adventure guides when away from the clients, on the backstage. However, even if not in front of clients, the adventure guides in Sharpe (2005) are still working and their moments of non-work was not explored. The present thesis explores the emotional management of white-water rafting relationships away from the workplace, and in their informal meetings with clients.

Finally, the methodological approach of this thesis differs from Sharpe (2005). While Sharpe (2005) was an adventure guide working in the company where she collected the data, the author of this thesis is not a white-water rafting guide and had limited technical knowledge on white-water rafting. So, Sharpe (2005) used an ethnographic methodology that differs from the empirical research of this thesis that has a different approach as will be discussed in chapter 4.

3.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has introduced and discussed the literature on adventure tourism and adventure guides. Considering that the overall objective of this thesis is to examine the emotional management of white-water rafting guides, this chapter provided a conceptual discussion about the adventure tourism industry. First the chapter discussed the different approaches to conceptualise 'adventure' in the academic literature, associating this term to recreation and tourism. The chapter then moved on to the presence of risk and emotion in adventure tourism in order to highlight the idea that both elements are important for guides and clients. Indeed, risk and emotions are part of the idea of an 'extraordinary experience' that is aimed at tourists and discussed in this thesis in section 3.2.4. Next, previous research on adventure tourism in New Zealand, and on white-water rafting, was presented and discussed, as the country where the empirical research for this thesis was developed and the activity selected to be studied in this thesis.

The second part of this chapter highlighted the importance of adventure guides for the development of the adventure tourism industry and noted the relative paucity of publications

about these workers. Moreover, this chapter emphasised the many different roles developed by guides that may range from ensuring safety to generating fun. Literature about white-water rafting guides has been discussed as well as the regulations and characteristics of rafting guides in New Zealand.

The third and final part of this chapter discussed the influence of Sharpe (2005) who published a research report exploring emotional labor in relation to adventure guides, in the development of this thesis. Sharpe's (2005) research was one of the first attempts to connect the adventure tourism industry to the emotional labor theory. However, there are also some divergent aspects between her research and this thesis. Some examples are; the differences between patterns of guide-client interaction in multi-day adventure trips and in half day white-water rafting trips, an absence in the discussion related to the non-work life of white-water rafting guides, and the methodological approach that is explored in the next chapter.

4- METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Following the presentation, in chapters 2 and 3, of the conceptual framework that underlies the aims of this thesis, this chapter will provide an explanation of the methods employed to meet these aims. As the research objective is to understand the emotional labor of white-water rafting guides, the study strategy embraced procedures that allowed for inquiry into the sensitive topic of the management of emotions. In order to better understand the methodological approach of this research, the chapter will start by reviewing the methods used in past emotional labor research using a systematic analysis. Subsequently, the research strategy used in this thesis will be explored and justified. The explanation will cover; the data collection process from the first contact with the white-water rafting company where the data collection took place until the fieldwork period; the methods used and how they were selected; and the interpretation in-site and off-site of the collected data. The focus of the chapter will then turn to the ethical issues involved in this thesis. These issues involve not just the procedures undertaken by the researcher prior to the fieldwork and the weighing of physical and emotional risks but also ethical dilemmas raised during the data collection process.

4.2 METHODS IN EMOTIONAL LABOR REASEARCH

In 1983 Hochschild coined the term emotional labor after conducting qualitative research with flight attendants and bill collectors, using formal interviews, informal conversation and participant observation. Since then the ways to understand and research aspects related to the management of emotions at the workplace have changed and have been adapted by scholars in many different areas of research such as management, medicine, psychology, and tourism (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Grandey 2000; Kruml and Geddes 2000; Mazhindu 2003; Sharpe 2005; Hoffman 2007). Some researchers followed Hochschild's (1983) perspective of analysing the emotional labor undertaking qualitative research (Yanay and Shahr 1998; Anderson *et al* 2003; Mears and Finlay 2005). However, some other researchers developed scales to quantify emotional labor, using positivistic paradigms and transforming the qualitative perspective through scales able to measure

quantitatively pre-determined variables (Kruml and Geddes 2000; Brotheridge and Lee 2003; Glomb and Tews 2004; Chu and Murrmann 2006).

Considering that both qualitative and quantitative approaches are present in the emotional labor literature and in order to understand which methods are mainly employed in emotional labor research a systematic review has been developed. The systematic review is a method widespread in areas such as health science to ensure an analysis of the best evidence in health treatments. However, the systematic review was also used by Weed (2006) to identify articles on sport tourism that appear in refereed journals. “A systematic review is a review in which there is a comprehensive search for relevant studies on a specific topic, and those identified are then appraised and synthesized according to a predetermined and explicit method” (Klassen *et al* 1998, p.700). To Klassen *et al* (1998) in a systematic review the selection rules are pivotal. They must be straightforward, to the end that potential biases will be minimised with clear and concise criteria. Hence, the criteria used to identify empirical studies on emotional labor and their methodologies were:

- Search on Google Scholar using the keyword ‘emotional labor’.
- Select the first 100 entries.
- Analyse only papers published in academic journals.
- Take into consideration only English-language studies.
- Take into consideration only papers with title containing the word ‘emotional labor’ or ‘emotional labour’.
- Take into consideration only publications based on empirical research.

Among the first hundred entries on Google Scholar, forty-four matched the selection criteria and were reported as in Table 4.1. The main methods found were survey/questionnaires/scales (24 studies), followed by interviews (19 studies) and observation (11 studies). Ten studies employed both interviews and observation which is similar to the approach used by Hochschild (1983) in her empirical research. Thus, the methods used in recent publications about emotional labor can be mainly divided into two categories: the questionnaire/scale - quantitative methods and the interviews/participant observation - qualitative methods.

Table 4.1 Methods on Emotional Labor studies

Author	Method
Bailey and McCollough (2000)	Survey
Beal <i>et al</i> (2006)	Scale and self-evaluation
Brotheridge and Grandey (2002)	Survey
Brotheridge and Lee (2002)	Cross-sectional questionnaire
Brotheridge and Lee (2003)	Scale
Diefendorff <i>et al</i> (2005)	Questionnaire
Erickson and Ritter (2001)	Questionnaire
Franzway (2000)	Interview
Glomb and Tews (2004)	Questionnaire
Glomb <i>et al</i> (2004)	Analysis of government databases
Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005)	Survey
Grandey <i>et al</i> (2007)	Telephone survey and postal questionnaire
Guerrier and Adib (2003)	Observation and Interview
Harris (2002)	Interviews and observation
Henderson (2001)	Individual interview and focus group
Henning-Thurau <i>et al</i> (2006)	Questionnaire
Holman <i>et al</i> (2002)	Questionnaire/scale
Karabanow (1999)	In-depth interview
Kruml and Geddes (2000)	Questionnaire
Liu <i>et al</i> (2004)	Survey
Lively (2002)	Interview
Lopez (2006)	Participant observation
Mann and Cowburn (2005)	Questionnaire
Martin <i>et al</i> (1998)	Documents analysis, Participant Observation, structured Interview
Mears and Finlay (2005)	Interview and Participant Observation
Meier <i>et al</i> (2006)	Document analysis
Montgomery <i>et al</i> (2006)	Questionnaire/Scale
Näring <i>et al</i> (2006)	Questionnaire
Ogbonna and Harris (2004)	Open ended interview
Pierce (1999)	Interview
Pugliesi (1999)	Survey
Rupp and Spencer (2006)	Survey/scale
Sass (2000)	Observation, interview and analysis of documents
Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)	Questionnaire
Seymour (2000)	Semi-structured interview

Sharpe (2005)	Participant Observation, interview, survey, analysis of documents
Shuler and Sypher (2000)	Observation, interview and recorded telephone calls
Staden (1998)	Interview
Totterdell and Holman (2003)	Self recorded data on pocket computers and questionnaire
Turnbull (1999)	Interview and participant observation
Wellington and Bryson (2001)	Postal survey and semi-structured interview
Williams (2003)	Survey
Yanay and Shahar (1998)	Participant observation and in-depth interview
Zembylas (2004)	Interview and participant observation

Quantitative research usually employs methods such as questionnaires and scales as a way to gather data. One example of scale used to quantify the emotional labor was developed by Brotheridge and Lee (2003). The fifteen-question Emotional Labor Scale (ELS) developed by Brotheridge and Lee (2003) used a 5-point Likert Scale and was influential in academia and utilised in many other studies such as in Zammuner and Galli (2005), Diefendorff *et al* (2005) and Van Dijk *et al* (2011). However, the Emotional Labor Scale (ELS) was not the only scale developed to quantify emotional labor. Other scales were also developed by researchers such as Glomb and Tews (2004), Chu and Murrmann (2006) and Näring *et al* (2006). The use of quantitative research can be useful to achieve a bigger number of participants and consequently a higher range of opinions about the phenomenon (Finn *et al* 2000). Questionnaires can also be analysed using computer programs such as Excel and SPSS that interconnect the variables studied allowing the researcher to make inferences about the data (Sarantakos 1993). On the other hand, quantitative methods such as surveys, due to its pre-established characteristic, do not allow the researcher to explore in a deep way some individual aspects that could be relevant to the research (Finn *et al* 2000) and it is not flexible in order to permit the researcher to explore emerging issues during the data collection (Walle 1997). Another weakness of the quantitative approach is the detached relationship between researcher and participants where the former ones are treated as objects and merely source of data (Spencer 1983; Cormack 1991; Carr 1994). Finally, in quantitative research the data that is not statistically significant is usually neglected and attention is not given to deviant data (Cormack 1991). Methods used in qualitative studies are mainly interviews and observation (Staden 1998; Seymour 2000; Harris 2002). However, the use of interviews and participant observation methods can, for example, cause discomfort to the participants and influence

their behaviour and answers. Interviews and participant observation are also highly dependent on the way the researcher sees the world and, specifically, the phenomenon studied (Atkinson and Coffey 2002; Hoffmann 2007). Consequently, the researcher's beliefs have an influence in the way data is collected. Indeed, the research strategies are also organised according to the researcher's positions, perceptions and knowledge (Becker and Geer 1957; Denzin and Lincoln 2004). Denzin and Lincoln (2004, p.4) define the researcher as a "*bricoleur*" involved in an interactive and "interpretative process shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting" (p.6).

Among the many different qualitative studies on emotional labor, the high number of publications using an ethnographic approach is noteworthy (Yanay and Shahar 1998; Sass 2000; Zembylas 2004; Sharpe 2005; Mears and Finlay 2005). Ethnography usually involves a long period of data collection and a deep immersion in the reality of the phenomenon studied in a naturalistic and interpretative way (Sharpe 2005). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p.1) believe that ethnographic research "involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives, for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research". To Sharpe (2005), when studying a social group, the 'insider' perspective is essential for the ethnographer to understand how people manage their most intimate psychological component – the emotions. So, the qualitative approach can offer the opportunity and freedom to the researcher to investigate not just the phenomenon but all the different questions connected to it that were not previously conceived but emerged during the fieldwork. Consequently qualitative methods being "both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced" (Mason 2002, p.3) can provide deeper information about the phenomenon but also the possibility to understand social interconnections presented during the data collection process.

Considering that this thesis is focused on the tourism and leisure industries, the methods of some other publications, that due to the selection criteria adopted were not present in the systematic review, deserve special attention. Studies about emotional labor in the tourism, leisure and hospitality industries, which were discussed previously in section 2.4.3, use both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. An example of quantitative method is the emotional labor scale for the hospitality industry (HELS) developed by Chu and Murrmann (2006) to measure the amount of emotional labor

performed by workers of the hospitality industry as well as its consequences to the sector. Similarly to Chu and Murmann (2006), Kim (2008) and Kim and Han (2009) used questionnaires and a quantitative approach to investigate the emotional labor and its consequences in the hospitality industry. Van Dijk *et al* (2011) preferred to use the ELS proposed by Brotheridge and Lee (2003) in order to investigate the emotional labor of zoo guides.

On the other hand, Guerrier and Adib (2003), Anderson *et al* (2003), Sharpe (2005) as well as Wong and Wang (2009) used qualitative approach to investigate workers such as tour reps, managers of the hospitality industry and adventure guides. Among the methods used in these research the most recurrent are interviews, participant observation and focus group activities. Thus, as well as the results of the systematic review, the methodologies used to investigate emotional labor in the tourism, leisure and hospitality fields present a multiplicity of approaches. The next section will highlight the research strategy of this thesis including the methods utilised, the process of collecting data and also the interpretative processes applied to the data collected.

4.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY

This section outlines the data generation process and the method of inquiring used in this thesis. The collection, analysis, and interpretation of data are part of the research strategy explored in this section and were mainly based on methods that could allow the researcher to better understand the complexities involved in the white-water rafting guides' perceptions, understandings and experiences of emotional management. In this context, an extensive method, such as surveys, is able to collect information from a large group of participants but may approach the management of emotions in a more mechanical way and without a detailed view of the phenomenon. On the other hand a qualitative approach using interviews and participant observation could offer a deeper understanding of the phenomenon even if with a reduced number of participants.

An influence on the research strategy of this thesis has been Hochschild's (1983) empirical work. The intention of using in this thesis methods similar to Hochschild (1983) was to make the empirical section of this thesis methodologically congruent with the original theory as well as to offer the possibility of approaching mutually related questions necessary for the comprehension of the emotional labor phenomenon. Some of these questions such as the

reasons for and ways to manage emotions could not be discussed in-depth without a method that allows the researcher to personally and empathetically approach each participant (Fontana and Frey 2004). However, there are also some differences between this thesis and Hochschild's (1983) research, regarding mainly variables such as the researcher's background, the ethical procedures, the historical period and the place where the research was developed. The following sections will emphasise some of the methodological similarities and differences between this thesis and Hochschild's (1983) research when exploring the data collection process, and explaining research methods used, and the interpretation of the data collected.

4.3.1 Data collection process

The data collection process does not start with the fieldwork. Actually, the data collection process for this thesis started when the researcher began to analyse the possible places for data collection as well as the chronogram of the empirical research. In early March 2008, the researcher started to select the possible locations for data collection with white-water rafting guides. The selection of Queenstown as the fieldwork site of this thesis happened in early April 2008 after considering the research budget available in the Tourism Department (University of Otago) and the aims of this thesis. The research budget influenced the choice for Queenstown, considering that this town is relatively close to Dunedin and to the University of Otago if compared to other white-water rafting destinations in New Zealand; reducing the transportation expenses. Queenstown also offers one of the renowned white-water rafting trips in New Zealand and during the summer has one of the largest groups of white-water rafting guides in the country. Another aspect that influenced the choice of Queenstown was the proximity between the rafting base and town where rafting guides were living. Such proximity between the rafting base and the town permits rafting guides to access entertainment venues where the relationship between work and non-work could be investigated as suggested by Hochschild (1983).

In Queenstown just one white-water rafting company operates in the Kawarau River and in the main section of the Shotover River. The first contact with this white-water rafting company was in November 2008 when, by e-mail, the researcher approached Oliver, the company's operational manager. The intention of this first contact was to negotiate period of fieldwork. To Oliver the best month for research would be February, after the period of the high season when the guides would be too busy. Oliver also suggested six-weeks of data collection because according to him in April most of the guides leave Queenstown and move

to the north hemisphere where they work between May and September (summer in the north hemisphere). It was agreed that the period for data collection would be between 9th of February 2009 and 23rd of March 2009.

In the second week of December 2008, the researcher had a face-to-face meeting with Oliver to explain the research aims and data collection methods as well as to define a chronogram for the fieldwork. During the meeting, the researcher explained that the data would be collected using individual open-ended interviews and participant observation. It was also explained that the researcher would try to establish an empathetic relationship with the guides to make the participants comfortable with the researcher's presence during their workday. In order to actively participate in the white-water rafting guides' workday and to be able to observe their emotional labor performance, Oliver suggested that the researcher should help guides with their tasks. Oliver suggested that the researcher should help the guides to prepare the equipments needed for the trip, to organise clients' materials such as wetsuits and helmets, and to go with them on some of the river trips as well as on the bus rides between the rafting base and the starting point of the river trips. In addition, the researcher clarified the voluntary nature of the job that he would develop at the rafting base and explained that all the river trips would be paid for using the Department of Tourism (University of Otago) research budget. The researcher also showed to Oliver the ethics forms approved by the University of Otago in order to legitimise the data collection process.

On the 9th of February 2009 the researcher met Oliver at the rafting shop and drove with him to the rafting base where he was introduced to the white-water rafting guides working that day. From that day on, the researcher started his participant observation at the workplace but also in other locations such as in pubs, restaurants and at parties. Such involvement with the white-water rafting guides beyond the workplace helped the researcher to better know the guides and build an empathetic relationship. The interviewing process started after three weeks of fieldwork when the researcher was more comfortable with the guides and able to use information from the observation to enhance and illustrate the interview questions. The first interview was on the 1st of March with another fifteen carried out by the 22nd of March.

An issue that arose during the data collection process was the possibility of variation in the guides' capacity of emotional management according to the white-water rafting season's period. In other words, the period of data collection between February and March relates to the final part of the rafting season in Queenstown. Consequently, after three months of

intense work the white-water rafting guides could be feeling burnout and their capacity for emotional management reduced, with implications for the answers provided by the guides during the interviews and their behavior at work.

In the first meeting with his supervisors after the fieldwork the researcher presented the data collected and emphasised the importance and the reasons supporting a new period of fieldwork during the beginning of the season. To collect more data in the first months of the rafting season could be beneficial to this thesis and offer different perspectives about the management of emotions. So, a new e-mail was sent to Oliver in order to ask authorisation to collect more data in early November 2009 which represents the beginning of the season. The beginning of the season is also the moment when it is possible to observe how guides who have previously been in Queenstown interact with guides in their first season in New Zealand and how they share the experiences they have had overseas. The second phase of fieldwork started on the 15th of November 2009 and involved the same methods used in the first phase. However, the guiding team was not the same and meanwhile new guides were arriving to work in Queenstown some other guides from the previous season were not in there for the season 2009/2010.

It has been recognised that a second phase of data collection during a different season and with a different guiding team could be problematic when the topic is the management of emotions that is influenced by interpersonal relationships. However the benefits of listening to the emotional labor perspective of white-water rafting guides during the beginning of the season seemed necessary in order to avoid a partial comprehension of the phenomenon. For this reason another fifteen days of participant observation and seven new interviews were conducted during the second fieldwork phase. In total the researcher completed twenty three interviews and fifty days of participant observation.

4.3.1.1 Gaining Access

In order to be able to collect data for the research, the first aim of the researcher was to be socially accepted by the white-water rafting guides. However the researcher is not a white-water rafting guide and not being able to understand some technical aspects involved in the activity could contribute to the researcher being stigmatized by the informants. Troiden (1987) points out that there is a stigmatization of researchers investigating sensitive topics such as emotions. Goffman (1963) believes that stigma is a socially disvalued behaviour or condition that disqualifies a person from social acceptance and can also arise in the

relationship between researcher and informant. Indeed, it was perceived that in the early stages of the data collection process some of the guides were trying to ignore and avoid the researcher when talking about the trip and when organising social events. However, such issue was overcome after some days of fieldwork when the researched started to know better the white-water rafting guides and some aspects related to the river in order to interact in their conversations. An important fact to solve this issue was the first white-water rafting trip on the Shotover River that the researcher did on the 4th day of fieldwork. The trip was important to integrate the researcher with the rafting guides as well as to develop knowledge about the river and its rapid sessions.

After the initial problem related to his inclusion in the rafting community, the researcher started to feel welcome and rafting guides were really patient to respond to the researcher's doubts about the river and the activity. The lack of technical knowledge did not negatively influence in the relationship between the guides and the researcher but actually contributed to a rapport between both. On many occasions rafting guides invited the researcher to partake in their 'happy-hours' and parties. In informal conversations during these social moments guides explained to the researcher technical maneuvers, the difference between guiding in a low water and in high water, or the differences attendant on being a white-water rafting guide in different countries. The relationship between researcher and guides beyond the workplace facilitated rapport and offered to the researcher an interesting perspective on, and knowledge of, the white-water rafting guides' life away from the work environment. On the other hand, the researcher was worried about being too involved with the group and losing the focus on the research. To Mason (2002), the relationship between participant and researcher during the data collection process is likely to develop and change over time and the "researcher has to live through and manage these relationships and situations in a process which is simultaneously personal, emotional, physical and intellectual" (Mason 2002, p.95).

The access to the guiding community in the second phase of data collection was different from the first one because even if some guides were new in Queenstown, the researcher was already known by the main group. The guide that knew the researcher welcomed him and there was no problem to be re-integrated in the community. The empathetic relationship established between the researcher and guides during the first data collection period was still present in the following phase was important for data gathering.

4.3.2 Research Methods

After considering the strengths and weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative methods to research emotional labor (section 4.2) a qualitative perspective was chosen as the methodological approach of this thesis. The methods used in this thesis were: Individual Empathetic Interviews (section 4.3.2.1) and Participant Observation (section 4.3.2.2).

4.3.2.1 Individual Empathetic Interviews

Individual open-ended interviewing with an empathetic approach is one of the methods used in this thesis for data collection. The decision to conduct specifically this kind of interview was based on the advantages offered by this method. Fontana and Frey (2004, p.696), for example, believe that in an empathetic approach interviewers become “an advocate and partner in the study” not just exploring the information offered by the participants but also attempting to use the knowledge gained to promote social changes. Moreover, to promote social changes Fontana and Frey (2004) advocate on behalf of an interaction between researchers and participants that cannot be neutral and the interview, per se, is not seen as a neutral instrument. Even if not neutral the interview is one of the most common ways of understanding humans by means of a social dynamic and a systematic mode of inquiry (Holstein and Gubrium 1995; Fontana and Frey 2004).

To Mason (2002), the interview is useful for understanding people’s perceptions within a particular context, even if dependent in the capacity of people to verbalise, conceptualise and remember their experiences. Indeed, one weakness of interviewing is that the interviewee can report what she or he feels ought to happen instead of what actually effectively occurred reflecting possible problems in the verbalisation process (Becker 1970; Hoffmann 2007). For this reason, Mason (2002) suggests that data gathered from interviews should be complemented by data originating from other methods such as observation, questionnaires or document analysis. Hoffmann (2007) believes that this weakness can be solved comparing the different perspectives presented by the informants, so confronting different opinions the researcher could have a better comprehension of the phenomenon. To Atkinson and Coffey (2002), the use of triangulation between interviews and participant observation, capitalizing on the strengths of each method, can minimise this problem. However, to Blaikie (1991) even if triangulation is used to overcome methods’ problems and bias, it usually ignores the ontological and epistemological incompatibility of methods.

Another important aspect during interviewing is to make participants feel comfortable in the presence of the interviewer in order to provide the information necessary for the narrative. In an empathetic interview, the interviewees feel more comfortable in explaining important and delicate points such as their feelings and behaviour, transforming the interview process in a “methodology of friendship” (Kong *et al* 2002, p.254). Atkinson and Coffey (2002) assert that interviews are not simply a method of collecting data but also a process of narrative creation that constitutes a form of social action and interaction. An empathetic interview can contribute to engender trust between researcher and participants important to establish an honest and respectful communication between them where the interviewee is able to share his/her ‘truth’ (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). The interviewee truth will consequently be connected to other participants ‘truth’ contributing to the creation of knowledge (Warren and Karner 2005).

There are many different ways of interviewing. Interviews can be, for example, structured, or open-ended, individual or in groups and face-to-face or by telephone (Rohde *et al* 1997; Corbin and Morse 2003; Fontana and Frey 2004). For this thesis, an individual, face-to face, open-ended interview was used. According to Hoffmann (2007), an open-ended interview has a predetermined set of questions that the interviewer uses to ensure that certain topics will be covered, but also allows the interviewee the possibility of expanding and raising new topics that can be useful for understanding the phenomenon studied. The open-ended interview contrasts with a structured interview where, even if the systematic technique is highly focused (Patton 1990), the framework is not flexible enough to allow researchers to explore topics not previously considered. To Corbin and Morse (2003), in an open-ended interview the participants have a measure of control over the process in a manner that is not allowed in a structured interview.

The use of individual face-to-face interviews was important considering that this kind of interview can also involve observation (Patton 1990), a feature which can be useful where the research is focused on emotions and which offers the possibility of developing an empathetic relationship between interviewer and interviewee (Fontana and Frey 2004). To Emans (1986) face-to-face interviews offer social cues (e.g. voice tone; body language; intonation) that should be used by the researcher to better understand the answers and the reasons behind the answers. Moreover, to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) assert that open-ended interviews can be individual or in groups, with individual interviews allowing the researcher enhance opportunity of investigating social and personal matters. An individual

interview avoids problems that can be present in group interviews such as the influence of other's opinions on certain individuals (Hall and Rist 1999) and the necessity of moderating the interview in order to avoid a minority of participants dominating the session (Mason 2002).

A power dynamic is also present in the relationship between researcher and interviewee. According to Hoffmann (2007, pp. 332-333), "the interviewer has power in that she initiated the interview, framed the process in terms of what questions she asked, and shaped how others understand the interviewee's story... The interviewee, too, has substantial power, since she possesses the knowledge that the interviewer seeks and can determine how much of, and how, this knowledge will be shared". Hoffmann (2007) also asserts that researchers who are aware of the power relationships between them and the interviewee will have greater insights into the interview process and the nature of the phenomenon focused. To Nunkoosing (2005) during the interview process the power connection between interviewer and interviewee is constantly shifting back and forth. Persuading people to participate in an interview and to answer the questions wanted is an example of the power relationship between interviewer and interviewee; relationship that is hierarchical even if both are searching for reciprocity (Glesne and Peshkin 1992) but not equality. Indeed, equality is not possible because is the researcher 'who reconstructs the text of the transcript from the talk of the interview... engages in the task of analysis and interpretations' (Nunkoosing 2005, p.699). In this process of reconstruction and interpretation of the power relationships and interviews, the researcher creates a story that to Nunkoosing (2005) is authentic but not necessarily true, and that can be crossed or compared with the story created by other methods such as participant observation.

4.3.2.2 Participant Observation

Due to the necessity of understanding the emotional aspects of white-water rafting guides, participant observation was also selected as a method of data gathering and Lofland (1971) points out that the informal conversations originated during participant observation can be a rich source of data. Participant observation allows the researcher to be immersed in the research setting, experiencing the range of dimensions that may be present in the phenomenon studied. Mason (2002) believes that, in using participant observation, the researcher is suggesting that knowledge and evidence can be generated by observing, participating in and experiencing the interactive situations of the social world wherein the

phenomenon is inserted. Participant observation can be used covertly or overtly (Patton 1990; Bowen 2002). To Patton (1990) covert observation is more likely to capture the reality as it is while, in an overt observation, it is possible to establish a more empathetic and ethical relationship with the participant. Indeed, participant observation allows the researcher to be involved in the daily life of the participant either overtly and “openly in the role of the researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people” (Becker and Geer 1957, p.28).

Participant observation was first used in the 19th century as part of an ethnographic research and, with the expansion of the qualitative and naturalistic methodologies, observation featured commonly in the academic literature (Tedlock 2004). Tedlock (2004) asserts that participant observation strengths regard the production of documentary information and in presenting the researcher with impressions and points of view during fieldwork that could be useful to understand the phenomenon investigated. However, participant observation is not an exclusive method of ethnographers even if most efficient under certain conditions such as when the research problem is concerned with human meanings, when the phenomenon is observable within an everyday life situation, when the phenomenon can be appraised on a case study basis by virtue of its limited size, and when the phenomenon can be comprehended using qualitative data (Jorgensen 1989). Participant observation also has its weaknesses and Atkinson and Coffey (2002) believe that the researcher can lose focus while collecting and interpreting data that are not representative of the phenomenon under investigation. Atkinson and Coffey (2002) also point out the risk of the researcher becoming excessively emotionally involved and loosing the critical capacity to observe the phenomena. Moreover, as well as the interviewing method, participant observation is not neutral precisely because it is based on the perceptions, knowledge and interpretation of the researcher (Finn *et al* 2000).

The data collected for this thesis used an overt participant observation in order to create an empathetic relationship with the white-water rafting guides. Even if playing the researcher’s role and observing the behaviour and conversations of white-water rafting guides, the author of this thesis tried to actively engage with the rafting guides, helping with their work tasks such as organising equipment and cleaning the base. Participant observation also took place effectively during the white-water rafting trips and away from the guides’ workplace where the researcher engaged in the social life of rafting guides, for example during happy-hours, parties and after work activities. To record the information generated by

participant observation, a field note diary is recommended (Jorgensen 1989; Cole 2005). Jorgensen (1989) asserts that, as the researcher is focusing on observation of the phenomenon is immersed as a participant in its action, it is common to neglect notes and records. According to DeWalt and DeWalt (2002), there are several types of notes that can be taken during fieldwork for example short notes with the main episodes of the observation, or descriptive notes; daily notes, or weekly notes, handwritten notes or audiotaping (dictating) notes. Specifically for the empirical part of this thesis, the notes were recorded in the format of handwritten expanded descriptive notes. However, the researcher avoided taking notes in front of the guides, believing this action could have an influence on participants' behaviour (Bennett 2002; Cole 2005).

4.3.3 Interpretation of the data collected

In qualitative research, the interpretation of the data can start simultaneously with the data collection (Lofland and Lofland 1994; Silveman and Marvasti 2008). The interrelation between data collection and interpretation is clear in the participant observation diary, for example, where the observation is written as part of an on-site data interpretation (Dey 1993; Veal 2006). Another example of interrelation between data collection and on-site interpretation is when the researcher asks questions during an open-ended interview in order to understand doubts raised by interpretation of the phenomenon observed. However, the on-site perspective is not the only way to interpret the data collected. Indeed, there is also a post-fieldwork interpretation of the empirical data when the interviews are re-heard and transcribed and the fieldwork notes are read again after the data collection process (Finn *et al* 2000; Veal 2006). Both, on-site and post-fieldwork analyses were used in order to interpret the data collected in this thesis.

As part of the interpretation process that happens simultaneously with the data collection, a diary was kept to record notes from observations and self-reflections, as well as to register the researcher's feelings. The diary was actually used to register the researcher's inner critical thinking and interpretation of the episodes observed during the fieldwork. Some of the points elaborated during this inner critical thinking were later used to formulate questions for interviews in order to have a more complete overview of the phenomenon studied. So, the on-site interpretation originated by the participant observation contributed to the collection of more data using a different method, the open-ended interview.

The data collected during the fieldwork and the on-site interpretation were then analysed after the fieldwork when the researcher allocated pseudonyms to the participants in order to guarantee confidentiality and personally transcribed the interviews. Data were read interpretively, signifying that the researcher is responsible for the construction and representation of the meaning of the data (Mason 2002). The interpretation was based not only on the literature about emotional labor and white-water rafting guides but also on the researcher's experiences during the fieldwork and the personal standpoints of the researcher. The research themes in this thesis emerged not exclusively from the data collected but, actually, from a combination between the fieldwork material and the deductive process involved in the researcher's conceptualisation of the phenomenon corroborating with Veal's (2006) standpoint. During the interviews the researcher took note of the main themes explored and these themes were compared to the themes selected during the Content Analysis made after the fieldwork following Krippendorff's (1980) suggestions. The main emergent themes that were present in both lists (on site and post fieldwork analysis) related to the emotional labor theory and to the white-water rafting guides' process of emotional management were then discussed in the result chapters of this thesis.

4.4 ETHICAL ISSUES

Studies on emotions can involve ethical issues including emotional distress of researchers and participants that were previously identified by researchers such as Hubbard *et al* (2001) and Malacrida (2007). Indeed, the risk of emotional distress makes emotions a sensitive topic to be researched (Lee 1993; Hubbard *et al* 2001). To Lee and Renzetti (1990), any topic can be considered sensitive depending on the context. However, some topics such as the ones related to personal life or experiences can cause more distress than others. The management of a personal and intimate element such as emotions was considered a sensitive topic in this thesis because could be perceives as an intrusion in white-water rafting guides' intimate life and in their way to behave in public. Consequently, some strategies to reduce participants' distress suggested by Hubbard *et al* (2001) were taken into consideration. To be vigilant in anticipating problems, render appropriate support, to debrief after the interview and to pace the interview so that topics emerge gradually (Hubbard *et al* 2001) were the techniques used in the approach to the sensitive topic of emotional management in this thesis.

Sensitivity needs to be part of the researcher's characteristic in order to reduce participants' distress and also to increase validity and reliability of qualitative data (Patton 1990).

A respectful relationship between researcher and informants was the intention in this thesis. Therefore, to inform participants about the aims and objectives of the research as well as the methods used to collect data is a way of showing respect to informants, and reducing harmful situations that can affect them psychologically and emotionally. The information and the consent forms do not merely make the participants aware of the situation but also apprise them of their rights of confidentiality and anonymity and allow them to decide whether or not to take part in the study (Orb *et al* 2001). However, the consent form and the ethical procedures before the research do not guarantee an ethical data collection because the situations presented in the fieldwork can contrast with the situation hypothetically elaborated before it. Indeed, to Miller and Bell (2002) ethical data collection depends on a continuous negotiation between researcher and participant that is not limited to the completion of consent forms. Hence, an empathetic relationship (see section 4.4.1) helped the researcher to negotiate these ethical questions with the participants.

Another ethical issue relates to the researcher's safety. Possibilities of physical danger were previously pointed out by many researchers such as Adler (1993), Jamieson (2000) and Liamputtong (2007). In this thesis, participant observation during white-water rafting trips had elements of risk that could physically harm the researcher. In order to reduce the risks, the researcher used all the safety equipment required and provided by the company where the data collection took place. The researcher can also be at risk of being harmed emotionally and psychologically (Lee-Treweek and Linkogle 2000). To Lee (1993, p.9), when studying sensitive topics researchers can be emotionally harmed mainly because they "may find that their work is being trivialised or treated in a joking manner" by colleagues.

4.5 SUMMARY

This chapter began by discussing the methods used in the emotional labor literature. Using a systematic review of previous studies, it was clear that both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been used in research about the management of emotions in the workplace. The strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research were discussed in order to uphold the methods used in this thesis. As the thesis focuses on emotions, recognised as a sensitive topic, and considering the objective and aims of this

thesis, the methods selected for data collection were empathetic open-ended interviews and participant observation.

Following an analysis of the methodological approaches, the research strategy used in this thesis including the selection of the company and how the manager was approached was explained. Additionally, the approach used to gain the guide's trust, the timeframe, and the reasons for a second fieldwork phase, were all discussed. This section also highlights the researchers decision making processes during data collection, and thus will provide a better understanding of the findings of the thesis.

The chapter then turned to an explanation of the methods used for data collection and interpretation. More specifically it was emphasised that data started to be interpreted simultaneously with its collection and was complemented by a post-fieldwork interpretation process. Data were read interpretively based both on the literature and on the researcher's experiences and standpoints during the fieldwork. The research themes in this thesis emerged from a combination between the fieldwork material and the deductive process involved in the researcher's conceptualisation of the phenomenon.

The final part of the chapter explored the ethical issues involved in this thesis. The procedures that were undertaken to guarantee the anonymity of the informants as well as their option of not participating or withdrawal from the research at any time were explained. Moreover, aspects that could harm participants and the researcher either physically or emotionally were analysed. Consequently, after presenting the theoretical basis and the methods used in empirical research, the focus of this thesis, in the next three chapters, will now turn to presenting and discussing the data collected.

5 - UNDERSTANDING THE RESEARCH SITE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As noted in the previous chapter the site of this research was Queenstown, the self-proclaimed “Adventure Capital of the World”, located in New Zealand. Queenstown has an important role for New Zealand’s tourism industry attracting people from all around the world to partake in, but also to work with adventure activities. Therefore, considering the aims of this thesis, Queenstown appears as an ideal place for the empirical research and offers the opportunity to investigate the emotional labor of white-water rafting guides as well as the emotional characteristics of this group of workers. Using guides’ comments and opinions this chapter presents the sites where the research took place and provides an explanation about the rafting activity and the guiding roles in Queenstown. The first part of this chapter (section 5.2) discusses the tourism and adventure industry of the ‘Adventure Capital of the World’. Subsequently (section 5.3), it is presented the history of the rafting industry in Queenstown as well as the structure of the white-water rafting trip and the duties of the guides. Section 5.4 describes the profile of the white-water rafting guide in Queenstown and it is followed (section 5.5) by a discussion about the rafting community established in the town during the fieldwork. This chapter provides an important background about the site where the research was developed and about the participants of the empirical study before starting to explore the characteristics of emotional management involved in their work.

5.2 QUEENSTOWN: ADVENTURE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD

Queenstown is located in the south-west region of the south island of New Zealand and is one of the most important touristic resorts in the country (Figure 5.1). The “adventure capital of the world” Queenstown offers touristic and leisure activities such as paragliding, mountain biking, bungee jumping, sky-diving, and during the winter months it is possible to practice snow-based activities such as snowboarding and skiing (Cater 2006; Cater and Cloke 2007). Every year Queenstown is visited by thousands of tourists, some of them attracted by the adventure atmosphere. In 1982, for example, the estimated number of visitors in Queenstown was 172,177, increasing to 280,756 in 1991 (Oppermann 1994). However,

according to Queenstown Lakes District Council (2009) in recent years the town has highly increased the number of visitors with 1,526,600 in 2007.

Figure 5.1 - New Zealand Map - Location of Queenstown



Source: Lawson *et al* (1998)

Projections made by the Queenstown Lakes District Council indicate an increase in the average number of visitors per day in the Wakatipu region¹⁰ from 9,024 (in 2006) to 17,803 (in 2029). Table 5.1 shows the projections of visitor population and origin of visitor in an average day (not just peak season). A data that calls attention on Table 5.1 is that the sum of visitors from Australia, United Kingdom and Rest of the World in 2006 represents more than 45% of the total number of tourists in Queenstown indicating the importance of international

¹⁰ The Wakatipu region includes Queenstown but also close towns.

visitors to the tourism industry of the region. On the other hand it is important to consider that the projections presented in Table 5.1 were made before the economical crisis that affected mainly the industrialised countries in 2008-2009. However, the number of visitors per day in 2006 are even more impressive if it is considered that they represent almost 40% of the Wakatipu region resident population that according to the 2006 Census achieved 22,959 citizens (New Zealand Local Councils, 2009). To accommodate the high number of tourists Queenstown has a high number of accommodation establishments. According to the “March 2009 Accommodation Survey”, a monthly survey run by Statistics New Zealand and sponsored by the Ministry of Tourism, there were 129 establishments (hotels, hostels/backpackers, Bed and Breakfast, Camping Sites) in Queenstown and capacity for 221,300 visitors. (Queenstown Accommodation Survey March 2009).

Table 5.1 - Wakatipu average day visitor population – origin of visitor

Place of origin	Year					
	2006	2011	2016	2021	2026	2029
Auckland	580	616	673	734	807	857
Bay of Plenty	89	91	95	100	106	110
Canterbury	511	531	564	602	650	682
Gisborne	16	15	15	15	15	15
Hawke's Bay	13	13	13	13	14	14
Manawatu-Wanganui	19	19	19	20	21	22
Marlborough	19	19	20	21	23	24
Nelson-Tasman	37	39	42	45	49	52
Northland	28	28	30	31	33	34
Otago	883	915	964	1025	1101	1153
Southland	647	644	652	667	689	706
Taranaki	9	9	9	9	10	10
Waikato	102	105	111	118	127	133
Wellington	153	157	165	175	187	196
West Coast	27	26	26	25	25	26
Australia	1551	1916	2262	2680	3157	3475
China	135	310	506	712	941	1092
Germany	217	232	259	287	319	341
Japan	436	408	425	427	433	439
Rest of World	1629	1977	2378	2819	3322	3658
South Korea	226	266	312	363	422	462
United Kingdom	1105	1510	1798	2199	2652	2953
United States	774	845	978	1105	1252	1351
Total	9206	10691	12316	14192	16355	17805

Source: Queenstown Lake District – Growth Projections, August 2008

Visitors looking for a unique place can appreciate in Queenstown the landscapes of a town surrounded by the Southern Alps, lakes (Wakatipu, Hayes and Moke) and rivers (Shotover and Kawarau). Queenstown, which in late 19th and early 20th centuries was a town dedicated for gold mining¹¹ (Kearsley 1993; Frost 2005), nowadays offers options for different kinds of tourists ranging from the adventurer to the golf fan. The natural beauty, the seasonality of the region, and the opportunities to develop adventure activities attract businesses to explore the region creating a unique resort in New Zealand. The town is not just attractive for tourists but was also explored in much academic research such as Buckley (2006) and Cater (2006). Buckley (2006, p.105) asserts that in Queenstown “tourists interact with locals mostly where the latter are employed in the tour companies concerned – but that is quite a high proportion of the town’s inhabitants”. Cater (2006) points out that Queenstown established itself as one of the main adventure resorts in the world, even if only a minority of visitors actually participate in adventure activities and that the “adventurous ethic is still a dominant one in the place-myth” (p.436).

Maurice, an English rafting guide working for the first time in New Zealand, believes that the town is in fact “The Adventure Capital of the World”:

“Before coming here, my perception was: lots of activities, bungee jumping, and the adventure capital of the world. And then I get here and I see, yes this is the adventure capital, but I see a town surrounded by amazing mountains and really nice outdoor areas and landscapes. Queenstown for me is very nice.” (Maurice, 33 years old, guiding since 2001)

All these adventure options and outdoor environment suggested by Maurice can be combined with many different attractions that the town offers. Queenstown offers, for example a wine trail and a variety of pubs, restaurants and casinos where the social integration between locals and tourists happens, becoming an important place for post-adventure celebration (Cater and Cloke 2007). Queenstown is a town dedicated to tourism as observed by Patrick (21 years old, guiding since 2010):

¹¹ Mining monuments and sites related to gold extraction, such as the gold mining museum in Arrowtown and the Oxenbridge tunnel, are part of the cultural heritage of the region.

“Queenstown is not like the rest of New Zealand, it’s got the scenery which is like New Zealand, but the people here is like the massive tourist, not that many locals, it is just a big tourists place, so for me is kind even if I haven’t left New Zealand I feels like I’m not really part of the rest of New Zealand. In town all you see is tourist.”

However, it is this mass number of tourists that creates employment and opportunities to develop the town and the adventure industry. Among the options for tourists, the white-water rafting is one of the most popular activities during summer months and will be explored in-depth in the next section.

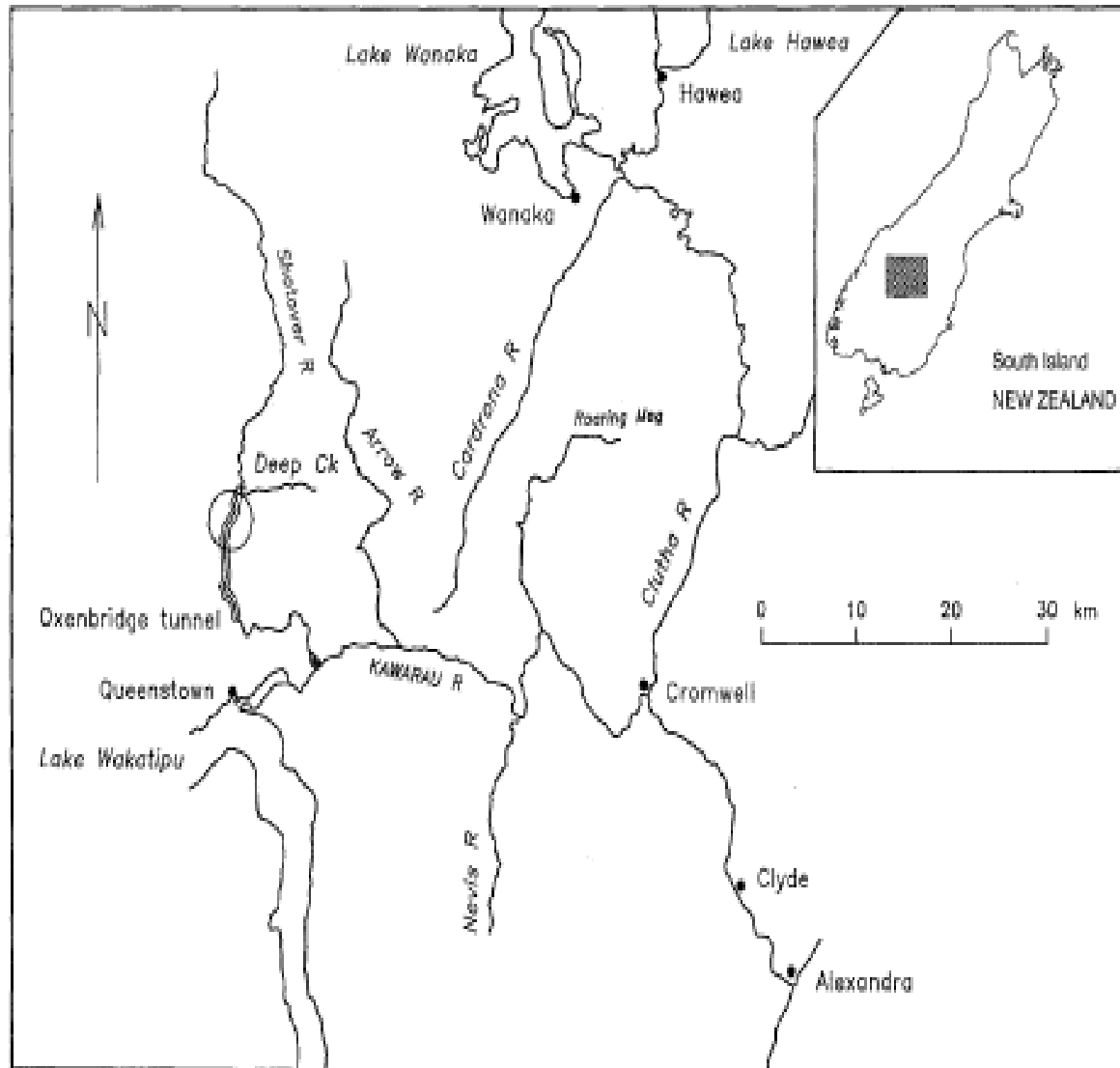
5.3 WHITE-WATER RAFTING IN QUEENSTOWN AND THE SHOTOVER RIVER

There are two main rivers for white-water rafting in Queenstown: the Kawarau and the Shotover (see figure 5.2). The Kawarau River flows towards east, draining Lake Wakatipu and joining Lake Dunstan. The Kawarau is considered a good river for first time clients, with rapids grade 2-3 according to the International Scale of River Difficulty (see chapter 3). However, nowadays there are not daily trips on this river and trips on the Kawarau depend on the number of clients interested in this river. Differently from the Kawarau, the Shotover River is the main white-water rafting river in Queenstown. Two companies have the license to operate the Shotover River. One operates the section called Upper Shotover with rapids level 1 and 2 in an activity directed to families and children. The second company runs the middle section of the Shotover River with rapids grades 3 to 5. The company that operates the middle Shotover, for safety aspects, organise trips when the river’s flow is between 8 and 70 cumecs¹² and when the Skippers Road is without snow and in good condition. Geographically, the Shotover River flows south from the Southern Alps, close to the Mt Aspiring National Park and drains into the Kawarau River (Figure 5.2). The river is very dynamic and its flow can change suddenly. Examples were observed during the 32nd day of fieldwork, when the river’s flow was twelve cumecs in the morning and seventeen in the

¹² Cumecs is the unit used to measure the river flow and represents the meters cubic of water per second.

afternoon, and in the 42nd day, when in the morning trip the river's flow was thirty five cumecs and in the afternoon trip the river's flow was fifty two cumecs.

Figure 5.2 - Wakatipu Region - Shotover and Kawarau rivers



Source: Kearsley (1993)

These changes in the river's flow also change the organisation of the trip and the kind of raft used. In the Shotover River, for example, when the flow is over 16 cumecs, the company uses bigger rafts that are heavier and more stable. In addition, it is important to say that the river is a dynamic environment that is always changing and the huge quantity of stones in the Shotover River helps actively in the morphological changes. Consequently white-water rafting guides need to be updated about the river conditions and hazards so they

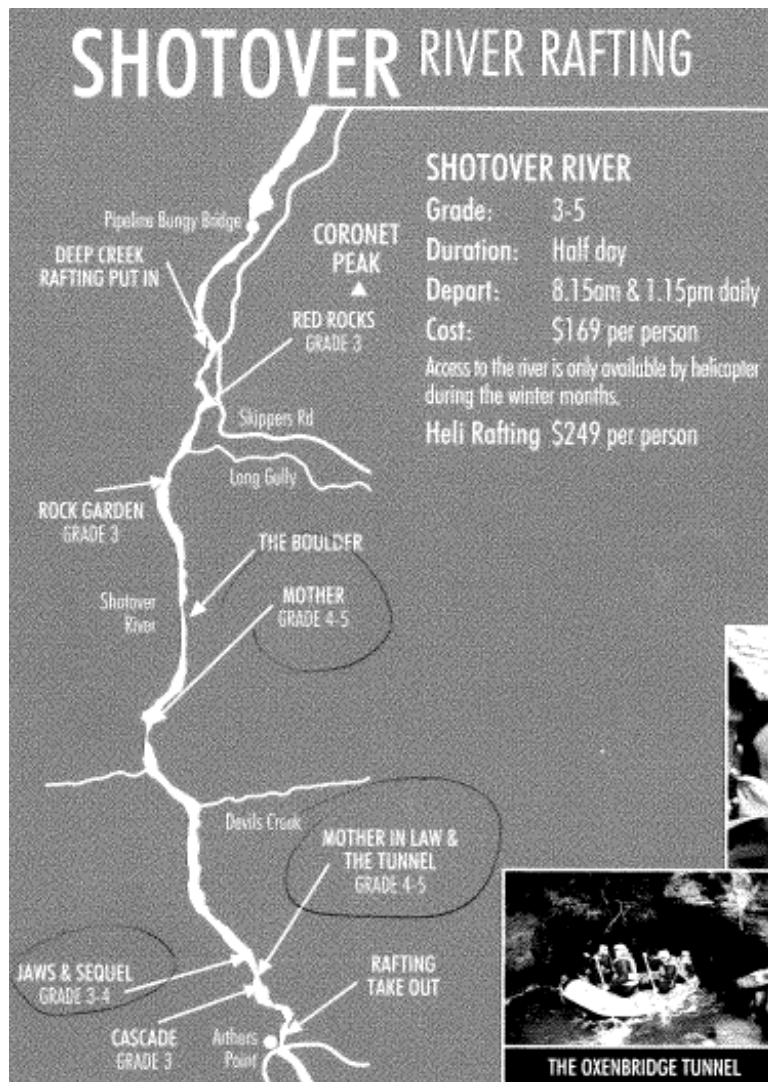
can follow safe river lines in order to avoid dangerous zones and situations. This characteristic of the Shotover River, plus its natural beauty are what make this specific river so famous and exciting of clients and guides. However, for some experienced guides, such as Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995), the river is not that difficult, exciting or challenging:

“For the guides, if you have a good amount of experience I don’t think [this river] is exciting or real challenging... The river now is a little bit easier than in the past...For a new guide is probably pretty challenging and exciting because is still a hard river to learn how to guide on.” Carmelo.

There are twelve main rapids in the Shotover River section operated by the company where the author conducted the research (Figure 5.3). The rapids are: Red Rocks (grade 3); Rock Garden (grade 3); Boulder (grade 3); Mother Section (6 rapids) – Miners (grade 3.5-4.5), Squeeze (grade 3.5-4.5), Anvil (grade 3.5-4.5), Toilet (grade 3.5-4.5), Oh Shit (grade 3.5-4.5), Pinball (grade 3.5-4.5); Jaws-Sequel (grade 3); Mother in Law (grade 4-5); Cascade (grade 3-3.5). According to the river flow the trip leader decides if it is better to run Mother in Law or Cascade. If the flow is too high that the rafts cannot enter on the Oxenbridge Tunnel, the only way is to go through the rapid known as Mother in Law. The Oxenbridge Tunnel is 170m long and built over four years (1906-1910) by the Oxenbridge brothers who were looking for gold in the region. However, some of these rapids are navigable only in summer months. During the winter months due to the short daylight hours, to the cold water and risks related to hypothermia the trips need to be shorter. Also, during the winter months the Skippers Road¹³ is closed due to the snow and the trips are offered in combos’ packs involving a helicopter tour that drops clients and guides on a river beach close to the mother section. The winter trips are shorter and the time on the river is around 45 minutes, yet the trip includes almost all the rapids.

13 Skippers Road was built (between 1883 and 1890) during the gold rush and was the only access to Skippers Township and the Upper Shotover diggings.

Figure 5.3 - Shotover River, Rapids and Information, Company's Brochure (2009)



5.3.1 History of rafting in Queenstown

The commercial white-water rafting history in New Zealand is not older than 40 years even if the first trips started after World War II (McLauchlan 1995). According to Dench (2000) it was in the late 1970s with an upsurge in the popularity of adventure activities and with the arrival of new and cheap rafts manufactured overseas that the rafting industry in New Zealand had a boost. To McLauchlan (1995) the first white-water rafting company that explored the rapids of the Shotover and Kawarau rivers in Queenstown (Figure 5.2) was Kon Tiki Raft, founded in 1974. During the summer season 1981-1982 two companies were operating white-water rafting trips (exclusively on the Kawarau River) in Queenstown and the number of rafting passengers was approximately 4,500 (Sheppard and Rout 1985; Kearsley 1993). Seven companies were operating white-water rafting trips in Queenstown

during the summer season 1983-1984 and even if trips on the Shotover were increasing, the Kawarau was still the main river (Kearsley 1993). According to Sheppard and Rout (1985) the number of rafting passengers on the Kawarau River increased 143% and achieved approximately 14,000 clients as shown on Table 5.2. In the mid 1990's four companies were operating the Shotover and Kawarau rivers and one just the Kawarau river (McLauchlan 1995). These five companies were carrying together approximately 40,000 passengers annually in the mid 1990's, from these clients 90% were on the Shotover river and 10% on the Kawarau (McLauchlan 1995). Since then the Shotover River with its more exciting rapids became the main river for white-water rafting in Queenstown.

Table 5.2 - Number of People carried on the Kawarau River

Year	1976/1977	1977/1978	1978/1979	1979/1980	1980/1981	1981/1982	1982/1983	1983/1984
Activity								
Rafting	500	740	1000	1800	3250	4500	5750	14000
% increase		50	33	80	80	38	28	143
Jet Boating*	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	27000	29000	34200
% increase							7	28
Kayaking							>50	
Canoeing							>500	
n.a=not available								
* excludes those on the Shotover								

Source: Sheppard and Rout (1985)

5.3.2 White-water rafting trip and time

The structure, operations, and equipment of white-water rafting has been described previously by researchers such as Buckley (2006; 2009; 2010), Sharpe (2005), and Cater (2006). However, each company has a specific way of organising the trips that depends on climatic aspects, river characteristic and business organisation. This section will describe the operations in Queenstown during the summer seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010.

In the company where the fieldwork took place, two white-water rafting trips on the Shotover River are offered every day (morning trip and afternoon trip). Usually the routine begins with clients gathering for the first trip at 8:15 am in the shop that is situated on Queenstown's main street. The company has buses that conduct clients to the base where they meet the guides. A brief explanation about the activity is given by the white-water rafting guides and each client receives a wetsuit, a water proof jacket, a life jacket and a helmet. This is the moment when clients need to let the guides know about medical conditions and if they are not confident in their swimming abilities. Subsequently, it is time for the clients to wear all the gear and a 40 minute bus ride conducts clients and guides to the rafting starting point. Before having the raft on the river, the trip leader does a safety talk and rescue situations are explained. It is also the moment when the trip leader divides the teams and assigns a guide for each group. Figure 5.4 illustrates the clients with all the safety equipment needed for the white-water rafting activity and the trip leader doing the safety and rescue talks on the river's beach. The estimated duration of a summer trip in the Shotover river, including the 'talks' and the pre-trip preparation, is four hours and thirty minutes, however the water time is around one hour and forty five minutes¹⁴.

Figure 5.4 - Safety and Rescue Talk



¹⁴ According to the water level and incidents/accidents the trip can be faster or slower.

The guides' workday usually starts at 7:30 in the morning, but they effectively start the river trip just around 10am (the tasks that antecede the trip will be described in section 5.3.2.1). Usually the morning trip arrives back from the river between 11:50am and 12:10pm, which is when guides help clients with wetsuits and offer sauna, hot shower and tea or coffee. At the same time white-water rafting guides start to prepare for the afternoon trip and organise their lunch. Usually guides prepare their own lunch and they eat together in the staff kitchen located at the base. Around 12:45 the buses go back to town and at 1:20pm the clients for the afternoon trip arrive on the base for the same procedure that was made for the morning trip.

The afternoon trip is completed around 4:50pm but rafting guides usually go home around 5:30pm after completing the post-trip tasks that will be described in the section 5.3.2.3. It is important to emphasise that all this routine can be changed according to different factors such as accidents/incidents, number of clients and river flow. The division of time in the guides work routine involves the pre-trip preparation, their time on the river and, also, the post-trip organisation. This time division helps the company and guides to plan activities and to minimise faults that can possibly cause incidents or accidents.

5.3.2.1 Pre trip preparation

During the fieldwork it was observed that the white-water rafting activity needs to follow a work routine in order to minimise mistakes (e.g., forget first aid kits or carry wrong number of paddles). In Queenstown, the white-water rafting industry is very dynamic with two trips arranged per day and where the number of tourists as well as the river level can change unexpectedly the work routine and the organisational process needs to be very clear to guides. Half-day trips are an important aspect of the white-water rafting experience in Queenstown and to the rafting guides there is a big difference between organising half-day, full day or multi-day trips. According to Marcus (29 years old, guiding since 2006) "here a lot of the work is get people ready to the trip, more manual labor, I definitely prefer a full day trip". It was observed that the organisation of rafts, paddles, safety equipments and the activities away from the river are not the favorite part of the job for white-water rafting guides. The morning duties' check list involves tasks such as to check if the customers' bathrooms are clean, to turn on the sauna, to organise the dry wetsuits and boots, to prepare the barrels with clean water and detergent to wash the wetsuits after the activity, and to verify the possibility of rain and the river flow. The activity check list involves preparing paddles

for clients, the rafts (verify if they are inflated and selecting the large sizes-for 8 passengers-on days with high flows), and check all the safety equipments (radios and first aid kits). Holyfield and Jonas (2003), Sharpe (2005), and Jonas (2006) described some of the white-water rafting guides' duties that were also observed in the present research such as the preparation of safety and first-aid kits and the performance of the different 'talks'.

One of the guides' duties is to deliver a 'bus-talk'. The 'bus-talk' is an explanation about the activity, about some of the safety equipment such as helmets and life jackets. The bus-talk is the moment where clients need to sign the responsibility form that is a term where they accept conditions such as that their participation in the activity is voluntary. Signing this form clients also agree that considering white-water rafting as an adventure activity with risks the company cannot absolutely guarantee their safety, however the guides are professionals and certified by the New Zealand Rafting Association. During the route from the base to the starting point the rafting guides explain about the history and some of the characteristics of the Central Otago region and of the Wakatipu basin. However the bus talk and to entertain clients on the way to the river is not something that all the guides like to do. Indeed, in a conversation with the bus driver, Tony (34 years old, guiding since 2002) said: "I hate bus talking". In an informal conversation Tony said that he does not like the bus talk because it is too repetitive and most of the information they give on the bus will be repeated on the safety talk and during their interaction with the clients on the boat. According to Jonas (2006) the safety talks are used not just to instruct passengers about the equipment and risks in order to avoid injuries, but to stimulate anxiety and the perception of potential danger, is the concept of "getting one's money's worth" (p.166). Evidence of this emotional stimulation during the bus talk was observed in many moments such as when Paloma (23 years old, guiding since 2006) asked the clients: "Are you afraid?" (Observation notes 1st day) or when Etan said that "rafting can be dangerous because it is an activity that deals with Mother Nature and sometimes people get hurt and sometimes people don't get out of the river [die]. Are you scarred?" (Observation notes 40th day).

The effort made by guides to stimulate emotions and to achieve the concept of getting the clients' money's worth is also considered part of the guides' work routine and starts before the actual river trip. The emotions are present in the casual talks that guides have with clients when distributing the equipment (figure 5.5) when, for example they say to that the life jacket can save from drowning and that is why needs to have the right size. According to

Ivan (31 years old, guiding since 2008) the stimulation of emotions can, also, be considered part of the trip duties:

“It’s part of my job stimulates emotions, for most of the trip the nature speaks for itself, the experience speaks for itself...having people rafting, I wanna share this passion for white-water.”

Emotional management and stimulation are associated with the interaction between workers and clients and it is during the pre-trip preparation that the first contact between them happens. However, considering the aim of the present chapter, discussions about emotions will not be deeply explored here, but in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Figure 5.5 – White-water rafting guides distributing life jackets



5.3.2.2 River Trip duties

Previous research lists the main guide duties during the trip as: to safely maneuver the rafts, to inform clients about safety commands and behaviour, to establish a good communication between the guides, to entertain the clients, and to stimulate emotions (Arnould and Price 1993; Fluker and Deery 2003; Devantier and Turkington 2006). Safely maneuvering the rafts is the most technical duty that needs to be performed on the river, mainly because the clients' perception is that they are going to an "unknown" place where just guides with enough knowledge can conduct them to discover the unfamiliar environment (Holyfield and Jonas 2003). So, it is essential for clients to trust in the guides' commands in order to avoid conflicts and incidents. For this reason white-water rafting companies usually start trips in a part of the river where "flat water" allows the training of safety rescues and paddle commands. However, the relationship between clients and guides is mutually dependent whereby the clients need the guides to show them something different and new, using their technical knowledge, and the guides need the clients to keep employed but also to build their guides' image of adventurous person that is not afraid of river rapids¹⁵.

To train the safety rescue techniques and paddle commands are an important part of the guides' work and can be interpreted in many different ways. According to Jonas (2006) safety and paddle trainings are important emotional stimuli to clients and are the moment where guides are presented as team leaders able to keep the costumers safe. To instruct clients how to paddle as well as the importance of being coordinated, of working well as a team and to follow the safety instructions in case of accidents is the standard procedure recommended by the International Rafting Federation – IRF (2009) and New Zealand Rafting Association (2009). To train the safety commands is also important to establish a trustworthy relationship between clients and guides. Indeed in one of the trips during the fieldwork Rafael, one of the most experienced white-water rafting guides, did not practice the safety commands before the first rapid and one of the clients asked him why the other boats were practicing. Rafael, the guide, replied saying that their boat did not need training. At the rapid Rock Garden the lady that previously asked Rafael about the safety commands fell out of the boat and was really angry with Rafael, who did the safety training before Mother's section (Observation notes 16th day). In this case the trustworthy relationship between guide and client was not created and Rafael was seen as unreliable by the clients.

¹⁵ See more about the guides' image in the section 5.4

Another procedure that needs to be coordinated to avoid accidents is the communication between the guides (Buckley 2010). White-water rafting guides learn signal codes that are used to facilitate the exchange of information and the communication on the river. The signals used between the guides to advise specific actions are part of the team work necessary to conduct the trip safely. As well as the training section, the signals used by the white-water rafting guides have an influence on clients' curiosity. When an accident happened (a client dislocated his shoulder) in the 12th day of fieldwork Genaro was doing signals informing the other guides about the necessity of a helicopter rescue, some of the clients in his boat asked about the non-verbal communication and he calmly explained the situation and the meaning of each signal. To explain the signals was also a way that Genaro found to entertain his clients during the time they were waiting on the river shore. So, signals can be used to entertain clients and stimulate emotions such as anxiety, fear, confidence and trust. The action of entertaining clients is a duty that needs to be performed during the trip. The role of entertainer is present in Carmelo's (38 years old, guiding since 1995) discourse:

“The rafting guide should be an entertainer... you should be able to be a good teacher as well, you need to teach people how to paddle, and safety things.”

Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995) explain exactly some of the guides' duties during the trip: the teacher during the safety talks, the entertainer and the protector/guardian of clients' safety. Dalton (27 years old, guiding since 2001) also emphasises the idea that one of the guides' role is to be an entertainer:

“Here you are half a guide and half an entertainer; people don't wanna just be taking rafting, they wanna be entertained. So good guides are not someone that can just guide a raft but someone that can entertain too and obviously problem solving.”

So, for white-water rafting guides to perform the role of entertainer is part of their job and part of the service the offered to the clients. To Phil (34 years old, guiding since 2001) clients “want to feel something different and we (guides) are the providers of this emotions” (Observation Notes – 35th day). As emphasised in the pre-trip duties section the necessity of

stimulating clients' emotions is present also during the trips. In fact, according to Holyfield and Jonas (2003) guides use the construction of danger and the subordination of the passenger (when they portray themselves as able to conduct raft and clients as incompetents) as a technique to stimulate emotions.

Even if the primary role of the conversation before the main section of rapids regards the safety requirements it was possible to observe during the fieldwork that an emotional plot involves this moment. The anxiety of clients is usually evident and according to Buckley (2009) one of the guide's tasks is to identify clients who are frightened and try to keep them safe with no spill, but "to 'talk up' the risks to clients who seem unexcited, take them through 'wet' lines where they will get heavily splashed and will have to paddle hard" (p.185). Consequently, the way that guides talk about safety topics with them as well as the lines taken on the river has a direct connection with the emotional states of clients who create expectations and images of risky situations and danger.

After the last rapid (Cascade) and meters before the take out point there is time that guides have to talk about the experience and ask clients if they are alright, if they had fun and if they felt fear. It is the last moment of the clients with his/her group, so it is the moment to say thank you and also congratulate the clients for their bravery. Clients need to feel proud of what they did so they can comment the unbelievable experience with others and stimulate others to do the same. The magic experience provided by the guides that creates a memorable feeling of achievement (Arnould and Price 1993) is also a great source of publicity for the white-water rafting companies. The teacher, protector and entertainer roles and how the guides feel about these roles will be discussed more in depth in the next chapter (sections 6.2.1; 6.2.2; 6.2.3).

5.3.2.3 Post-trip

Back from the river, guides offer sauna, hot showers, cookies and hot beverage to clients. Before that guides help the clients to take off helmets, jackets, wetsuits and boots. Guides also wash the clients' gear (wetsuits and boots) and organise everything in the dryer room. According to Bob (30 years old, guiding since 2007) "the best part of my job is on the river with the clients and the worst is wash the wetsuits after the trips". Bob's position elucidates in one hand his preference for the river part of the job and the interaction with clients and, on the other hand, the aversion for the organisational part of the trip that involves 'mundane' tasks.

After the morning trip it is time for lunch before starting to prepare the afternoon trip. Usually guides who did not work in the first trip arrive early and start to prepare everything so the ones that worked during the morning have more time to lunch and recover for the afternoon trip. Following the afternoon trip other than washing clients' gear, the guides need to organise rafts and paddles on the storage room, set up the safety material such as first aid kit and radios, clean and put their own gear in a dryer room. Subsequently, it is time to clean and close clients' bathroom and check if all the doors are locked before going back to town.

White-water rafting guides, also have social activities to be performed after their work hours. During the fieldwork period it was observed that almost every day the guides go to pubs where they can relax and talk about their day. These after-work activities and its relationship with the management of emotions away from the workplace will be discussed in-depth in the section 7.4.

5.4 WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES: A PROFILE

The white-water rafting guide was previously defined by Arnould and Price (1993) as an impresario who helps the participants to transform experiences into treasured, culturally constructed memories of personal growth. So if for Arnould and Price (1993) guides' definition is based on their relationship with participants, for Holyfield (1999) guides are described according to their personal characteristics. For Holyfield (1999) the vast majority of guides are young college students, with white skin colour, middle-to upper-middle socio-economical class, doing a seasonal job that requires a lot of physical effort and sharing the desire to be outdoors. Some of the characteristics described by Holyfield (1999) are congruent to the ones of guides in Queenstown during the seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010. During these two season thirty five (four females and thirty one males) white-water rafting guides, aged between 20 to 53 years old, thirty four of them Caucasians and one Maori worked in the company where the fieldwork took place. Among all the white-water rafting guides that were working during the data collection period, twenty were from New Zealand, four from the United States, four from England, four from Canada, one from Australia, one from Brazil and one from Switzerland (see Appendix 1 for the white-water rafting guides profile). The inconsistent number of males if compared to females in the white-water rafting industry was verified by Fluker and Deery (2003) who emphasised that usually guides are

males looking for a specific kind of lifestyle that involves the choice to work in the outdoors getting into this profession because of the thrill and excitement that river rapids can offer.

Independent of age, sex, and cultural background, the work activity of white-water rafting guides requires a professional profile which involves a certain degree of standardisation in the way they interact with clients. As pointed before (section 5.3.2) guides need to be entertainers, they need to interact with their clients, they need to explain the safety rules and involve the clients in a fun environment. However, the manager, the client, the researcher and the guides themselves have different ways to perceive and analyse the professional profile of white-water rafting guides.

From the clients' perspective the guide profile is stereotyped and sometimes is elevated to a 'hero' condition. The guide is the person that is able to 'dominate' the natural hazards, the 'guardian' of safety, the only one able to conduct safely the raft, the storyteller and the entertainer, the 'River God' (Holyfield and Jonas 2003). Clients' believe that guides need to be friendly, knowledgeable, funny and entertaining (Arnould and Price 1993). An "elevated status" is created and is, according to Fluker and Deery (2003), one of the elements that can be used as a factor of sexual attraction between clients and guides¹⁶. Differently from the clients' point of view, the manager's perspective involves a professional understanding of the guide as an employee that needs to work in accordance to the company vision, values and strategy. The manager needs to defend the client satisfaction and uses the guide as a company's instrument to guarantee such satisfaction. According to Oliver (operational manager, 51 years old):

"The perfect guide has to be highly motivated, enthusiastic, really enjoy doing what they are doing, they love to give people a good time, outgoing personality, they need to like to motivate people that they take down the river, they need to have the ability to talk to everybody from any age group, they need to have a good responsible attitude, very conscious in people safety, they need to know why they are here, they are here for the people and not for themselves, they should be fit, and keep themselves fit."

¹⁶ See section 7.4.1

A comparison between the manager's assumption and the guides' points of view shows some common aspects in both employee and employer's discourses. When Genaro (22 years old, guiding since 2008) asserted that "sometimes I feel like I'm forced to talk with them, you have to talk with them because they are paying to be there", he was playing the role that his employers expect. White-water rafting guides are an important part of the product called 'adventure', and commercial operators routinely offer activities as being entirely without risk or with minimum risk because the guide will be there to take care of the customer (Palmer 2004). The guide figure is so commercialised that the website of the company where the fieldwork took place has a section dedicated to the guides' profile that is written and formatted by the guides themselves. The guides' webpage provides photos and a brief description of the guides' personality. In this web page, guides wrote about topics such as 'Rivers Rafted', 'Favourite Quote', 'Hobby' and 'Most Embarrassing Moment', curiosities about the guides offered to the clients. The web page also shows guides' different backgrounds, cultural knowledge and personalities that can stimulate new clients but also make past clients remember about the adventure. So the guide becomes the connection point between client and company.

Despite the different origins white-water rafting guides share a common interest for outdoor activities as identified by Fluker and Deery (2003). Indeed Tony (34 years old, guiding since 2002) asserts that "it's a really nice job, for people who want to be outside, and have fun. I really enjoy it, being outside is the most important thing to me... The best part of my job is to be on the river". Or Genaro (22 years old, guiding since 2008) who affirmed "I love been in the outdoor, so generally I'm pretty happy". So, even if heterogeneity is clear when analysed their profile, guides share common interests that facilitate the creation of a community as will be explored in the next section.

5.5 INSIDE A RAFTING COMMUNITY

Being an insider in the guides' life and not just in the workplace was the researcher's aim during the fieldwork. So, to better understand the white-water rafting guides' work, life and the emotional aspects involved it was necessary to understand, first of all, the social relationships established inside the rafting community. The rafting community involves other individuals including the company bus drivers, the rafting shop workers, photographers, close friends and guides' girl/boyfriends. However, due to the mobility and seasonality of the

rafting guides, this rafting community is created and re-created every season. According to Oliver (operational manager, 51 years old) the most challenging part of his job is "... make sure that you do have the right staff, the good staff, that your staff is motivated and they do their job properly, give the clients a good time, as well as maintain a good attitude, a safe attitude...to keep the right staff all the time is very tricky". So, the creation of a new rafting community starts exactly after the end of the prior season when, in a commercial dimension, the operational manager of the company starts to decide who will take part in the team next season. In other words, the rafting community starts with commercial decisions at a professional level that are strictly related to work. However, after the commercial phase, the rafting community flows to a personal level where interactions between guides and people around them are necessary and unavoidable. The interactions between the white-water rafting guides as well as between guides and clients were observed in different spaces and places during the fieldwork. Actually, the insertion of clients in the rafting community was observed by Arnould and Price (1993) in their research about multi-day white-water rafting trips. Arnould and Price (1993) emphasised that guides invite the clients to transcend the role of receiver and become members of the community. In fact during the fieldwork it was observed that guides usually invite clients to their happy hours and to partake in their social lives. In the Observation Notes of the 33rd day it was observed that three clients of the morning trip joined the guides' group in a pub where Leonel and Rafael were playing music. In this way clients temporarily participate of the rafting community, a community that has in its nucleus a work team and its interactions.

The interaction between the work team in Queenstown is compared to the interaction in teams in other countries where guides have previously worked. Nelson (24 years old, guiding since 2006) for example, asserted that "the relationship between guides is better in Canada because it is a smaller crew, more people that you know, you hang out more with the guides, down here [in Queenstown] no". Nelson is a New Zealander white-water rafting guide who alternates a season in New Zealand or Australia and a season in Canada, however in Queenstown he is very integrated into the rafting community and he is very popular in town. The point made by Nelson in relation to the team size is reinforced by Zeta (33 years old, guiding since 2003) "Queenstown is unique because is such a big team... in the peak of the season we had a team close to 30 guides... other places like in Africa we had a team of 8-10, Switzerland 8 to 10, so it is like a family unity, here is a lot of different individuals coming from all over the world, it's a bigger community". The creation of the rafting community in

Queenstown is not an easy process considering the number of guides, their different personalities and the high number of international guides, with different cultures, working together. However, considering their common interests in outdoor activities and the constant interaction between the white-water rafting guides, the community formation process becomes an unavoidable situation.

In a community where most of the members are co-workers, to establish a good and friendly relationship in the workplace is important for the well-being of the participants and to the community emotional stability (Sampson 1988). In fact, the time guides spend together is substantial if it is summed the time at the workplace, in social activities and, in the case of some guides, at home. So, for some of the guides the rafting community is considered a 'family'. According to Ernest (29 years old, guiding since 2003) "... we [guides] have to treat each other like a family because if something goes wrong out there [river] this people [the other guides] will help you out...But definitely I do have closer friends, like Quentin and Nelson that I go and have a beer all the time and hang out and go into their houses..." and the sense of family goes beyond the professional side, becomes a personal relationship and shows how personal life and work are not separated for white-water rafting guides. According to Salim (23 years old, guiding since 2007) the group of guides assumes this "family" role on the river:

"It is like a family, the trip leaders are your parents, guides that have been here for couple of year, they know what's going on so they are your old brothers, they look after you, that similar to a family"

Studies about work-family relationships suggest that the boundaries between these two institutions are permeable (Pleck 1977; Eagle *et al* 1997). For Salim and Ernest as well as for other guides as observed during the fieldwork, family and work are the same institution in a symbiotic and symbolic emotional interaction. Guides are emotionally connected to one another as 'brothers and sisters', and respect leaders' decisions as 'parents'. It is the transformation of the community into 'family'. However, the seasonality of the job has a direct influence in the social process of creation and re-creation of the 'family'. During the winter season the number of guides working in Queenstown drops consistently, trips are not frequent and the 'family' is smaller. On the other hand during the summer there are trips almost every day, the number of guides is higher as well as the number of bus drivers,

photographers and employees in the town shop, the 'family' is bigger. Consequently, with a high number of members there is an increase in the number of community activities and commitments. Weekly activities such as happy hours, parties, barbecues and night rafting or kayaking are one way to integrate new staff with the older ones. So the rafting community in Queenstown is formed not just because guides share moments at work but also non work moment and because they have similar interests and lifestyle.

5.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has introduced Queenstown, New Zealand, which is the site where the present study was conducted. Information about the town and its main characteristics has been provided. Among all the adventure activities commercialised in Queenstown, white-water rafting was the focus of the present study. Considering that, this chapter has also presented the white-water rafting guides' perception about the town and about the Shotover River. The history of white-water rafting in Queenstown and the Shotover River and an analysis of the river rapids and their classification according to the International Scale of River Difficulty has been illustrated in order to contextualise this thesis. The organisation and routine of the white-water rafting activity in Queenstown and the guide's tasks before, during and after trips has been explored. The last part of the chapter focuses on the white-water rafting guides' profiles and their main characteristics. Data collected during the fieldwork showed that the white-water rafting team that participated in this research, during the summer seasons of 2008/09 and 2009/10, had members from a variety of different countries and cultural backgrounds and experiences in the white-water rafting industry. However, it was perceived that guides share common interests and that the friendship between them contributes to the community formation process. Quotes from interviews were used to show the guides perception about themselves and about their work. The white-water rafting activity involves not only emotional elements for clients but also for guides. Guides' emotions and the way these emotions are managed will be explored in the next chapter within the context of the emotional labor theory.

6 - THE EMOTIONAL LABOR OF WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The emotional labor of the white-water rafting guides in Queenstown during the summer seasons (November-March) of 2008/09 and 2009/10 will be explored in this chapter. More specifically, the main objective of this chapter focuses on the discussion about white-water rafting guides' perception and performance of emotional management using the same conceptualisation and characteristics of emotional labor proposed by Hochschild (1983). Quotes from interviews with white-water rafting guides and the company's manager as well as notes from participant observation are used to discuss and illustrate the emotional labor components under Hochschild's (1983) perspective. The chapter starts with an analysis of the different roles performed by white-water rafting guides and the client-guide relationship. Secondly, the focus switches to the elements of Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor with specific attention to deep and surface acting and the professional face that is required in a white-water rafting guide's job. Subsequently, findings related to the consequences of emotional labor will be noted and discussed with reference to relevant literature. The final part of this chapter is dedicated to some conflicting aspects between white-water rafting work and the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983); the author who first coined the term.

6.2 NEITHER FLIGHT ATTENDANTS NOR BILL COLLECTORS, BUT WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES.

Flight attendants and bill collectors were the two groups of workers analysed by Hochschild (1983) to support the emotional labor theory. These two groups were selected on the grounds that they were individuals working under a capitalist organisational system and having direct contact with clients. To Hochschild (1983) flight attendants and bill collectors represented two extremes of the occupational demand on feeling because the former try to enhance the customer status using friendship and smiles while the bill collector deflates the status using anger. Considering that flight attendants was socially seen as a job for women and bill collection as a job for men, Hochschild (1983) took the opportunity to explore the gender aspect in jobs that require emotional management and interaction with clients.

The work of a white-water rafting guide offers parallels with the occupational examples used by Hochschild (1983) in that the work operates under a capitalist organisation system and has emotional management as one component in the relationship between worker and client. However, in the white-water rafting guides' case the gender aspect differs from Hochschild's (1983) scenario because, in white-water rafting, it is mainly the male that needs to deliver positive emotions¹⁷. Among 35 guides that worked in the summer seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010 in Queenstown/New Zealand 31 were male (in a ratio similar to Hochschild's bill collectors), charged with the task of enhancing customers' status and delivering a pleasurable experience (similar to Hochschild's flight attendants). Accordingly, for a white-water rafting guide, the emotional relationship with clients may constitute a pivotal aspect of the work. Alan (26 years old, guiding since 2003), for example, loves the personal contact with clients:

“I love dealing with clients, you get good clients, you get bad clients, but we get more good clients than bad.”

The theory proposed by Hochschild (1983) posits that the management of emotions (emotional labor) is a connective element in the relationship between providers or workers and clients. However, it was found that in their relationship with clients, white-water rafting guides did not play just one single role but assumed different roles according to different places where they are (for example on the river, base, restaurants, pubs), situations (for example in a rescue situation, happy-hour, party) and variables such as their experience and their professional position (from trip leaders to junior guides and trainees). According to Hill and Stephens (2005) every social role asks for a particular self. Consequently white-water rafting guides in their hierarchical position not only add (or substitute) a different self for every stage of their career but also for every role as it is performed. Three main roles that are performed by guides and involve the management of emotions were identified during the fieldwork. These roles are: entertainer or fun provider (6.2.1); emotional facilitator (6.2.2); and the 'guardian angel' (6.2.3).

¹⁷ It needs to be acknowledged that males are more likely to be in the adventure industry due to the masculine portrayal that is already in place (Humberstone 2000; Lois 2001).

6.2.1 Clients X Fun Provider. A capitalistic view of guide-client relationship

In section 5.4, when explaining the guide's profile and the performance of the role that is expected by the clients, Genaro (22 years old, guiding since 2008) points out that sometimes he just interacts with clients because customers are paying for this interaction. Genaro's opinion presents the clients as the buyers of a good/service and this service involves Genaro's interactive performance. The idea of having to do something because someone else is paying for it is a common concept in the capitalistic approach to service roles. Clients are paying for comfort, for physical and psychological security, but also to have satisfied their wishes. The idea of paying for comfort and security and having a host who guarantees such aspects is linked to the idea of hospitality as suggested by Nailon (1982) and Hepple *et al* (1990). The hospitality aspect is Bunten (2008, pp.385-386) commodified by tour guides for whom "are given extensive training in 'commodification of hospitality', during which they learn the structures of host-guest interaction according to the cultural norms of the guest (assuming that the guest is Western). The interactions between host and guest are carefully orchestrated into exchanges in which the guest feels 'safe' around a host with whom he or she might normally be uncomfortable fraternizing".

As well as the comfort and feeling of safety that is commodified, the emotional labor also becomes integral to the product sold and it is a component necessary to satisfy the customer. In the white-water rafting industry, as well as in any other parts of the adventure sector, the relationship between service offered and client satisfaction is direct and essential. Clients on tour desire a unique experience (Oppermann 1998) that satisfies their expectations and they want to believe that their money is well spent. So, to achieve clients' satisfaction it is important to know what is their real desire and expectation, and at this point it is essential to consider that this desire can be, not only internal but also can be created by external influences including media coverage and advertisements (Cloke and Perkins 2002). In fact, Maurice knows that clients can have different reasons to go for a white-water rafting trip and what really matters are their safety and the satisfaction of their expectations:

"Everybody goes to the river for their own reason, and as long as they come off the river and they have a smile on their face and we have met their expectations, they had fun, if they are in one piece and they survived [it] is good for them" Maurice (33 years old, guiding since 2001)

However, the ‘money’ aspect is always in the guides’ minds and for Zeta (33 years old, guiding since 2003) the main point is that “these people are paying big money, they are paying for a positive experience” and for this reason it is professionally incumbent on white-water rafting guides to understand that their aim is always the customers’ satisfaction. In Ivan’s words:

“This is professional life out here on the river, and as a rafting guide you can be whoever you wanna be. Here it’s about customers’ satisfaction, having a good time with your clients and being professional.” Ivan (31 years old, guiding since 2008)

According to Evetts (2003) professionalism can have two different interpretations: as a value system or an ideology. Professionalism as a value system is optimistic and believes in positive contributions to the social order, and implies the importance of trust in economic relations. On the other hand the interpretation of professionalism as ideology implies a negative understanding of the concept focusing on the idea of a dominant belief system and mechanism of social control for workers (Evetts 2003). Ivan’s discourse points out that the main aim of a white-water rafting guide is the customers’ satisfaction through a good service. Leonel (26 years old, guiding since 2003) believes that to be professional it is necessary “to be in the customers’ shoes” and consequently understand what they are looking for during the activity:

“I put myself in the shoes of the customers. These people are here on vacation, looking for good time, I would hate be an asshole with my personal problems, because people are paying good money, people are here to have fun.”

Moreover, guides’ perceptions are that they can work with something they love just because there are clients who pay to experience the activity, to be entertained, and to ‘have fun’. So, some guides feel the need to be thankful to clients for this opportunity. As a consequence, to complain against clients can be considered ethically, or even morally, wrong. Clients’ money allows guides to earn a living doing something they love and to keep the lifestyle they chose. In one informal conversation with Phil, one of the older guides in the

company, during the 35th day of fieldwork he confessed that he does not like when guides complain about tourists exactly because the clients pay a lot of money to have fun and the guide is the entertainer that needs to provide fun.

Again, the idea of fun provider and its connection to a capitalistic system where clients pay for a service and presuppose their expectations will be satisfied is present in guides discourse. There is a feeling of gratitude that arises in white-water rafting guides and the way to compensate clients is to offer the best trip possible and the best trip possible means safety, entertainment, a “magical experience” (Arnould and Price 1993). According to Genaro (22 years old, guiding since 2008) the best trip involves mainly a good interaction between clients and guides: “They pay for the best trip possible and it is just about interaction”. However, an interaction between two social actors involves emotions that sometimes can conflict if their social roles are different, as in the case of worker and client. The possibility of emotional clashes between clients and guides was discussed by the guides during the lunch time of the 26th day of fieldwork. Guides were talking about clients’ complaints and that independent of their personal emotional state they need to entertain the clients because they pay a lot of money to be there. In this conversation white-water rafting guides shown that they are conscious of their responsibility as a host who similarly to the workers of the hospitality industry (Hepple *et al* 1990) provides comfort, security and emotions. In this case guides need to keep in mind that they are fun providers and as so it is necessary to sometimes hide the emotions that can be perceived as negative, presenting just the socially desirable face. Despite of the attempt of white-water rafting guides to set their personal emotions apart, the relationship established between clients and guides is full of emotions that cannot be ignored. Furthermore the emotional plot that is created sometimes has an extended life considering that the contact between clients and guides can be prolonged by the after work time in pubs, restaurants and at parties or in other social settings.

6.2.2 Emotional Facilitator: emotional aspects of guide-client relationships

Section 5.3 in the previous chapter presented the responsibilities of white-water rafting guides in different moments of their workday. Part of the rafting guides’ responsibilities is related to the different emotional relationships that are established with clients during their work time. Some emotional interactions with clients require the guide to perform deep acting (see section 6.3.2) and others surface acting (see section 6.3.3). However, independent of how the emotions are presented, for white-water rafting guides the emotional plot that will be

created depends on clients' expectations, including emotional ones. For example, Ivan (31 years old, guiding since 2008) believes that "clients wanna come out on the river and they wanna feel the rush of adrenaline, they wanna have an exciting time, going through rapids maybe because they heard about it... mainly because they are seeking for that thrill". So, for Ivan, it is a relationship where the guide is the emotion facilitator while the client is the emotion seeker. The demand of clients for an emotional experience is present in Tony's (34 years old, guiding since 2002) point of view and he was conscious about clients' wants and how those can conflict with his own perspective of the white-water rafting activity:

"There're days when the customers want, want, want and they don't understand what they are doing there, cannot understand that they are not dying because is not a class 5, that frustrates me, when people are doing extreme activities around town and they can't understand that you don't have to be in a death experience to have an awesome rafting trip, it's more about fun... they don't really understand the principle of extreme."

Indeed, Tony's position shows his feeling of frustration regarding the high emotional demand that is presented by some clients who want/need to feel something extreme to get their 'money's worth'. So, the necessity to stimulate or facilitate the arousal of emotions sometimes is not compatible with guides' own feelings, creating a conflict between what the emotions guides are feeling – which according to Hochschild (1983) are authentic emotions - and the emotions required by the work role – which according to Hochschild (1983) are inauthentic feelings¹⁸. The guide, as an emotional facilitator, needs to ignore such conflict in order to provide the service and the emotional *stimuli* that are expected from him. Ivan (31 years old, guiding since 2008) asserts that emotions expressed by guides, independent if these emotions are authentic or inauthentic, are *stimuli* that are absorbed by and release emotions in clients:

"It's really important to look good and make them feel safe. Because when you don't look confident when you show some sights of weakness..."

¹⁸ To Hochschild (1983) this clash between authentic and inauthentic feelings is one of the reasons for burnout (see sections 6.4)

people don't trust in you... so you need to look confident... a change in the tone of your voice people pick up on that, they pick up if you are nervous, they pick up on the slightest change of your emotions too, and that makes they feel insecure too.”

The point made by Ivan is an instance of the emotional influence of guides in clients, a phenomenon defined by Mann (1997) as emotional contagion. As an emotional facilitator white-water rafting guides use emotional contagion that according to Mann (1997) can increase empathy and solidarity but also impair performance when negative emotions such as fear or anxiety pervade the situation. Another example of guides as an emotional facilitator is Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995): “I really enjoy taking people that are scary, because it is kind of fun, and you can transform it into a good experience”. Carmelo usually observes clients' emotions and knows that he can transform a negative emotion into a positive experience and this is the role of the emotional facilitator.

6.2.3 The “Guardian Angel”

Another main role of adventure guides (included white-water rafting guides) is to protect and take care of clients' safety (Priest and Gass 2005). White-water rafting guides are the people who know the river environment; they are able to maneuver the boat and are the ones who need to protect clients who usually do not have knowledge enough to deal with the risks involved in the activity. However, guides can protect their clients if they are conscious that clients do not have the same knowledge and skills that they have on that environment; if they are conscious of their responsibilities as providers of activities that involve risks; and if they think and feel worried about clients' security.

“I'm always worried by my clients, if something goes wrong they don't know what to do like I do... I'm always feel worried for the clients but for me not so much, maybe when it's really high water, but I've been in this river so many times.” Ernest (29 years old, guiding since 2003)

Ernest's point of view is shared by other guides who are also worried about clients' safety and conscious of their role in protecting them. In fact Sonny (41 years old, guiding since 1989), who has a large experience as a white-water rafting guide asserts that: “I feel

fear more for them than I do for me, sometimes I feel fear when the water will be very high, but at the end of the day it is not about myself that I'm worried about". From a different perspective, Peter (25 years old, guiding since 2004) believes that safety is the main point and makes an interesting comparison between safety and entertainment:

“If being protector is to bring your crew down the river safely that would be the most important thing, because safety is number one. In the end who cares if they didn't have a good time, at least they survived... people's lives are more important than people's enjoyment.”

Peter is not neglecting the importance of enjoyment for clients but stressing the safety aspect as the main guiding role. Indeed as discussed on section 6.2.1 the fun provider role is necessary and it is not performed separately from the roles of emotional facilitator and the client's protector roles. At the same time the different roles are do not have necessarily the same importance to the white-water rafting guides. As shown in the quote, to Peter the protector role “is number one” and enjoyment becomes secondary when safety issues arise, having a direct influence on the relationship between guides and clients. The relationship between clients and guides is, actually, not limited to the work environment as will be seen in section 7.4, it is not always based on admiration and respect and the guides are not always considered ‘angels’. Examples of ‘unusual’ and problematic interactions between clients and guides that were observed during the fieldwork are described in the next section.

6.2.4 Interactions between clients and guides: A fieldwork experience.

Tour guides have been described as pathfinders, mentors, leaders, entertainers, surrogate parents and as sources of knowledge (Cohen 1985; Pond 1993; Reisinger and Steiner 2006). Guides are also the ones that can help tourists find meaning in what they see (Reisinger and Steiner 2006) and all their main roles are based on interactions with tourists. Each guide has a different way of interacting with the customers. However guide-client interaction, like any other social relationship, is susceptible to conflict:

“I was in the bus with clients and guides; Sonny was doing the bus talk and when we were at 10 minutes' drive from the beach where the rafting trip starts one of the clients started to yell to the driver to stop the

bus... most of the guides were in this bus... The client started to be very rude against the driver and Dalton [guide] that was sitting beside her. The client was saying that the driver should be paying attention to the road and not talking with Dalton. The client, using swearwords, started to offend the driver and Dalton... Sonny started to laugh about the situation and said to the client to stay calm that there was no danger and that Jenny is the best driver in the company. The client said to Sonny that he could laugh because after the trip he [the client] would complain to the manager.”
(Observation Notes – 27^h day)

The use of this example is necessary to illustrate that the relationship between guides and clients is not always harmonious and that the emergence of conflict situations is a real possibility. Actually, Cohen (1985) described the possibility of conflict between guides and clients and the sources of stress can vary from doubts about guide’s competence, to the perception that guides are faking information. However, in the case presented during the fieldwork, the root cause of stress was an emotional incompatibility between a client – who was feeling fear - and the guide and the driver – who were not feeling (or at least showing) the same emotion because they were well accustomed to that road. The episode that happened during the 27th day of fieldwork was the main topic of guides’ conversation for a couple of days:

“Guides were talking about the rude client and Tony remembered that the same client was rude with him and me during the distribution of the gear.” (Observation Notes – 28th day)

The episode was reported to the operational manager and all the guides were supportive of Dalton, Jenny (the bus driver) and Sonny in a collegial way. Indeed, the client did lodge a formal complaint against the bus driver and the guides, the operational manager apologised but the event had no professional consequences to the guides and to the driver. The episode was, however, remembered for long time always arousing emotions such as anger among the people involved and enjoyment for the other guides. The day after the problem some of the guides met the client in one of the pubs where they usually have happy hours:

“... guides were still talking about the rude client and they told me that they met the client and his wife in one of the pubs in Queenstown. Jenny [the driver] was there, as well as most of the guides. The guides started to annoy the guy and they said that he’s a very rude guy and that he was not welcome in that pub, so the guy and his wife left the pub.”
(Observation Notes – 29th day)

The problematic relationship between the client and the guides spilled over from the work environment and became reflected in guides’ behaviour during non-work time. This example shows a different aspect in the relationship between guides and clients. Commercial relationships are usually based on respectful norms and behaviors between providers and clients. However conflicts such as the one presented during the fieldwork can happen and guides need to manage their emotions in order to maintain the professional and the necessary qualities of work-related relationships (see section 6.2.1). Indeed, Sonny (41 years old, guiding since 1989) used the episode as an example to explain his management of emotions:

“We need to manage our emotion here, you know, you were on that bus last year when that guy, you know... I did the best I could [to manage my emotions], I wanted to say a lot more than that, he deserved a lot more.”

Sonny tried to be funny and polite to calm down the client in the bus, even if the emotions of displeasure and anger latent within the situation were palpable. A similar example is given by Hochschild (1983, p.110) when she highlighted problems that flight attendants need to solve such as babies bawling, and crowded or late flights: “under such conditions some passengers exercise the privilege of not suppressing their irritation; they become ‘irate’”. White-water rafting guides, as well as flight attendants and other frontline services, have to manage their emotions as part of their job and in order to satisfy organisational rules.

6.3 WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES’ MANAGEMENT OF EMOTIONS AND CUSTOMER SERVICE

As with other jobs that involve personal contact with the customer and when the producer is also part of the product, white-water rafting guides need to manage their emotions in the workplace and during their direct contact¹⁹ with the clients. Research about white-water rafting involving emotional aspects in the relationship client-guide has been conducted by several authors such as Sharpe (2005), Holyfield and Jonas (2003), Fluker and Turner (2000), Holyfield (1999), and Arnould and Price (1993). In half-day trips, for example, considering the short time the guides have with the clients on the river as well as the necessity of doing safety talks the emotional contact between client and guide is different from full day or multi-day trips. Consequently, the management of emotions is not the same in situations where the duration of the contact with clients is different:

“The big difference between a multi-day trip and a half day trip is the human contact, you develop a relationship in a multi day... the top of my career was 22 day trip... so for 22 days you are with the same people, the same group, so get to teach people about the outdoors, and you see people very shy, curious, afraid and help them to be very comfortable on surviving into the wilderness, that’s why I really enjoy it.... In a multi day trip, if somebody that you don’t like, and this is what I like, for me it’s funny when guides get offended sometimes on half-trips like this because they don’t like someone, it’s so easy to just forget about it, move on, but on multi day trips you can’t if you have someone that you don’t like you need to work it out because they’re gonna be with you for 20 days...The day trip it is just about chat to me, you say the same things over and over.”
Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988)

So, the management of emotions depends also on the nature of the relationships that is established with clients. In long term relationships such as the one presented by Kraus, where the guide needs to be in touch with the clients 24 hours a day for more than one day, the situation is defined by hierarchical, power-oriented relations, because the guide is the one who technically knows more than the client about the contextualising environment. The

¹⁹ Hochschild (1983) believes that a direct contact between client and worker involves a face-to-face or voice-to-voice relationship.

emotional effort required to reconcile different personalities is higher than when the relationship is limited to few hours affording only just enough time to find out basic things about the client such as name, profession and hobbies. Nevertheless, even though the management of emotions in half-day trips is limited by time, such management plays an important role in the quality of the customer service delivered and the way clients experience the activity has a strong emotional component.

The emotional appeal of the white-water rafting activity begins in the way the activity is advertised and affected by many variables such as previous experiences of clients, the river's level, and the difficulty and duration of the trip. Indeed, the way guides deal with and manage emotions in multi-day trips is different from the way they deal in half-day trips. However, to Hochschild (1983), independent of the emotional labor activity or the duration of the interaction between clients and workers there are just two ways to manage emotions: deep acting or surface acting. In a research carried out with multi-day adventure guides, Sharpe (2005) asserts that both ways of acting are present in the guides' workdays. Emma and Rick, participants of Sharpe's (2005) research, emphasise that they try to smile all the time as a way to generate fun (surface acting). Meanwhile Scott tries to manipulate his emotions in order to create a sincere and authentic environment for the clients. Deep (section 6.3.2) and surface (section 6.3.3) acting are tools that white-water rafting guides use to manage emotions in order to deliver a more authentic and genuine experience in the eyes of the clients.

6.3.1 Authenticity and/or multiplicity of selves: To have or not to have?

“Although we have long been inclined to think of outdoor adventure as a deep reality, we must realize that the authenticity we associate with outdoor adventure is of our own invention” (Sharpe 2005, p.47)

Authenticity is something that people desire within themselves and in the expression of others representing the free expression of the self without regard for emotional display norms (Sloan, 2007). In tourism, some studies (Crang 1996; Hughes 1995; McIntosh and Prentice 1999) have developed the concept of authentic tourism, but according to Steiner and Reisinger (2006) authentic tourism is not about the consumption of the real, but a personal experience that contributes to the sense of identity. Actually, one of the main assumptions of Hochschild (1983) is that humans have a core-identity, a character that guides people's

feeling and actions, a self that represents the essential reality of the individual. However, recent studies (Holstein and Gubrium 2000; Gergen 2000) have posited that postmodern life is contributing to a fragmentation and multiplication of the self that pluralises identity and implies a simultaneous diversification of relationships. Such fragmentation of identity contributes to the possibility of new selves according to the different social situation but also to the conflict between different selves affecting inter and intrapersonal relationships.

Indeed, Hochschild (1983) claims that the speeding up in the airline industry has been the main cause of inauthentic feelings among flight attendants because it has transformed the deep and affective interpersonal relationship between clients and flight attendants into something superficial, artificial and meaningless for the people involved. Such artificial and meaningless relationship is the source of flight attendants' inauthentic feelings and according to them a false manifestation of their selves (Hochschild 1983). In the case of adventure guides, Sharpe (2005) found that even if they needed to play different roles and act in a different way each trip they did not consider their actions as false because "they [adventure guides] likely saw the trip persona as another equally true manifestation of who they really were" (p.47).

Guides are conscious of the multiplicity of selves that they comprised and of identities that they need to perform. Salim (23 years old, guiding since 2007), for example, knew that in front of the clients he could not show his fearful self but according to Sharpe (2005) this hidden action did not represent an inauthentic self: "When you are nervous it is a kind of two faces, and there's one that you really don't wanna show" (Salim, 23 years old, guiding since 2007). In the same way Octavio (27 years old, guiding since 2002) changed from an introverted to an extroverted self when he was performing the guiding role: "When I am rafting I need to be more extroverted, that's part of the job, when I need to do a safety talk for 80 people... I'm not really an extroverted guy". In this case, and corroborating with Sharpe's (2005) position, the emotion management was not associated with an increased feeling of inauthenticity, a point that was previously verified by research (Erickson and Wharton 1997; Erickson and Ritter 2001) where white-water rafting guides showed little commitment to the idea of a core self.

From this perspective guides may have multiple personal and professional 'selves' that are exposed in different ways according to the roles that are performed. To Hochschild (1983) through the imposition of rules and training organisations control indirectly the way workers manage their emotions and project their worker self. According to the emotional

labor theory in order to achieve and keep a professional face, workers manage their emotions in two different ways: deep acting and surface acting.

6.3.2 Deep acting

To be ‘authentic’ is the main reason for deep acting, involving the management of emotion in an organisational environment. Removing the self from the job is one of the suggestions made by Hochschild (1983) to facilitate deep acting. According to Van Dijk *et al* (2011) this is a way to manipulate emotions to parallel those ‘real’ emotions embodied in the experience. Actually, Hochschild (1983) presented two main ways to achieve deep acting: the exhortation of a feeling or a trained imagination. The first one asks for an emotional evocation or suppression, while the second is inspired by images, thoughts and memories. White-water rafting clients expect to be scared but do not expect to have a fearful or nervous guide (Fluker and Turner 2000); clients need to trust in the guide because they know the risks that are involved in the activity. A guide that shows nervousness does not inspire confidence in view of the clients and consequently clients will not trust in his or her commands or guiding as evidenced by Ivan in section 6.2.2. Strong emotions such as fear or panic can be present in white-water rafting and Hochschild (1983) suggests that in moments of strong emotion it is impossible to ‘put on’ a face: a separation between the real self and work self is required. In moments of strong emotions, when surface acting is not adequate to hide feelings, a deep acting is necessary. In fact a case happened during the summer season 2009/10 on a day of very high water on the Shotover River. It was the first time the guides were running the rapid Mother-In-Law that season:

“Mother-in law is a rapid that they run just when the flow is so high that it is impossible to use the tunnel, so the trip needs to follow the natural course of the river through this rapid. The rafts stopped meters before the entrance of the tunnel where a decision about which course to run was to be made by the trip leader. Trip leader today was Rafael. All the guides were anxious about the possibility of running Mother-in-Law for the first time this season. Maurice said to our crew that he was anxious as well but the river where he works in Iceland has a very high flow, so he is more habituated to this kind of environment. Guides were looking to each other waiting for signs communicating what they should do. Rafael decided that

the safest way was through Mother-in-Law. While all the guides were very happy, they were apprehensive at the same time. There was an anxious element in their faces. Salim was close to me and I asked what he was feeling and he said: 'I'm bloody nervous but I can't feel like that because I'm a guide, let's do it!' (Observation Notes - 42nd day)

It was impossible for Salim to just smile and show confidence to his clients because he knew that the chance of flipping was very high and he did not have enough experience to run such rapid without error, so through deep acting he could perform and work better with his and clients emotions. When Salim admitted that he "can't feel like that" he was indicating an attempt to change his inner feelings. In this case Salim should have followed what Hochschild (1983 p.135) believes is the only way to salvage a sense of self-esteem, by defining his job as 'illusion making' and not taking it too seriously. Salim was trying to transform a wish for confidence into a genuine attainment of confidence; knowing what he was feeling and his attempt to show and feel something else agrees with the concept of deep acting that transforms the appearance of nervousness into a courage face. That day Salim flipped on Mother-in-Law and the clients went to the shop and made a formal complaint to the manager saying that they did not feel confidence in their guide. The next day Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988) said that some clients from that trip were in the shop after the trip commenting that they were not comfortable with their guide because he said that was the first time he was running Mother in Law. According to Kraus, clients said that they did not feel confidence in their guides and to Kraus this can be a problem for the company. Kraus told me guides need to show that they have the total control of the situation and that he will talk to some of the guides to try to avoid this point next time. In other words, guides failed in their attempt to deep acting.

Indeed for white-water rafting guides, who are leaders in their rafts, there is a necessity to show appropriate emotions and as asserted by Humphrey (2002) the facial expressions influence the clients' perception of leaders' competence. Through deep acting guides try to change their feelings to manifest the required display. According to Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002) leadership is an emotional process that involves the display of emotions by leaders and an attempt to stimulate emotions in the members of the team.

Sometimes the necessity for deep acting during the work-time is not related to work events or leadership but to personal matters. Wharton and Erickson (1993) researched the

influence of emotion management in different social roles and assert that: “ Emotion management is an aspect of both work and family roles that becomes problematic for individuals when the level of emotion management is high or when the type of emotion management required in one domain conflicts with that required in another” (p.483). Wharton and Erickson (1993) identified points of intersection in the emotional aspects involved in these two social spheres (work and family) and in a similar way white-water rafting guides, sometimes, need to deal in the workplace with emotional situations originated at home. Maurice, for example, uses what Hochschild’s (1983) calls ‘deep acting’ to put aside personal problems to focus only on white-water rafting and the excitement of running river rapids:

“The personal problems get left as soon as you step on to river, for me I just switch off and I try to forget everything, all the bad feelings, you need to look forward to go to work, if you look forward and excited to go to work you will gonna [sic] forget all the bad things.” (Maurice, 33 years old, guiding since 2001)

The deep acting in Maurice’s quote is represented by the idea of ‘switching’ the focus of his feelings and thinking about the excitement of running a river. To “switch off” the negative feelings entails not just a change of face and smile, but a deeper psychological process that can be replaced by surface acting that is more akin to impression management based on the concept proposed by Goffman (1959) in his dramaturgical analysis of front-stage and backstage.

6.3.3 Surface acting

In Hochschild’s (1983 p.37) words “the body, not the soul, is the main tool of trade” in surface acting. The example used by Hochschild (1983) is the actor which uses the body to evoke emotions such as passion, but in reality the actor is just acting and not feeling. Surface acting is the art of using appearance to communicate to, or stimulate in, someone else an emotion. In surface acting the actor does not try to ‘change’ his or her inner feelings and projection is limited to an external image. Peter (25 years old, guiding since 2004) emphasises that it is more important to look confident and show confidence to your clients that actually feel confident during white-water rafting trips:

“It is more important they [rafting guides] look and act confident than actually feel confident themselves.... As far as your crew goes it doesn’t really matter what you feel confident or not, some guides aren’t as confident as others but they can still run rapids just as well. If you don’t appear confident to your crew, your crew won’t behave as well as they could which then... you know... coincides with maybe having more accidents on the river because they are not paddling well. It’s a masquerade face.... It’s almost like performing...”

Studies about the use of facial expressions to show emotions or to achieve practical goals are older than the emotional labor theory itself (Goffman 1959; Brown 1968; Brown 1970; Leary and Kowalski 1990) and can be influential to understand how and why workers manage their emotions. White-water rafting guides sometimes change the way they express their emotions to achieve some goals including to create a feeling of security. According to Etan (28 years old, guiding since 2007) white-water rafting guides need to change their face if they are feeling emotions that are not pertinent to their position as leaders. Etan compares this strategy to the one used by poker players who try to hide their emotions: “You [guide] can’t show your emotions too much, you are not very convincing if you look scared. You need to have your poker face on”. As verified in Etan’s words, guides usually ‘put on’ faces in order to hide some emotions and show others. This surface acting is called “professional face” by some of the guides, while for others it is a show face that needs to be performed to satisfy the customer.

“I think it’s like a show, you get your clients and you put a face on, it’s all about clients you want to keep them happy. It’s like a show.” Scott (24 years old, guiding since 2006)

The performance of faces emerged as one of the most recurrent themes in guides’ discourse and in the observation notes made during the fieldwork. The professional face that will be explored in more depth in the next section is representative of external appearance and it is the aim and outcome both of the deep and surface acting techniques proposed by Hochschild (1983).

6.3.4 Professional face

Among all the professional aspects that need to be performed by guides in their contact with clients the professional face is one of the most interesting mainly because it is related to personal feelings and also because some studies cited this performance as one possible cause of emotional burnout²⁰ (Pugliesi 1999; Zapf *et al* 1999; Zapf *et al* 2001; Erickson and Ritter 2001). To Hochschild (1983) the professional face is a consequence of the surface and deep acting performances. As stated in the sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 the difference is that in surface acting the professional face is a change at physical level only while, in deep acting, the professional face is a consequence of a change in the inner feeling. In contrast to Hochschild (1983), Leary and Kowalski (1990) believe that the professional face is a tool that workers need to use in order to perform the organisation ideals and to manage the impressions clients' form of them. Such impression management perspective is present in Oliver's (operational manager, 51 years old) opinion that agrees with the idea that the display of the professional face is part of the guiding job. To Oliver the professional face helps guides to keep just the work appearance in front of clients, separating themselves from the private personal world and its problems:

“Facial performance can be part of the job, you put on a face for a day, you have to be able to do that... if you had a bad day, or if you had problems at home, you gotta be able to come to work and put on a face for the clients, you can't bring your bad day to work, the clients pay a lot of money to do a trip and they expect to have a good time.”

Before becoming a manager Oliver worked for many years as a white-water rafting guide so he knows exactly how hard it can be to perform a professional face, particularly when guides are not in a good personal mood and when they are not fully focused on the job. According to Oliver “one of the worst parts is when you need to put on that face because you don't wanna be there for some reason”, but this is part of their job and guides are conscious of this requirement. For this reason Nelson (24 years old, guiding since 2006) affirms that: “Sometimes I'm not that happy but when the customer arrives you need to be ‘yeah boy’ and put on a bit of the show”. Oliver's and Nelson's positions show that white-water rafting

²⁰ See section 6.4

guides sometimes do not want to perform the emotions required in their work environment. It is also interesting to observe the awareness that some guides, such as Nelson, have about their acting, so in these cases the professional face cannot be considered an alienating outcome wherein their own personality is lost, but rather the result of instruments (surface and deep acting) that need to be used in the guides' work to satisfy their clients and to follow institutional protocols. Researchers have found self-alienation to be one of the results of intense performance of emotional labor (Hochschild 1983; Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Pugliesi 1999), however according to the interpretation of Shuler and Sypher (2000), while emotional labor is *per se* an alienating process, workers are aware of and accustomed to have their time and behaviour (including their professional face) controlled by the organisation.

From the company's perspective the professional face can be demanding but it is something important because it is part of the product they sell and needs to be performed. The professional obligation to act the appropriate part is necessary mainly when something away from the job context can influence guides' performance on the river. In this context, it is not allowable to bring personal problems to the work environment:

“If you are having problems at home or having problems with someone away from work that's gotta stay away, when you are doing your job, you gotta do your job, you just gotta put [it] to the back of your mind, your mind are always thinking about it, but you gotta still do your job here.” Alan (26 years old, guiding since 2003)

The performance of the professional face was observed during the fieldwork and it has an evident connection with Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor concept. The first evidence of professional face was given in the ninth day of fieldwork, the day after a party organised by one of the guides to celebrate his birthday. Paloma, one of the female guides, was looking very tired:

“After the party some guides looking tired this morning. I asked Paloma about her face this morning and she replied that this was her normal face every morning and that she hates waking up early in the morning, immediately after the bus with clients arrived and she smiled to

me and said: 'this is my game face' and went meet the clients."
(Observation Notes – 9th day)

Paloma's feeling does not match with what clients and the organisation want and expect from a guide and that is why a 'different' face is presented. The professional face can be represented by a friendly smiling face, but the smile is just part of a professional behaviour that can involve a talkative approach; grateful recognition at the end of the trip; the projection of a calm, confident and reliable temperament as well as trustworthy tone of voice and polite attitudes. This is similar to what Price *et al* (1995) found in their research with white-water rafting guides and what the Extended, Affective, Intimate (EAI) Service Encounters cited as key influences upon clients satisfaction. Indeed, in this attempt to achieve clients' satisfaction guides are not just a simple organisational tool but, actually they are active characters in this satisfaction process and part of the product that is sold. From this perspective the guides' routine, the different kind of relationship that is created between guides and clients and the guides' technical and emotional performance, including their professional face, is orientated towards clients' satisfaction. However, the necessity to perform a role that satisfies clients can also be stressful for workers. Hochschild (1983) believes that the professional face created using surface and deep acting can be the source of estrangement feelings and burnout.

6.4 BURNOUT AND EMOTIONAL LABOR CONSEQUENCES.

Hochschild (1983) points out that in jobs requiring emotional labor the psychological consequences can lead to stress and burnout. However, burnout can also be originated by physical stress (Maslach 1982). White-water rafting guiding has definitely a physical component that is explored as a possible source of burnout in the section 6.4.1. On the other hand, section 6.4.2 explores the psychological/emotional elements involved on the guiding activity and perceived by the guides as possible cause of burnout.

6.4.1 The Physical Component

Previous research has emphasised the physicality of the white-water rafting activity (Buckley 2006) and the possibilities of injuries originated by this activity (Bentley *et al* 2001; Bentley and Page 2001; Fiore 2003). However, to white-water rafting guides white-water

rafting can cause a physical burnout which may lead to injuries and psychological harm. Leonel (26 years old, guiding since 2003), for example pointed out that physical burnout as well as mental burnout, can be present in guide's life:

“It is a physical burnout, but mentally it is hard sometimes to do the same things over and over again.” Leonel (26 years old, guiding since 2003)

During the six weeks of the first phase of fieldwork (summer season 2008/09) one of the main topics in guides' conversations was related to burnout. The first phase of data collection was made during the final months (February-March) of the season: “Nelson told me that this is the best period to study emotions in rafting guides because they are tired. It is the end of the season, the river is low and consequently the trips are not so nice for them as it is in November or December” (Observation Notes – 4th day). The long rafting season in New Zealand (from October to April) is easily recognised as one of the main causes of burnout and this agrees with Pines and Aronson (1988) who defined burnout as the state of physical, emotional and mental exhaustion caused by the involvement with an activity for a long time. According to Maslach (1982) there is a general agreement that burnout is something individual and an internal psychological experience that can be caused by physical fatigue. The physical exhaustion was observed during the 24th day of fieldwork when during the lunch time “Ernest was complaining about his crew, he was feeling painful and exhausted after the morning trip when his team couldn't paddle very well and he needed to put in a lot of physical effort. Ernest said that he was tired and asked the other guides to rest for awhile before the afternoon trip” (Observation Notes – 24th day).

Each trip can be physically harder or easier according to variables such as the raft size, the group of clients, and the river flow (see section 5.3.2). The group of clients and how they paddle, especially with regards to their skills of coordination, can also influence guides' physical wear. One of the main points about physical tiredness is that the end of the summer season in Queenstown coincides with the decrease of the Shotover flow level. After a period of high flows in November and December when the snow is melting down from the mountains, the last month of the summer and the beginning of autumn is very dry in Central Otago region and consequently the river level goes down requiring an extra physical effort from white -water rafting guides. According to George (30 years old, guiding since 2008) “in

high flows the guide doesn't paddle much, the river does the job". It is the paddling aspect present in George's observation that is one of the components related to physical burnout. On the other hand when the river's level is low the activity become more physical but also the trip takes longer demanding more emotional labor and consequently increasing the possibility of burnout.

6.4.2 The Emotional Component

Cordes and Dougherty (1993) defined burnout as a stress syndrome characterised by emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and diminished personal accomplishment. According to Wharton (1993) those who performed emotional labor under conditions of low job autonomy or high job involvement were more likely to suffer burnout. To Dalton (27 years old, guiding since 2001) the high number of trips per week, sustained over a period of several months can justify states of psychological/mental burnout:

"In this river you get burnout quicker on because you do two trips a day... here you go down the same river twice, and you do the same talk twice... I'm mentally and emotionally tired and is been a long season, I'm doing 10 trips a week, every week since September [2008- this interview made in March/2009]."

Dalton explains his plans for the future and why he is changing job:

"Next season I'll start jet boating, and I will just work with jet boating for the next two years. I love rafting, I love rafting rapids, I'm just tired of bla, bla, bla, too much talking and the same questions." Dalton (27 years old, guiding since 2001)

Similar to the decision made by Dalton and in order to avoid burnout problems, Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988) works as a white-water rafting guide just in summer months dedicating the winter season to work as a ski patroller. To Kraus this is a way to "recharge energy", it is a break from the routine of the previous 6 months:

“I’ve been seasonal all my life and it [a change of job during the winter] is healthy for my brain, because I know for a fact if I would work summer and winter, like some of the guides like Rafael for example, that it will not be healthy for me I could not do that, because it would be too monotonous, same thing all the time, I need to use my brain for something else and keep learning and the winter does that for me because I need to go study the snow, and the snow is gonna be different every winter and when I come back after the winter my energy is way back up again and I’m ready to motivate all the guides again.” Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988)

The burnout aspect of adventure leaders and guides is explored by Priest and Gass (2005) who emphasise that the high commitment in the service to others can produce positive results for clients, but can be expensive for guides considering that long hours of physically exhausting work and the emotional work required by clients are laborious. Priest and Gass (2005) also admit: “As outdoor leaders, we often pour so much effort into others that we neglect to take care of ourselves” (p.306). Furthermore the necessity of talking with clients commonly features in guides’ discourse and is sometimes associated with their psychological tiredness. Hence, the repetition of information and the necessity of interaction are highlighted as burnout causes:

“Rafting guiding is exhausting physically, your body, and mentally and socially, because it is something that requires talking with people and relating with them and trying to show them a good time, it’s kind of exhausting and is pretty easy to get burnout.” Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995)

According to Marcus (29 years old, guiding since 2006) “After you been talking with people all the day, at the end of the day you really don’t want to talk with anyone”. So, the necessity of spending time entertaining clients with talks is considered a burnout factor. Extra time with clients on the river is the characteristic of the white-water rafting activity in days of low flow, when trips usually take longer and consequently the interaction between clients and guides and the necessity to entertain clients is higher. With reference to this point, Kraus

analyses Nelsons' behaviour indentifying the reasons of his dissatisfaction and bad tempered comportment:

“Like Nelson, at the moment he's getting grumpy, he thinks [the contact with clients] is too long, Nelson is very shy, when the trip is 2 h and 15 min and not 1h and 45 min, there's one [extra] half hour, now you need to start to talk more to people, because if you just say the same things you've been saying you got [sic] big times where you are not talking, and there's a lot of pressure on Nelson and I know that is why he's grumpy because he needs to talk a little bit more to people.” Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988)

Consequently, when guides start to feel uncomfortable or their comportment shows that there is something wrong, the coordinator of the guides and the operational manager need to implement strategies to re-organise the work environment in order to avoid problems with clients and damage to the company image. Oliver (operational manager, 51 years old) described an episode when the company fired five guides claiming unprofessional behaviour: “Three years ago we had a bad summer. We had a group of guides that were here for too long and went burnout and they caused a lot of trouble”. About the same episode Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988) affirmed:

“Two or three season ago they had to fire about five of them, because they were a little group that were hanging out together all the time and were good until a certain time...they started to get really tired and they would not see it, really tired...”

In this example the same episode was analysed in a similar way by Oliver and Kraus. Oliver used the word burnout in his interview while Kraus said that the guides get tired. However it is not clear if this tiredness was physical, emotional, psychological, or even a combination. It is also not clear if the management of emotions had impact in this burnout effect even if previous research indicates that this is a possibility (Hochschild 1983; Erickson and Ritter 2001; Zapf *et al* 2001).

Considering the nature of the job, it seems that burnout for white-water rafting guides is a combination of factors (emotional, physical, and psychological), as corroborated by Zeta (33 years old, guiding since 2003) the “hardest part (of this job) is the physical and emotional or mental exhaustion”. Cordes and Dougherty (1993) and Deery *et al* (2002) found that fatigue and tiredness as well as lack of emotional resources such as depersonalisation and the emotional detachment from situations are symptoms of emotional exhaustion. To Maslach and Jackson (1986) emotional exhaustion is not synonymous with burnout but just one of its three components, which also include reduced personal accomplishment and depersonalisation. However, evidence relating to reduced personal accomplishment and depersonalisation as described by Maslach and Jackson (1986)²¹ did not emerge in the data collected. The lack of evidence for reduced personal accomplishment and depersonalisation in the current empirical research data corroborates Hochschild (1983) with regard to her emphasis on emotional burnout as the main negative consequence of emotional labor. On the other hand, evidence was found that emotional labor may increase job satisfaction, an aspect that was not considered by Hochschild (1983) and will be discussed in the next chapter (section 7.5).

6.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored aspects related to the emotional labor of white-water rafting guides. The different roles performed by white-water rafting guides as well as their relationship with clients were analysed. The entertainer/fun provider, the ‘guardian angel’ and the emotional provider are the interpersonal roles discussed in this chapter and involve the emotions of clients and guides. Emotional aspects are also presented in the specific cases of stressful relationships between clients and guides as cited in section 6.2.4. The guides’ necessity to perform emotional roles and the management of emotions (surface and deep acting) can cause, according to Hochschild (1983), estrangement and increase inauthentic feelings. These important components of the emotional labor theory discussed in section 6.3 are necessary to generate an external appearance that is an organisational requirement associated with the concept of professionalism, projected in the professional face (6.3.4). However, the necessity of a professional face and the generation of inauthentic feelings can

²¹ See section 2.5

have consequences for workers. To Hochschild (1983) the consequence is burnout (6.4) that for white-water rafting guides has interrelated components (physical, emotional, and psychological). Emotional labor is definitely part of guides work and some of the components pointed out by Hochschild (1983) were identified in the interviews and participant observation although the participants presented other characteristics that were neither explored nor denoted by Hochschild (1983). These characteristics that go beyond Hochschild's (1983) model will be explored in the following chapter.

7 – WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES BEYOND HOCHSCHILD

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 discussed aspects of emotional labor such as deep and surface acting and the performance of a professional face that were presented as part of white-water rafting guides' work. The previous chapter also highlighted connections between emotional labor and burnout, a relationship that was previously suggested by Hochschild (1983). However, the white-water rafting guides also presented characteristics and raised points that were not discussed by Hochschild (1983). This chapter starts by exploring the emotional lifestyle of white-water rafting guides and some emotional aspects involved in the way these 'workers' perceive their activities (section 7.2).

Guides who participated in this research are not a homogeneous group. Actually, they are clearly divided into two different groups that in this chapter will be identified as 'Occupational Devotees' (section 7.3.1) and 'Lifestylers' (section 7.3.2). The division into these two categories is based both on their behaviour as guides and also beyond the workplace (section 7.4). The data collected indicates that white-water rafting guides keep performing emotional labor even if away from their work environment, in their social life and encounters with clients outside the workplace. Finally, the presence of job satisfaction as a consequence of the management of emotions and customer service is discussed (section 7.5). This issue was not considered by Hochschild (1983).

Overall, this chapter presents data that conflicts with or that were ignored by the emotional labor theory presented by Hochschild (1983) in order to offer a deeper comprehension of the management of emotions by white-water rafting guides.

7.2 EMOTIONAL LIFESTYLE OF WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES

“The lifestyle [of the rafting guide] is fantastic. It is a very social job, so you meet new people all the time. You work with a variety of people, you make a lot of lifetime friends, and have the possibility to travel to other places, and see other cultures.” Oliver (operational manager, 51 years old)

When Oliver asserts that the lifestyle of white-water rafting guides is fantastic he is referring to lifestyle as something that connects work and other social activities such as travel and networking or friendship. It seems that according to Oliver the concept of lifestyle is something that goes beyond work and leisure exactly because it involves the transformation and unification of both settings. Stebbins (1997) points out that lifestyles offer to their participants' social identity which helps them to be recognised by the society they are inserted for the distinct way of life they share. To Bourdieu (1984) lifestyles represent the patterns of perception, taste and behaviour that are shared by a collectivity. "Lifestyle is the distinctive pattern of personal and social behaviour characteristic of an individual or group" (Veal 1993, p.247) and each lifestyle can be better described by members than by observers from different cultures influencing the methods of research that would be biased if based exclusively on observation. Indeed, interviews complemented the participant observation in this thesis to better understand the guide's lifestyle. Oliver, for example, has authority in the rafting lifestyle field considering that he worked as a white-water rafting guide and similarities between his opinion and the opinion of some of the guides is verified. Alan (26 years old, guiding since 2003) for example, feels lucky to work with something that he believes is a hobby and be paid to simply perform it: "At the end of the day I get paid to do my hobby, I get paid to have fun, and how many people can say that?". Similarly to Alan and his position of work as hobby and lifestyle Scott (24 years old, guiding since 2006) asserts that: "This is kind of a hobby, it is what I love to do, so my job is part of my lifestyle. To me this is not a job. This is part of my life."

To understand the idea of lifestyle for the white-water rafting guides it was necessary to understand previously how the different aspects of work and non-work are conceived as well as how common interests are shared, creating the rafting guiding culture and, within that, the 'occupational devotee' and 'lifestyler' subcultures. Also, lifestyle is connected to the forms of social and cultural life that influence attitudes and behaviours and that generate an idea of belonging to a specific social world. The white-water rafting guides' world is complex because as suggested by Ivan it "combines passion with lifestyle and enables me to work and travel to different countries and live life away from the conventions of everyday life". To be away from the conventions of everyday life show the search for liminal spaces that is present in white-water rafting guides (see section 7.3.2.1) For Stebbins (1997), occupations or a set of occupations can offer distinctive lifestyles just as readily as religions, membership of an

ethnic group, or shared interests. In this case the white-water rafting guides are part of the same community, they share the same interest in adventure activities, they work, have leisure and live together, their favorite environment is the natural environment, and the river is where they can express their shared interests and congruent lifestyles. Tau (24 years old, guiding since 2008) assert that she “cannot call this a job or work. Job is something boring. This is lifestyle”.

The lifestyle characteristics present among white-water rafting guides contrast with those described by Hochschild (1983) in her flight attendants. Indeed even if the attendants need to manage their emotions at work they are not emotionally attached to the task. When Ivan says that white-water rafting is passion and when Carmelo (38 years old, guiding 1995) asserts that “I love what I do, it is definitely my passion” they show how emotionally attached to the rafting lifestyle they are. Similarly to white-water rafting guides “most artists understand themselves as bohemians, living a lifestyle that is distinct and distinguished from the rest of society, especially the bourgeoisie and business” (Eikhof and Haunschild 2006, p.234). For Eikhof and Haunschild (2006) the bohemian life is marked by spontaneity, sporadic employment, lack of income, and by trying to enjoy life from day to day instead of accepting subordination to fixed schedules. The bohemians are passionate about their lifestyle that, even if it has been deprecated by society, defines their identity. To white-water rafting guides, their work is their lifestyle, is part of who they are, and it is also their identity and personality. It is an emotional lifestyle that involves the passion for the activity as pointed by Ivan and love as emphasised by Carmelo. This emotional lifestyle includes also their emotional performances on the river and in their social life even if white-water rafting guides are not a homogeneous group.

7.3 A HETEROGENEOUS GROUP

The white-water rafting guides interviewed and observed during the fieldwork share many common aspects such as the love for the outdoors and for the river. Data collected during the fieldwork indicates that white-water rafting guides, independent of their age and experience, share similar personal interests:

“These are my happy places [rafting base and the river], it is where I’m happy, I love rafting.” Ernest (29 years old, guiding since 2003).

“It’s a really nice job, for people who want to be outside, and have fun. I really enjoy it, being outside is the most important thing to me. The river is a spiritual place for me.” Tony (34 years old, guiding since 2002).

However, the way white-water rafting guides deal with the personal interests they share is not the same because they also have personal differences including their perception of their work, their work behaviour and their lifestyle. So, apart from the commonalities presented, guides also have differences in their behavior and conception of work that were not evident in previous research. For example, participants in Hochschild’s (1983) study and in other research on emotional labor (e.g., Tolich 1993; Leidner 1999; Mears and Finlay 2005) have to follow a standard behaviour in the workplace, their action is limited and there is no opportunity to develop creative work (Florida 2002). In this way, a homogeneous group of workers is posited, where the members behave always in a similar and standardised way, following strictly the organisational rules. The white-water rafting guides, unlike flight attendants and supermarket clerks, have an interaction with clients that can last from one hour up to many days. Moreover, when the trip is on the river, white-water rafting guides do not have external supervisors controlling their interaction with clients²². The guiding role is also less standardised and regulated in terms of behaviour and the guide can act according to his/her group of clients. There is an opportunity to work creatively through idiosyncratic acting. The heterogeneity of white-water rafting guides is also based on their personalities and in Queenstown during the 2008/09 and 2009/10 summer season it was possible to identify two different sub-cultures of white-water rafting guides: the ‘occupational devotee’ (Stebbins 2009) and the ‘lifestylers’.

7.3.1 ‘Occupational Devotee’

Stebbins (2004) defines occupational devotion as a “strong and positive attachment to a form of self-enhancing work, where the sense of achievement is high and the core activity (set of tasks) is endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work and leisure is virtually erased” (p. ix). The person that develops this devotion is called an ‘occupational

²² Every trip has a trip leader. The trip leader’s role is technical (e.g. how to approach the rapids) but the trip leader can/does not supervise the clients-guide relationship.

devotee', a person who "in working at the core activity, devotees realise a unique combination of strongly seated cultural values, among them, success, achievement, freedom of action, individual personality, and activity in the form of their job's core activities" (Stebbins 2009, p.768). The 'occupational devotee' finds self-fulfillment in her or his work, a work that may have roots in "serious" leisure (Stebbins 2009). Indeed to Stebbins (2009) devotee occupations owe their existence to serious leisure precursors such as amateurs becoming professionals and volunteers becoming organisational workers. Client-centered professionals such as white-water rafting guides are seen by Stebbins (2009) as possible performers of occupational devotion, and the data collected in the fieldwork shows that one of the sub-cultural groups of white-water rafting guides has the same characteristics as occupational devotees. This sub-group of rafting guides is characterised by their long years working in the white-water rafting industry, their position in the company (usually senior guides and trip leaders) and their commitment to organisational rules. These white-water rafting guides are usually married and instead of a transient lifestyle they are based in Queenstown all year around. The white-water rafting guides that are part of the category 'occupational devotee' are committed to the organisational goals and have a worker identity that is not always equivalent to their personal identity. One of the guides that can be classified as an 'occupational devotee' is Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988) who asserts that even after 20 years working as a guide, he still loves white-water rafting and being in the outdoors and active physically keeps him happy, with benefits of self-enrichment and fulfillment that are fused in the concept of a 'real job':

"The best part [of being a rafting guide] is being in the outdoors and being physically active and having adrenaline rushes every day. [What] keeps me happy, I think is that being in the wilderness, in the weather. Sometimes it's warm, sometimes it's cold and there's no routine... J [his wife] knows that this is a real job for me, that this is what I love to do."

Zeta (33 years old, guiding since 2002) is another senior guide who can be classified as an 'occupational devotee' and, for her, the division between work and serious leisure is blurred (Stebbins 2009). Maintaining that her work is 70% play, Zeta finds pleasure in it:

“As in any other job you have highs and lows, especially in peaks of seasons you work and work, but you always find pleasure in it...70% of time on this job is play and fortunately we get paid for it.”

Before a development stage is achieved and professionalism takes place, ‘occupational devotees’ were connected to amateurism, hobbyism or volunteerism. Such professionalism that also encompasses the face performance (section 6.3.4) is integrated into the guides’ behavior. Carmelo and Sonny are two other senior guides included in the sub-culture of ‘occupational devotee’. Carmelo, for example, emphasises that to be professional includes the capacity to clearly divide workplace from non-workplace - represented by the term “town”. Sonny is also a white-water rafting guide who re-establishes certain duality believing that the division between work and non-work is the result of maturity and that for early career guides this distinction is not common:

“I try to approach it very professionally and have a very clear division between work and town, but I know that is hard sometimes.” Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995)

“Nowadays I can divide what is work and non-work, I didn’t use to, but now I do, now I’m older I guess, I get out of the system and wanna I step away from it. When you are young this work defines you, it is what you are, and it is all about the river.” Sonny (41 years old, guiding since 1989)

Indeed, ‘occupational devotees’ transformed their serious leisure into a professional activity. ‘Occupational devotees’ have a specific setting for their professional performance maintaining the traditional duality between work and leisure. In the case of these white-water rafting guides, the setting is the river and they do not keep performing their occupational devotion in different places. In this division between settings the guides’ sub-group of ‘occupational devotees’ is similar to the flight attendant group presented by Hochschild (1983) in terms of division between work and non-work. If in one hand the workplace is seen as the place for acting, on the other the non-work place is where guides can stay away from acting as shown by Zeta and Marcus:

“Here [in this job] you go through faces.” Zeta (33 years old, guiding since 2002)

“After you were being talking with people all the day, at the end of the day you really don’t want to talk with anyone.” Marcus (29 years old, guide since 2006)

The sub-group of guides classified as ‘occupational devotees’ follow in terms of emotional performance the premises proposed by the emotional labor theory. There is a specific setting where the management of emotions has an exchange value and it is done to satisfy organisational rules and “is sold for a wage” (Hochschild 1983, p.7). In this perspective of the white-water rafting guiding activity (and the emotional labor) having an exchange (economical) value, Kraus in the 29th day of fieldwork said for example that he had to negotiate a fixed salary, instead of a per trip basis, with the company because he has family, because he has a son and could not deal with such economic uncertainty anymore. This is valid for the occupational devotees even though this group emerges typically through the professionalisation of serious leisure. On the other hand, another group of white-water rafting guides has different characteristics and the management of emotions is not compatible to the emotional labor conceptualisation. This group is called “lifestylers”.

7.3.2 ‘Lifestylers’

The second sub-group of white-water rafting guides identified in the fieldwork is the ‘lifestyler’. The ‘lifestylers’ also have the serious leisure as the basic ground to their social and emotional behaviour. Indeed, to Worthington (2006) participants in serious leisure structure their lives according to their leisure lifestyle(s). The ‘lifestylers’ have white-water rafting as their serious leisure activity but typically they are single and young guides in a junior position, with a transient lifestyle and living between four and six months in each hemisphere following the white-water rafting summer seasons. The ‘lifestylers’ are also characterised by their lack of possessions and their association with a wide circle of friends. Ivan, one of ‘lifestylers’, is a junior guides and he perceives his work as based on the transient and non-conventional lifestyle:

“This job for me combines passion with lifestyle and enables me to work and travel to different countries and live life away from the conventions of everyday life. It is an interesting life, it is exciting. Every day is different.” Ivan (31 years old, guiding since 2008)

Another similar point of view that is related to lifestyle and serious leisure comes from Scott another junior guide who started white-water rafting in 2006 but is just in his third season²³ guiding. Scott sees the guiding role as a hobby, as something that he loves to do and it is part of his lifestyle:

“This is kind of a hobby. This is what I love to do, so my job is my lifestyle. To me it’s not a job, it is part of my life.” Scott (24 years old, guiding since 2006)

Maurice, for example who is still a transient worker, asserts that after almost ten years working as a white-water rafting guide he still has not any kind of goods such as house or car but at the same time he can do something that only a few can understand: “experience life through being on the river”:

“I don’t own a house, a car, I don’t own anything really, but I came to work, I go rafting, my lifestyle is based around rafting, be in the outdoors, trying to keep fit, healthy, just experiencing life through being on the river.” Maurice (33 years old, guiding since 2001)

The ‘lifestylers’ are also characterised by the high number of friends they have around the world, people that usually share the same transient way of life and affinities. Oliver, the operational manager of the company where the data was collected, was a transient white-water rafting guide in his earlier years and he asserts that these lifetime friends are one of the attractions of such a lifestyle (see section 7.2). This point is corroborated by Scott who overcomes the absence of family with friends:

²³ Scott had an injury in 2007 and was away of the rafting activity for almost 3 years. In this period he decided to go to university and graduate in Tourism Management.

“I think if you wanna keep your lifestyle you need to go where your work takes you, you make friends so you are never alone, I miss my family but I’m gonna see them again.” Scott (24 years old, guiding since 2006)

Many of the ‘lifestylers’ friends are their workmates and Salim (23 years old, guiding since 2007), for example, explains that this is usual because “Queenstown has a really transient population, quite hard to make friends”. However, it is not just that the population of Queenstown is transient but the guides themselves are not based in the same place long enough to establish friendship links with someone away from the rafting community. This continuous transition between places and the lack of attachment with local community suggests that these guides are almost in a ‘state of holiday’, constantly in a liminal space, in a transitory movement between seasons and in a link between liminality, seasonality and landscape (Olwig 2005) (section 7.3.2.1). The liminal space is also where social transgressions take place and in the ‘lifestylers’ culture these deviant behaviors are related to parties, alcohol and sex sometimes involving white-water rafting clients (section 7.4.1). Such involvement between worker and client outside the work environment and the possibility of emotional labor performance beyond the workplace are not explored in the theory proposed by Hochschild (1983).

7.3.2.1 ‘Lifestyler’ and liminality

According to Wickens and Sonmez (2003) travelers experience a liminal world, a non-ordinary world, that enables them to pursue some pleasures that could not be achieved in a routinised everyday life. The concept of liminality is connected to the need of uncertainty and has been employed to identify the transitory space between what is known and what is unknown (Nisbet 1969). This space between the traditional and the non-traditional universes is the space for liminal experiences defined as “the metaphorical crossing of some imagined spatial or temporal threshold” (Pritchard and Morgan 2006, p.764). Inserted in this liminal space and active participant of liminal experiences is the tourist who has also been defined as a liminal person in a threshold state (Ryan and Hall 2001). However, the tourist is just one example of liminal actor and the ‘lifestylers’ group of white-water rafting guides can also be considered liminal workers. ‘Lifestylers’ are travelers working in a liminal space and,

paradoxically, the place they consider home is the place where they go during holidays. Ivan (31 years old, guiding since 2008), for example, said that when he is at home in Switzerland that is the time he has to relax with his family before travel to a different place for a new rafting season (Observation Notes – 43rd day). Ivan is different from the ‘traditional’ tourist who leaves home to go during its holiday in a non-ordinary place. As a transient liminal worker Ivan has home as the place to go during his holidays meanwhile he travels to different destinations for ‘work’.

Ivan is not the only ‘lifestyler’ who maintains a way of life in transitory spaces. From the group of 26 guides who worked in the summer season of 2008/2009 seven were in Queenstown during the following winter and just six were working as white-water rafting guides. In informal conversation with other guides during the summer season 2009/2010 guides mentioned their need to travel and change location in order to keep working with white-water rafting. As noted by Scott in the previous section (7.3.2) “I think if you wanna keep your lifestyle you need to go where your work takes you...”. However the notion of liminality goes beyond the simplistic concept of transitory spaces and it is according to Preston-Whyte (2004) a step towards the extraordinary, towards something different from the mundane. According to Pritchard and Morgan (2006) liminality is associated with risk and adventure for some people and is seen as threatening and dangerous by others in an inter-subjective conceptualisation of spaces, a transitional territory between departure and encounter.

Queenstown is this liminal space for ‘lifestylers’; the space where every 6 months guides encounter each other and share their experiences before leaving again for another country. Due to its transient population and seasonality Queenstown is the space of the known and unknown. Queenstown is also the limbo between ‘home’ and away, it is home because guides establish themselves there for some months every year. They know all the restaurants and bars, and they have friends around, but at the same time it is just a transitory space between seasons. Pritchard and Morgan (2006) suggest that liminal and transgressive spaces are intertwined and the data presented by the white-water rafting guides corroborates such observation. To be in a liminal space can influence the behaviour of guides and the next section describes the life of guides, both ‘lifestylers’ and ‘occupational devotees’, beyond the workplace including their conduct that has been seen as socially deviant, involving alcohol, parties and sex.

7.4 WHITE-WATER RAFTING GUIDES BEYOND THE WORKPLACE/TIME

The difference between ‘occupational devotees’ and ‘lifestylers’ is evident when situations beyond the workplace are taken into consideration. ‘Occupational devotees’ differ from ‘lifestylers’ in the way work, non-work and consequently their interrelationships are conceived. Dalton (27 years old, guiding since 2001), for example, is one of the guides who tries not to deal with work issues during his free time: “I definitely keep home separate from work. What happens at home, that happens outside work, and work is work. Deal with what happens at work, at work”. A similar position is presented by Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988) who after more than 20 years working as a white-water rafting guide has no intention of mixing work and non-work: “This is my job, this is what I do for living and when I go home it is finished, I don’t go around as a rafting guide”. For Zeta (33 years old, guiding since 2002) her free time is never completely disconnected from her work, considering her partner Phil is one of the white-water rafting guides in the same company, but she believes that: “at home is my mental time out or verbal time out”. So, it seems that for ‘occupational devotees’ beyond the workplace a different life exists, a different personality based in different behaviors, leaving the acting to be performed on the rafting base. On the other hand for ‘lifestylers’ the performance of the white-water rafting role is present also beyond the workplace and work time. Genaro and Etan, for example, were not working in the afternoon of the 21st day of fieldwork but they decided to go kayaking with the rafting group.

The example presented during the 21st day of fieldwork shows the decision made by Genaro and Etan to spend their free time on the river, kayaking concomitant to the white-water rafting trip. To spend their free time in the “work” environment, with workmates during the white-water rafting trip was what Genaro and Etan did. An intelligible and paradoxical connection between work and non-work times (between work and a leisure activity) is established and represents one possible way to explain how guides use their free time. This is paradoxical if leisure is considered as the time free from obligations (Kelly 1982; Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre 1989) and in the example there is a hidden or indirect obligation to help clients who might fall from the boat, and to perform the safety kayaker role. When asked about being a safety kayaker during his free time, and not being paid to do this job “Etan said he doesn’t care [to be a un-official and non paid safety kayaker], he said that he loves the river and that is funny when he is there with the team, and he is glad if he

can help in rescue situations” (Observation Notes – 21st day). In this example, the main motivation for Etan is the river and the social interaction with his friends (that are working) and the economic reward is not what he is looking for. It is also important to note the emotional connection with places such as the river that is a work place but also a social place and a playground: “when we saw the river from the Skippers Road, Ernest said: here we are this is our playground today” (Observation Notes – 13th day). So, for ‘lifestylers’ the workplace is also a social place, it is not just a place for work but also for pleasure, fun, and leisure.

In Hochschild (1983) the plane is the place where emotions are commodified and sold for a wage, for white-water rafting guides, both ‘lifestylers’ and ‘occupational devotees’, the river is not just a place to earn a wage, it goes beyond this capitalistic function. The concept of workplace assumes a different connotation for guides such as Carmelo who usually is on the river with friends during holidays. He has undertaken multi-day white-water rafting trips, camping, eating and drinking with his friends, during his holidays between seasons. Carmelo has pleasurable moments with people with whom he is affectionately connected, even when doing something that is also his professional occupation:

“Definitely enjoy going rafting in my free time, at home I do a lot of trips just with friends, multi-day trips for camping and that sort of thing.”

Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995)

It was also verified that beyond the workplace guides spend time in social activities. Bob uses part of his free time to deal with one of his passions: capoeira. Capoeira is a mix between martial arts and dance with uncertain origin but very common in the Brazilian culture. Bob learned capoeira in the United States and now he coordinates a group in Queenstown. During the fieldwork social interactions such as Bob and Genaro in a capoeira class; Tony, Sam and Sonny sharing a pizza; and guides drinking and talking about white-water rafting in pubs were observed. These examples suggest that workmates share their leisure time and Sonny (41 years old, guiding since 1989) explains this aspect justifying that: “Here in Queenstown 70 or 80% of my friends are guides”. Genaro also points out that white-water rafting guides usually share their leisure time because: “we have a common interest: the outdoor activities” Genaro (22 years old, guiding since 2008). The way white-water rafting guides organise and spend their free time depends on their personal interests. However, as emphasised by Genaro, one of their common interests is related to adventure and outdoor

activities, and in particular white-water rafting or kayaking. For this reason some of the leisure activities practiced by white-water rafting guides are coincidentally similar to their jobs and shared by other guides. It was also verified that guides, especially ‘lifestylers’, share time in social activities such as parties and happy-hours. Such aspect of sharing moments and social activities with ‘workmates’ can be seen as a product of the guides’ transient life and the consequently lack of opportunity to make friends from outside the workplace.

7.4.1 Parties, Sex, and Alcohol

In the second day of fieldwork Bob, one of the white-water rafting guides, affirmed that it is easy to find guides in pubs after the work. The daily happy-hour²⁴ that guides have after work was the main social activity observed in the rafting community in Queenstown. In 8 weeks of fieldwork it was verified that what Bob’s idea that it is easy to find guides in pubs and bars around Queenstown is a fact. However, happy-hours are not exclusive for ‘lifestylers’ and constitute one of the few social moments shared by both ‘organisational devotees’ and ‘lifestylers’. These two groups meet in pubs around 6p.m and as a community originated by a professional activity it is usual that their conversations relate to work issues:

“My first [rafting] trip [on the Shotover River] was with Alan but on the way between the base and the starting point I had a long conversation with Ivan, a Swiss in his first season as a guide. Ivan invited me for a couple of drinks after the trip... Tonight I went to one of the pubs in Queenstown for a happy-hour with some of the guides (Ernest, Tony, Ivan, Carmelo, Marcus, and Sonny), we talked about my first trip, the cold weather and Ivan explained to me that they have some internal rules. For example the prohibition of rafting guides to wear the company T-shirt after 10p.m (the penalty is to pay a jug of beer in the Jugs Night) [party that celebrates the end of the summer season].” (Observation Notes – 4th day)

During the happy-hour the guides started to show the different ways they connect leisure and work. If guides cannot use the company T-shirt after 10p.m this means that until 10p.m its use is allowed so usually the work uniform is also part of the non-work time. In

²⁴ Happy-Hours are social meetings (usually for drinks) in bars/pubs after the work hours.

addition, to use the company's uniform is a way to be identified as a member of a specific group or community. Moreover through the use of the company's T-shirt, white-water rafting guides can be recognised by their clients and guides' behaviour can have a positive or negative impact on the company's image. Consequently the fear that white-water rafting guides', and especially the 'lifestylers', misbehavior could possibly damage the company's image underlies Oliver's (operational manager, 50 years old) explanation: "We have a policy that they cannot go out night with the uniform, so basically they should not be associated with the company". Indeed, Tony (34 years old, guiding since 2002) recognises this point: "You may not think but sometimes when you are out of here [the rafting base] people that see you can associate you with the company". The constant association between the white-water rafting guide and the company evidenced by Tony shows how elements of work permeate in to guides' non-work moments of both 'occupational devotees' and 'lifestylers'.

Other connectors between work and leisure observed during the fieldwork were the 'jugs list'/'jugs night' and the Thursday's night. The mistakes guides do on the river or in their behaviour related to their job (for example to use the company T-shirt after 10 pm) are penalised with a determined quantity of jugs that need be paid during the party called 'jugs night'. The number and the type of mistakes are written in the 'Jugs List'. Similar connection between work and leisure is the Thursday night party when Rafael and Leonel play music in a pub and many white-water rafting guides show up to watch but also talk about rafting and their work day as observed in the 27th day of fieldwork:

"Every Thursday Rafael and Leonel play music in this pub and most of the guides go there to hang out together... most of them were there: Genaro, Bob, Octavio, Leonel, Paloma, Cristian, Rafael, Tony, Sam and Sonny... It was interesting to see how in the pub they use to stay together and obviously talk about rafting and their work day." (Observation Notes – 27th day)

The quote from the Thursday party shows 'occupational devotees' such as Cristian, Octavio and Rafael and 'lifestylers' such as Bob, Paloma, and Genaro together in the same social activity, sharing a non-work moment. However, even though a work element is present in their conversations and behaviour 'lifestylers' and 'occupational devotees' approach the Jugs Night and the weekly parties in different ways. While for the latter group these moments

are an opportunity to socialise with workmates, create a good work environment, and talk about work episodes such as accidents, for the ‘lifestylers’ these parties have a different connotation and provide an opportunity to drink, sometimes abusively, and charm clients (invited and selected during the trip by them). ‘Lifestylers’ use their guide status to charm and have sexual encounters with clients:

“Ernest is a River God, he has a lot of charisma, he use raft guide charm, he can charm anyone.” Salim (23 years old, guiding since 2007)

“You can sleep with a lot of women here at this job... they are here to have a good time and you are a rafting guide... there is this elevated status.” Leonel (26 years old, guiding since 2003)

The ‘lifestylers’, similarly to young adult travelers (Selanniemi 2003), are also looking for aesthetical experiences and the sexual encounters with unknown people are part of such experience in a liminal space; a non-ordinary world (Wickens and Sonmez 2003). To Fluker and Deery (2003) this search for pleasurable moments and sexual involvement can start during the trips and be extended to wider social life, and this was observed in Queenstown. An example was in the 33rd day of fieldwork when three clients were invited during the trip to join the guides in a pub that night. The clients joined the guides in the pub where Leonel and Rafael were playing music. That night it was observed Leonel and Bob kissing two of the clients. The guides used the guiding charm and talked about their rafting experiences, their adventures, and how exciting is the life of a white-water rafting guide in order to attract these clients to casual sexual encounters.

According to Regan and Dreyer (1999) the main reasons for casual sexual encounters include people’s sexual desire, physical attractiveness, spontaneous urges, interest in sexual exploration and experimentation, and the use of alcohol or drugs. Among all these reasons sexual desire was the reason most cited by men and the third most cited by women, for engagement in casual sexual encounters (Regan and Dreyer 1999). To Holyfield and Jonas (2003) the creation of a River God/Goddess identity elevates guides’ status and contributes to engage in casual sexual encounters with clients. According to Holyfield and Jonas (2003) the River God/Goddess has four characteristics: the construction of danger and risk, display of fearlessness and competence, ability to subordinate others via emotion management and

uninhibited behaviour. The white-water rafting guides' charm is exactly related to the God/Goddess identity and on the ability they have to show people something different. Guides are able to bring people to places where no other person can, and they use this status to reinforce the image and satisfy their own sexual desires. Etan (28 years old, guiding since 2007) asserts that sometimes the status of white-water rafting guides helps in flirting situations and that usually women prefer guides rather than just other tourists:

“If you are out on town looking for girls and you meet two of your clients and they are in town looking for girls, your status is gonna be higher than their status because you are guide, you are a rafting guide... you are an action hero and they are just another drunk English men so your status is gonna seem higher than theirs.”

So, the hero status is transposed to the leisure universe in order to satisfy personal interests. Guides usually talk to the trip leader and ask to have determined clients in their boat as a way to be close and well-placed to invite for post-work activities. There is a continuum line that involves white-water rafting, the pub and sex. According to Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995) all the guides go through this phase of use the rafting status to pick up girls, this being one of the main motivating factors in this industry:

“Sometimes for some of the young guides this job is all focused on picking up girls in town, or at least that is a big motivator factor to work as a rafting guide, I guess maybe everybody goes through that when they are first starting. But, I don't know, I try to approach it very professional [sic] and have a very clear division between work and town, but I know that is hard sometimes [to avoid such behaviour].”

However, to perform the guiding role away from the base in order to have sexual encounters with clients is not something that can be generalised for all the white-water rafting guides and it is specific to 'lifestylers'. Nelson (24 years old, guiding since 2006) asserts that nowadays he avoids to perform the guiding role away from the base but he admits that in the beginning of his career he used to perform the white-water rafting guide role with the

intention of engaging in sexual interactions with clients. Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988) gives an example of problems caused by the sexual intentions of guides with clients:

“I definitely try not to be a rafting guide out of here... I used to be when I first started here, trying to pull “chicks”, but not now... I never wear my rafting uniform out of night.” Nelson (24 years old, guiding since 2006)

“...[years ago] it was all about attracting girls from the day to the pub to go in bed with them, there’s this vicious circle and they [rafting guides] started to get really tired and they would not see it, really tired, to be really rude with girls.” Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988)

As well as the emotional and sexual involvement with clients, it was observed and verified by the interviews that there is a drinking culture among ‘lifestylers’. In a party in the 33rd day of fieldwork Ernest and Quentin had a lot of beer and were completely drunk. However, they were not working the day after. In fact the problem of guides’ alcohol consumption was presented before by Holyfield and Jonas (2003) is still a topic of concern in the white-water rafting industry. Kraus (40 years old, guiding since 1988), the guides’ coordinator was preoccupied about the excessive consumption of alcohol among guides: “Sometime I’m worried because if there is an accident on the river and they go study what this guy did yesterday: drinking, abusing...”, but at the same time Kraus knows that this is not a problem specific to their company rather a generic problem in the rafting industry: “It’s part of the industry. There are a lot of guys that have alcohol problem, usually the young and single ones”. ‘Lifestylers’ are the individuals that Kraus is referring to.

In this thesis the problem of excessive consumption of alcohol was identified, however the main causes of such high consumption is an issue for further research considering the necessity of a specific study about this broad topic. In spite of that Phil believes that one of the reasons for this kind of behaviour is related to irresponsibility and the young age of the guides:

“... guides drink too much and this is dangerous because if something happens in the river the first thing that police will do is the blood test.

Some of the guides are still very young and irresponsible.” (Observation Notes – 35th day)

Kraus, a the guide’s co-ordinator is worried about the alcohol consumption, and asserts that guides are immature and sometimes they do not think about possible consequences of their irresponsible attitudes that sometimes can cause personal and professional damage: “Kraus told me that some of the guides are very immature and sometimes irresponsible, they drink too much...” (Observation Notes – 22nd day). Kraus posits a correlation between irresponsible attitudes and an immaturity that, not necessarily but possibly, can be related to the age of guides and also to their personalities and social and cultural background. Again a parallel between the ‘lifestylers’ and young tourists in liminal spaces or in a ‘state of holiday’ can be established. Young tourists look for party places and are interested in a risky leisure lifestyle that according to Sonmez *et al* (2006) involves casual sex and excessive drinking in a manner similar to the ‘lifestylers’ and their ‘state’ of extended holiday. Also, the single status and the transient position of these young tourists (Bell 2002) resemble the characteristics of the ‘lifestyler’ guides.

In Queenstown a clear division was observed in the drinking behaviour of white-water rafting guides according to their age as well as their relationship status and mobility (depending on whether they travelled around the world following the summer season or were based just in one place). ‘Occupational devotees’ that have a work career presented a behaviour pattern with a lower tendency to excessive drinking than ‘lifestylers’ living in liminal spaces. Clear examples are 41 years old and married Sonny who affirms that excessive alcohol consumption: “is not anymore for me” and 55 years old Rafael who, prior to a barbecue party organised by the white-water rafting guides to celebrate the end of the Rafting Safety Course (46th day of fieldwork) asserted that he cannot deal with this kind of behaviour. Zuefle *et al* (2002) and Holyfield and Jonas (2003) attested that excessive consumption of alcohol is part of the rafting culture and can negatively affect their emotional performance or lead to behaviours such as public disorder that can damage the image of the company and cause incidents. However to generalise this problem is to ignore the differences between ‘occupational devotees’ and ‘lifestylers’ that has been explored in this chapter, differences that are not just significant to their professional activities but also evident beyond the workplace.

7.5 JOB SATISFACTION

Another aspect of the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983) that has been criticised in recent literature is the absence of job satisfaction as a consequence of emotional management performance (Tolich 1993; Wharton 1993; Pugliesi 1999; Steinberg and Figart 1999). To Tolich (1993) the provision of customer service can be a major generator of stress but also one of the biggest sources of satisfaction and Hochschild (1983) fails in not considering the management of emotions as a promoter of feelings of accomplishment. However, the relationship between emotional management and job satisfaction seems not to be as direct for white-water rafting guides as it is for the supermarket clerks in Tolich (1993). For white-water rafting guides this relationship is indirect and has as its mediator the customer satisfaction. In other words, guides manage their emotions in order to satisfy clients as emphasised in section 6.2.1 but also themselves because customers' satisfaction enhances guides' job satisfaction and sense of accomplishment:

“One of the best things about rafting is showing people a good day and at the end of the day when they say that this is one of the best things that they have done and are very grateful.” Marcus (29 years old, guiding since 2006)

“The best thing is the satisfaction on your clients' face, gives you a huge buzz.” Scott (24 years old, guiding since 2006)

Marcus and Scott asserted how important clients' satisfaction is for them and actually the whole product is organised to achieve this aim. In order to satisfy the clients, white-water rafting guides try to improve the service quality and offer to them “one of the best things that they have done”. Indeed, customer's satisfaction is highly connected to service quality in industries such as hospitality and tourism (Saleh and Ryan 1991; Pizam and Ellis 1999). To Hochschild (1983) the emotional labor is part of this service/product that is sold to the customer and, as being part of the product, its main objective is to achieve clients' satisfaction. When white-water rafting guides perceive that their clients are satisfied they feel

part of these feelings, so the whole activity (including the emotional labor) is worthwhile and raises a sense of accomplishment:

“The best part of the job is the sense of accomplishment and pride to do something well...” Leonel (26 years old, guiding since 2003)

This possibility of enhancing job satisfaction through the service performance (including an emotional performance) goes beyond Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory and constitutes an important difference between this thesis with white-water rafting guides and Hochschild's (1983) empirical research with flight attendants. For white-water rafting guides clients are not just clients in the capitalist sense. Clients are not just buyers of a specialised service but they are actually participants in the guides' lifestyle; they are not just elements of the Emotional Labor of white-water rafting guides but part of their Emotional Life (chapter 8).

7.6 SUMMARY

White-water rafting guides' characteristics that go beyond those explored by Hochschild (1983) have been discussed in this chapter in which guides are presented as being emotionally connected to their lifestyle and to their personal interests but also as a heterogeneous group. For the purpose of this thesis the guides were divided into two categories according to the way they presented themselves and behaved: the 'occupational devotees' and the 'lifestylers'. To analyse the white-water rafting guides as a heterogeneous group differs from the way Hochschild (1983) presented the flight attendants who were mainly considered as a homogeneous category. Discussion showed the different approaches of 'occupational devotees' and 'lifestylers' to the guiding activity that for them has different meanings. While for 'occupational devotees' there is a distance between work and non-work, 'lifestylers' tend to live and go to pubs with other white-water rafting guides, to be on the river in their holidays and days-off, to invite clients into their social lives, not excluding sexual encounters with clients. The 'lifestyler', similar to some young adult tourists, is immersed in a state of liminality, a non-ordinary world, pursuing pleasure through her or his personal interests, in this case adventure, white water, and rafting. In this way the white-water

rafting guides, and specially the 'lifestylers', are different from Hochschild's (1983) flight attendants whom are in an ordinary and routinised world.

Beyond the workplace 'lifestylers' keep playing the guiding role, they are still in contact with clients and consequently managing their emotions. The client is not just a person who buys a service but a participant of the rafting lifestyle, a person who shares moments with guides beyond the river. Such a perspective is not compatible with the division between emotion work and emotional labor made by Hochschild (1983) because the management of emotions loses its pure use or exchange values and takes on a broader meaning. The management of emotions is not purely an organisational or labor instrument but is also part of the guide's life. It constitutes an emotional life rather than emotional labor. A new concept that includes heterogeneous groups, that embraces people for whom work and non-work are not clearly divided, that can also originate job satisfaction is needed and will be presented in the next chapter under the name of Emotional Life.

8 - THE EMOTIONAL LIFE FRAMEWORK

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters discussed emotional aspects involved in white-water rafting guiding including the management of emotions at the workplace and the projection of a professional face, the emotional lifestyle of white-water rafting guides and the consequences of such emotional management. Chapter 7 also presented some aspects featuring in the rafting guides' lifestyle that contrast with, or are absent in, the emotional labor theory as proposed by Hochschild (1983). For this reason, this chapter suggests a new framework in which the management of emotions in the workplace, instead of being understood as a discrete phenomenon, is considered as part of a more holistic system. The Emotional Life is not an iconoclastic framework and does not exclude emotional labor but incorporates it within its interactions with other emotional components of life.

This chapter is divided into two main sections that will be justified using examples drawn from the empirical research with white-water rafting guides. The first part will present the Emotional Life framework, an exploration of relevant literature that inspired this model and a justification of why such a framework is important for analysing the complexities involved in the management of emotions. Secondly, the different components of the Emotional Life framework will be analysed, as well as their interrelations. The emotional life components in the framework presented are: emotional performance at work (section 8.3.1.1), emotional performance during non-work (section 8.3.1.2), and emotional simulacrum (section 8.3.2) – sub-divided into emotional expectation; emotional memory; and emotional hyperreality.

8.2 THE EMOTIONAL LIFE FRAMEWORK

The Emotional Life framework was constructed in order to satisfy a theoretical need to conceptualise the human act of managing emotions. It is a framework that goes beyond the partial, reductive, and fragmented aspect of the emotional labor theory and is able to capture the complexity of the phenomenon. The term emotional life, even if infused by different meanings, was previously used by researchers such as Mestrovic (1997), and Joffe (1999). To Mestrovic (1997) the emotional life is seen as a commercialised product and follows the

standardised and rational tendency of McDonaldisation in contemporary society. To Joffe (1999), on the other hand, emotional life involves the human capacity to reflect upon subjective feelings “since this reflection forms a major component of what humans experience as emotion” (p.122). Even Hochschild (1983), in her book, used the term emotional life. Indeed in the final stages of her book she described the transmutation of emotional life as the “move from the private realm to the public realm, the trend toward standardization and commercialization of emotive offerings” (p.160). However, a more complex system of emotional life is not presented. The term “emotional life” in Hochschild’s (1983) book is always connected to the transmutation from a private to public or commercial²⁵ setting, in a context where the private feelings are seen as pure and free from forces of coercion. The division between the public and private self also represents a dichotomisation of work and non-work since, to Hochschild (1983), the public life is mainly represented by work activities while the private life relates to non-work activities. Wouters (1989) pointed out some problems in Hochschild’s (1983) emotional labor theory, mainly based on the constant dichotomisation of the private and public self. Wouters (1989) maintained that Hochschild’s position requires that people be deemed freer in private life (or during non-work) than in public life (at work). Realistically, however, it is necessary to consider the possibility of an interaction or even an overlapping situation between work and non-work. Considering the empirical research with white-water rafting guides, ‘lifestylers’ (section 7.3.2) cannot differentiate work from leisure or lifestyle and their public and private self are usually integrated as one. Such integration between work and non-work makes the conceptualisation of the management of emotions at the workplace limited and problematic.

As presented in chapter 7 work and non-work are usually overlapping concepts for white-water rafting guides, especially ‘lifestylers’, and sometimes, even if away from the workplace, ‘lifestylers’ keep performing the guiding role (see section 7.4). Such performance of the work role in a non-work environment and without an exchange value²⁶ suggests that the management of emotions in these situations is not emotional labor and cannot also be considered emotional work as defined by Hochschild (1983)²⁷. In order to chart this area

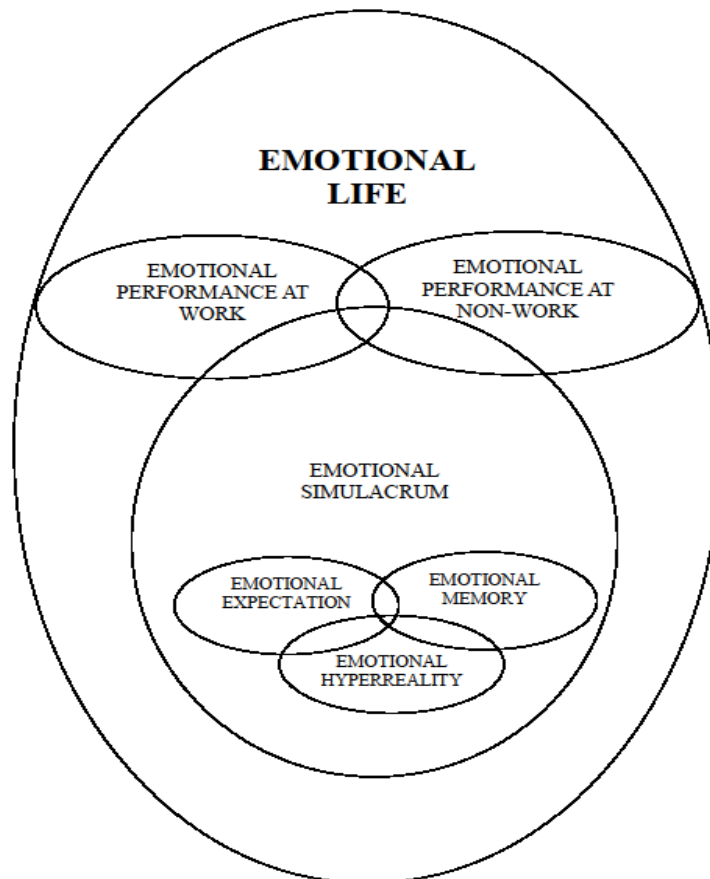
²⁵ Wouters (1989) criticized Hochschild for the use of the terms public and commercial interchangeably. This problem was later recognized by Hochschild (1989).

²⁶ See section 2.2

²⁷ See chapter 2.

where management of emotion is somehow connected to both work and non-work as presented by white-water rafting guides in chapter 7 the Emotional Life framework was elaborated (figure 8.1):

Figure 8.1 - Emotional Life framework



8.3 EMOTIONAL LIFE COMPONENTS

Three main components feature in the Emotional Life framework: emotional performance at work; emotional performance at non-work; and emotional simulacrum – consisting of emotional expectation, emotional memory, and emotional hyperreality. These components emerged along with the interpretation of the data collected for this thesis. These three components of the Emotional Life framework as well as their interrelations were

observed in the context of the white-water rafting guides' experiences. Indeed, data from empirical research relating to the white-water rafting guides will be used as examples in this section to illustrate each component of the Emotional Life framework.

8.3.1 Emotional Performance

In Bono and Vey (2007) emotional performance is defined as the “effective, genuine expression of role-required emotion” (p.179). In the Emotional Life framework emotional performance is the effective expression of role-required emotion but cannot be considered genuine because it does not represent an emotion felt but an emotion managed in order to satisfy a role requirement such as parent, buyer, or even worker. For the Emotional Life framework, emotional performance is understood as the management of emotions according to social necessities and in social relationships that are established with both known and unknown people (e.g. workmates; neighbours; parents; friends; supermarket workers). Emotional performance is responsible, for example, for the face of grief or sadness people show at funerals, and for the smile that people usually have on their faces when they meet someone for the first time, and can figure both in work and in non-work environments.

8.3.1.1 Emotional Performance at Work

The concept of Emotional Performance at Work conforms to an idea of emotional labor that, according to Hochschild (1983, p.7), is the management of emotions during work time and in the workplace in order “to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display”. The terminological change present in this model serves to make more evident issues of ‘separation’ and ‘integration’ at the interface of work and non-work.

Hochschild (1983) believes that, when at work, people manage their emotions for a salary and to satisfy organisational rules. From such a perspective, emotional performance has an exchange value (see section 2.2). As shown in chapter 6, emotional performance is part of the white-water rafting guides' work role and some of the guides emphasised that clients are paying for these emotions and the performance of emotional roles such as ‘fun provider’ and ‘emotional facilitator’ (see sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2). The discussion about guides' roles shows the connection between emotional performance at work and organisational requirements such as how to behave in front of clients, appearance rules and ways to interact with clients. Indeed, in section 5.4 Oliver, the white-water rafting company's manager, asserted that the desirable guide should be enthusiastic, love the interaction with the

clients and be conscious that he or she is guiding because of the clients and, for this reason, the guide should behave and 'look' in conformity with certain standards and expectations. Ivan (section 6.2.2), for example, is a white-water rafting guide who emphasises the importance of looking confident before the client and the importance of impression management as part of a professional attitude.

As seen in chapters 6 and 7, white-water rafting guides mix elements of work and non-work in their everyday life. Actually for some of the guides, such as Tau in section 7.2, the activity is not work but lifestyle and white-water rafting guides are not the only ones with this lifestyle perspective. Musicians (Juniu *et al* 1996) and tour reps (Guerrier and Adib 2003) are examples of activities usually classified as lifestyle, influencing participants' perceptions of work, non-work and also emotional management. Those white-water rafting guides classified as 'lifestylers' in section 7.3.2, for example, do not manage their emotions solely because the organisation is paying for a specific behaviour. "Lifestylers' have, in white-water rafting, an activity that goes beyond the concept of work, becoming part of their life, and the 'client' is a participant in their life and not just someone who has bought a trip. So, instead of managing emotions purely because the organisation is paying for specific behaviour, this group of people manage emotions both to satisfy their personal issues and also the participants with whom they are sharing their lifestyle. In other words, the management of emotions in the workplace, to satisfy organisational rules within the contexts of exchange value and salary, mutates to become part of the individual's belief system and way of life. It is not just because of a salary and organisational rules that white-water rafting guides manage their emotions but because of their way of understanding life, contingent on their lifestyle. The idea of lifestyle allows other elements, including wives, children and friends from a wider social circle, to interact in the same place where the salary is earned, creating permeability between work and non-work spheres.

It is evident that the management of emotions in the Emotional Life context does not necessarily require specific social situations such as work and non-work to be detached from one another. Actually, in the Emotional Life framework there is a continuous emotional interaction between different social groups from the multiple dimensions of work and non-work. Those social groups such as workmates, family, friends, and social communities including, for example, religious groups that constitute part of the fabric of human life are in constant emotional dialogue. This emotional dialogue between different social groups was explored by authors such as Wharton and Erickson (1993) Leyens *et al* (2002), Parkinson *et*

al (2005) and Montgomery *et al* (2006). However, for some authors such as Leyens *et al* (2002) and Parkinson *et al* (2005), the focus of emotional dialogue falls on social groups without common members. For others, such as Wharton and Erickson (1993) and Montgomery *et al* (2006), emotional dialogue between social groups needs to feature a common member and is mainly represented in the work-family relationship. Consequently, an emotional dialogue analysed from this perspective represents the interface between emotional performance at work and emotional performance at non-work.

8.3.1.2 Emotional Performance at Non-Work

Emotional performance away from the workplace, that is analysed only superficially by Hochschild (1983) under the term ‘emotion work’ (see section 2.2.1), can involve both casual and intimate and personal relationships. Emotions are managed by people in their interactions with relatives, friends and colleagues but also with strangers encountered in the streets, supermarkets or during leisure activities. The motivation for emotional performance during non-work is not related to salary but to other reasons such as an unfolding system of communication between people or the need or desire to be socially accepted as part of a group or community (Jenkins and Karno 1992; Wouters 1995).

Clark and Finkel (2005) believe that the most important function of emotional performance is to facilitate the communication among individuals. This point was corroborated by Aune *et al* (1996) who assert that the expression of emotions is a form of communication that works differently according to the developmental stage of the relationship. According to Aune *et al* (1996), emotional performance is strictly connected to the different phases of social relationship. To Aune *et al* (1996), in the early stages of a relationship culturally prescribed rules that cause expression of positive emotions such as empathy are predominant. To Wagner and Smith (1991), a person in a presence of a friend adheres to different display rules than when with a stranger. Clark and Finkel (2005) believe that expression of emotions is more beneficial and less risky in communal relationships when a stage of intimacy is developed paralleling that in private life. Private life, represented by intimate relationships involving close friends, family and relatives, is also a setting for emotional performance.

Parkinson *et al* (2005) argue that families are social groups that share norms that govern thoughts, actions and feelings. These norms make the way emotions are socialised, expressed and managed unique. However, the emotional private life does not relate

exclusively to family and relatives, but also to friends. Indeed, Wagner and Smith (1991) assert that emotions are more intense when in the presence of friends because friendship has a co-acting effect and the actors share the emotions, whereas in the presence of strangers the person projecting an emotion can perceive the recipient party or parties in the passive role of an evaluative audience. Thus, emotional display rules are different in the presence of a friend or family member as compared with rules evoked in the presence of a stranger (Wagner and Smith 1991; Erickson 1993). The management of emotions in private social relationships, such as those with family members or close friends, is different because of the emotional knowledge that people have about the participants in the social group. In other words, the constant interaction between people in the same social group, as for example in families, creates a mutual emotional awareness, so a brother knows how to make his sister angry and a father knows how to make his son happy, generating an emotional game. Emotional awareness is the ability to recognise emotions in others (Lane and Schwartz 1987) and this helps people in their emotional life and can influence human relationships (Croyle and Waltz 2002).

As well as in their emotional performance at work, white-water rafting guides offered rich data to better understand their emotional performance during non-work both in casual and intimate relationships. However, most of the non-working life of white-water rafting guides, specially the ‘lifestylers’, is connected to elements of their work such as partying with workmates, meeting with clients in pubs or restaurants, and kayaking or white-water rafting in their days-off. Aspects of the friendship shared by guides were explored in sections 5.5, 7.2, and 7.4. Indeed, most of the white-water rafting guides are transient workers and their friends are mainly other rafting guides who share the same lifestyle and personal interest in outdoor activities. It was verified that guides share intimate moments; some of them live together, and others have a love relationship with people with whom they work (see section 7.4). Their emotional performances during non-work and at work are not completely separate one from the other, especially for ‘lifestylers’ who are in a continuous state of liminality (see section 7.3.2). Accordingly, they manage their emotions as a way of belonging to a social group, maintaining their non-ordinary life and the status of ‘River God/Goddess’²⁸ (Holyfield and Jonas 2003) independently of direct links to their working environment.

²⁸ See section 7.4.1

8.3.2 Emotional Simulacrum

Apart from emotional performance at work and during non-work, a third category of emotional management was observed among white-water rafting guides, the emotional simulacrum. Different from emotional performance was the management of emotions related to social interplay, as for example with clients, friends, and relatives; the emotional simulacrum is not necessarily interactional. The concept of an emotional simulacrum originates in the post-modern ideas of Baudrillard (1994, p.2) for whom the idea of reality is no longer objective, being replaced by references without referents, and the “real is produced from miniaturised cells, matrices, and memory banks, models of control—and it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times from these”. The emotional simulacrum involves emotions, or the management of emotions, that originate not in ‘real’ and simultaneous events, but from past or simulated and hypothetical events. Baudrillard’s (1994) idea of simulacrum and the hyperreal is based not just on the imaginary content of the cinema and advertisements but also on history, myths and memories. Indeed Baudrillard (1994) asserts that: “When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning” (p.6). Following Baudrillard’s (1994) perspective and examples from the data collected with white-water rafting guides, the emotional simulacrum is divided in three interconnected sub-dimensions: emotional memory; emotional expectation; and emotional hyperreality.

8.3.2.1 Emotional Memory

Emotional memory is the reconsideration or remembrance of an emotional state previously felt that stimulates emotions and/or the management of emotions. In psychological literature, there are many studies about the biological and clinical aspects of emotional memories, the effects of emotion on memories, and the importance of the amygdala in the emotional memory (Christianson 1992; Parrott and Spackman 2000). From a sociological perspective, Hochschild (1983, p.41) used the term “emotion memories” to define memories that recall feelings, memorable events and experiences that emotionally change the individual. According to Hochschild (1983), the dynamic of ‘emotion memory’ is used by workers in order to evoke feelings, such as sorrow or empathy, and to achieve deep acting. The concept of emotional memory is also connected to the idea of nostalgia that, according to Davis (1979), is a selective recall of past experiences that usually overlooks negative situations and creates a positive picture of the past. This positive picture is responsible for

positive emotions that are, according to Baudrillard's (1994) perspective, not real because the referent or event is distorted or because it has lost its original meaning in the memory.

White-water rafting guides offered examples of emotional memory when they discussed and talked about past experiences, rivers they had run in previous seasons, or emotions they had felt in certain situations. However, white-water rafting guides also showed an ability to recall the emotional memory of clients. In section 7.4.1, when Bob and Leonel kissed two clients on the 33rd day of fieldwork, the lever Bob used to charm one of the clients was the feeling of safety the client felt during the trip and how good had been his job as a guide in taking care of her and other clients. In this way, Bob appealed to the client's emotional memory in order to enhance his status to the point where he could kiss the client. Other moments of emotional memory were observed during the first week of the second phase of fieldwork (November/2009) when white-water rafting guides arrived back from overseas and shared their experiences with other guides. The transient life pattern of most of the white-water rafting guides, and especially the 'lifestylers' (see section 7.3.2), transforms their encounters into storytelling moments when every guide has emotional experiences to share. Carmelo (38 years old, guiding since 1995), for example, on the 39th day of fieldwork, shared with Scott (24 years old, guiding since 2006) his experiences and emotions felt in Africa where he was working in the White Nile River. Carmelo said that, in Africa, he was not afraid of the river but was concerned about the people with whom he was working and who had robbed him, tapping into his emotional memory in order to describe the moments of tensions he experienced within the company that employed him as he tried to find who stole his money.

Emotional memory, as with the other dimensions of the Emotional Life framework, is not discrete from the other dimensions. Individuals are susceptible to memories, and to emotions originated by memories, at work, in dialogues with relatives or with strangers. Tourists, for example use the photographic or video method to review their memories and emotions. According to Urry (1990), the photographic image helps to appropriate the object and it is also used to remember moments and register the emotions people experienced. Tuohino and Pitkanen (2004) claim that people usually relate images and photos to personal touchstones such as childhood and loved relatives or friends and this association between image and people can be a source of emotions. Baumgartner *et al* (1992) believe that, when advertisements use photographs that link with past experiences, this causes people to generate an emotional bond that may motivate a tourist to revisit a place. The use of images in

advertisements, and through video and media representations that may create emotions and also activate people's memory, is defined by Baudrillard (1994) as hyperreal. In the Emotional Life framework, emotional hyperreality is a sub-dimension of the emotional simulacrum.

8.3.2.2 Emotional Hyperreality

To Baudrillard (2005), people now live their emotions at the level of hyperreality. In an analysis of Baudrillard's work, Schofield (1996, p.334) asserts that the "hyperreal represents the stage where simulation models actually constitute the world and the distinction between real and unreal is imperceptible or invalid. According to Baudrillard (2005), hyperreal society is dominated by advertising and electronic mass media, by highly processed communication and by highly simulated pleasure and spectacle, and he argues that we no longer consume products, but signs or images". All the simulations of real life produced by advertisements, media and films induce human feelings and their management. The emotions of people crying when watching a Hollywood drama are consequences of people's immersion in a different emotional dimension: emotional hyperreality.

Media contribute to the creation of human affects and, according to Murphy (2008), this is the most effective mechanism for manipulating society because it does not just imitate reality but actually becomes a kind of reality: the hyperreal. Emotional hyperreality is connected to emotional experiences and expectations through different agents such as promotional videos and advertisement folders that stimulate visitors' imagination, expectations and feelings. The advertisement material of the company where the fieldwork of this thesis took place, as well as its website, have many images of white-water rafting trips that could stimulate the emotions and desires of clients. Figures 8.2 and 8.3 are just two of the many pictures available on the company's website that are followed by comments such as 'big splash', 'having fun', 'friends having fun', and 'white-water action'. These advertisement images are, according to Baudrillard's (2005) concept, merely simulations of real moments that create impressions and suppositions about the emotions the characters are feeling and about the emotions the viewer could feel in the same situation.

Figure 8.2 - Image from the company's website



Figure 8.3 - Image from the company's website



Two other examples of emotional hyperreality were observed during the fieldwork. The first one was related to Peter (25 years old, guiding since 2004) who has an archive of photos and videos from white-water rafting trips he has worked and rivers where he has been. The second example was a situation that happened in the ‘jugs night’ party (see section 7.4.1) when Cristian (35 years old, guiding since 2001) decided to show to other guides a DVD with images of his training on a Canadian river. In the first example, it is Peter’s hobby to record moments of white-water rafting trips using images and films, and he claims that “these images remind me about the good moments I had on the river, it’s like living everything, every rapid again”. Peter’s emotional hyperreality is connected with his emotional memory and is similar to what happens through advertisements according to Braun *et al* (2002). To Braun *et al* (2002) “advertisers play off consumers’ memories and emotions through the use of autobiographical referencing” and that “autobiographically focused advertising can make events (even impossible ones) seem more likely to have happened to consumers as children” (p.18).

The second example was a specific situation that not only connected work and non-work, considering that white-water rafting guides were seeing and discussing ‘work’ aspects during a ‘non-work’ activity, but it was also an example of how hyperreal images can influence emotions. It was observed that white-water rafting guides who were in the living room with Cristian, watching the DVD about his rafting training in Canada, were excited about the rapids of the river. Some of the comments, such as “oh my God this [rapid] was huge” (Bob), “watta amazing rapid” (Ivan), and “I’m amazed about this river” (Tau), reflect the way a movie can influence individual perceptions and beliefs. However, one of the most interesting comments during the exhibition of the movie was: “I can’t wait to go to Canada, I’m so excited” (Paloma). This comment represents the expectations of Paloma who was going to Canada the following season. Indeed, emotional hyperreality can also create emotional expectations as will be explained in the next section.

8.3.2.3 Emotional Expectation

An anxious person the night before a job interview thinking about the future, a husband waiting for his wife at the airport, or people thinking about the happiness they will feel on their wedding day are examples of the third dimension of the emotional simulacrum: emotional expectation. This is a state that encompasses anticipation of an emotion, anticipation and management of its expression and the imagination of possible contexts.

However, in a study about expectations and emotions Medvec *et al* (1995) claimed that athletes' expectations had no effect on their emotions. On the other hand, the correlation between expectation and emotion was re-examined years later by McGraw *et al* (2004) and their results showed the “powerful effects of expectations on human happiness” (p.445). Using the example of sports athletes McGraw *et al* (2004) claimed that they, as do all the other humans, compare what it is achieved with what it was expected, thus generating emotions. Wilson and Klaaren (1992) also compared expectations and achievement and created a model suggesting that an affective contrast, involving the arousal of unpleasant emotions, can only occur when experiences are discrepant from expectations and such incompatibility is noticed by the individual.

Emotional expectation can be present in different social situations and work is not immune to it. Indeed, Hargreaves (2001) believes that people have different emotional expectations in each occupation but they are also expected to display different emotions. So expectations can be seen from a personal perspective or from an outside and external perspective. From a personal perspective the individual self has expectations related to his or her emotional performance and occupation. Price and Barrell (1984) claim that desires and personal expectations influence people's emotions and “the more we expect to fulfil our desires, the more positive we feel” (p.390). From an outside perspective, external forces such as institutions, colleagues, and supervisors, have expectations about the individual's emotional performance. For example, according to Hochschild (1983), flight attendants are expected to be cheerful and people are expected to feel sorry and sad in funerals and happy at birthdays and weddings.

Emotional expectation was also observed during the data collection for this thesis and used as examples in previous sections (see sections 6.2 and 6.3). White-water rafting guides actually need to deal with three different types of expectations: those of the company, the clients and their own expectations. In section 6.2, for example, Maurice (33 years old, guiding since 2001) asserts that to satisfy clients' expectations is one of the main roles of white-water rafting guides. So Maurice knows that when clients arrive for a white-water rafting trip they have desires and they are paying to satisfy these desires. Consequently the rafting company expects that the guides will be able to interpret and satisfy these expectations, but also will act according to the company's rules and needs. Indeed, section 6.3.2 describes the case of Salim, a guide who could not hide his fear and anxiety before the rapid. After the trip Salim's clients complained about his behaviour because they were

expecting a confident and courageous guide. The company also reproved his behaviour because he has not satisfied the clients' expectations. The example of section 6.3.2 shows the expectations created concerning the management and expression of emotions among white-water rafting guides.

On the other hand, section 6.3.4 analyses the expectations of the guides regarding their own emotional performance. Alan, for example, asserts that even if he is having personal problems he expects to be able to go to work and perform his work roles in the best way possible. Guides also have emotional expectations relating to the river and its morphological changes that alter previously familiar flows or create new rapids. An example was Bob (30 years old, guiding since 2007) who in November 2009, as soon as he arrived from his overseas' season, went to the rafting base and "excited asked about the rapid 'Cascade' ... and if it was true that Cascade [had become] a tricky rapid flipping many rafts. Bob said that he couldn't wait to run Cascade again" (Observation Notes - 48th day). So, the expectations present in the daily life of white-water rafting guides also involve emotional management and constitute part of the emotional simulacrum, interacting with and being stimulated by the other components, as in the case of Paloma (section 8.3.2.2) who created an emotional expectation about her season in Canada through the emotional hyperreality promoted by Cristian's DVD.

8.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the Emotional Life framework and its interrelated dimensions: emotional performance at work, emotional performance during non-work, and emotional simulacrum. The framework was based on the findings of the empirical research with white-water rafting guides and it was developed due to the necessity to fill gaps (as shown in chapter 7) present in the emotional labor theory. The Emotional Life framework presented in this chapter is an attempt to understand the management of human emotions in a broader and integrated way, not just limited to the work environment. Indeed the most important aspect of the Emotional Life framework is the interconnectedness of its components.

The Emotional Life framework comprises three different dimensions: emotional performance at work, emotional performance during non-work, and emotional simulacrum. The latter one, in its turn, is subdivided into three sub-dimensions: emotional memory,

emotional expectation, and emotional hyperreality. Emotional performance at work, as suggested by the name, is related to the emotions generated and managed at the workplace with a monetary benefit intention to the company or to the worker, underpinning it. Emotional performance during non-work refers to the emotions felt and managed in all the casual and intimate relationships independent of a financial aspect and that constitute part of the life of every individual as member of a social universe. The third element of the Emotional Life framework is the emotional simulacrum that is divided in three categories: emotional memory (emotions felt and managed when past emotions or events are remembered); emotional expectation (emotions arouse and managed when there is an expectation about something that can possibly happen); and emotional hyperreality (emotions originated by hyperreal elements such as movies or advertisements).

During the fieldwork white-water rafting guides presented not just evidence of all the single components of the Emotional Life framework but also indications that these components can function interactively. Consequently the example of white-water rafting guides opens the possibility of comprehending the emotional management of other careers, not just uniquely based on the emotional labor theory, but on a more complex concept that does not dichotomise work and non-work.

9 - CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of emotional labor has been extensively investigated and reconceptualised since the original theory was developed by Hochschild (1983). Although there are many publications about emotional labor related to the tourism industry (e.g. Guerrier and Adib 2003; Anderson *et al* 2003; Chu and Murrmann 2006; Van Dijk and Kirk 2007; Van Dijk *et al* 2011; Wong and Wang 2009), the adventure tourism sector and its workers have not received much attention (Sharpe 2005). Thus, considering the gaps in the literature and the lack of more consistent research about the management of emotions in adventure guides, the focus of this thesis was to examine the emotional management of half-day trip white-water rafting guides according the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983).

This final chapter presents a summary of the results according to the overall objective and to the aims that were initially proposed in chapter 1. Following this the implications and contributions of the thesis to the academic knowledge and to the understandings of the emotional management in the adventure tourism industry are discussed. However, considering that more research is needed to understand aspects of emotional management that this thesis could not investigate, some directions for future studies that will complement this thesis are suggested in section 9.5.

9.2 AIMS OF THE THESIS

The overall objective of this thesis was to examine the emotional management of white-water rafting guides according the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983). Further the specific aims were:

1. To explore the elements of emotional management in white-water rafting guides
2. To investigate white-water rafting guides' perceptions of emotional labor
3. To comprehend the relationship between work and non-work and its influence in the emotional management of white-water rafting guides.

9.3 MEETING THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND AIMS

9.3.1 Overall Objective

The main objective of this thesis was to examine the emotional management of white-water rafting guides according to the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983). The data collected with white-water rafting guides in Queenstown about emotional management showed similarities and differences when compared to the emotional labor theory proposed by Hochschild (1983). Chapter 6 explored elements of Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory that were identified in white-water rafting guides. On the other hand, chapter 7 focused on the emotional management aspects of the white-water rafting guides that were ignored or not explored in-depth by Hochschild (1983).

The findings of this thesis suggest that white-water rafting guides use both deep and surface acting to manage emotions (section 6.3). Some guides asserted that during the white-water rafting trip it is important to be detached from the emotions that are not pertinent to that environment. In other words, some of the guides believe that it is inappropriate to show emotions originating from personal issues on the river and for this reason they use their mind and their imagination to exhort desired feelings. This technique of managing emotions by direct exhortation of feeling or through the use of imagination was identified by Hochschild (1983) as deep acting.

It was also observed that for some other guides the important aspect in a relationship with clients is not feeling but performing the appropriate emotions. To achieve the desired emotions some of the white-water rafting guides affirmed that they manage their body display without changing their feelings, this 'front stage' performance Hochschild (1983) called surface acting. Both deep and surface acting are performances directed to achieve a professional face that is required by the company and part of the product sold to clients as evidenced by Oliver in section 6.3.4. According to Hochschild (1983) emotional labor and the conflict between the 'real' self and the self performed at work can lead to consequences such as burnout and stress. As presented in section 6.4, white-water rafting guides recognise that they are likely to suffer from physical and emotional burnout. According to the white-water rafting guides interviewed for this thesis the physical characteristic of the activity can influence their mood state but the main cause of emotional burnout is related to the performance of the professional face corroborating with Hochschild's (1983) point of view.

Even if many characteristics of the emotional labor theory (Hochschild 1983) were identified in the white-water rafting guides' interviews and in the data collected through participant observation, aspects that go beyond Hochschild's (1983) theory were also present in the data collected. First, the white-water rafting guides who participated in the fieldwork for this thesis were seen as a heterogeneous group and divided for the purpose of this thesis into two different categories: 'occupational devotees' and 'lifestylers'. The difference between these two categories is that while 'occupational devotees' are committed to organisational goals and have a worker identity that does not necessarily match with their personal identity, 'lifestylers' are transient workers following the white-water rafting season and exploring different rivers and rapids around the world, and their identity is mainly defined by their 'work'.

Another aspect suggested by the findings of this thesis that was not considered by Hochschild (1983) is the possibility of having work and non-work intertwined. It has been suggested in this thesis that 'lifestylers' intertwine work and non-work. It was observed that even when away from the river, 'lifestylers' retain elements that allude to the white-water rafting activity including the friendship with other guides, the sexual encounters with clients, the white-water rafting and kayak trips during days-off, and the conversations about white-water rafting during 'happy-hours' and parties. White-water rafting plays a large role in guides' lives and it was seen as a possible source of job and life satisfaction. Indeed, white-water rafting guides claimed that emotional management contributes to client satisfaction, in turn contributing to job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was not considered by Hochschild (1983) as one of the possible consequences of emotional labor and for this reason the example of white-water rafting guides again goes beyond the original theory.

The comprehension of the white-water rafting guides' emotional performance is a complex issue because for the company and the clients the performance is or should be motivated by commercial issues while for the guides the emotional performance has a personal and affective meaning. In other words, white-water rafting guides have to cope with the commercial pressure coming from external forces (company and clients) to emotionally perform in a standardised way while at the same time they are connected to the activity by personal and not commercial affects. So there is an interaction between the idea that guides are paid to emotionally perform in specific ways and personal issues that lead to a rethinking of the emotional management as presented in chapter 8. The Emotional Life framework is

connected to the implications and contributions resulting for this thesis as presented in section 9.4.

9.3.2 Research Aims

To explore the elements of emotional management in white-water rafting guides

The findings of this thesis suggest that there are many elements of emotional management that are performed by white-water rafting guides during their contact with clients. The emotional management is performed in the three guiding roles which were identified during the research, namely: ‘fun provider’, ‘emotional facilitator’ and ‘guardian angel’. Many guides emphasised that they have a professional emotional face that is performed in front of clients. This professional face is an attempt to satisfy a behavioural model expected by both clients and the company. In this way guides are expected to be funny but not invasive; happy, spontaneous and courageous and not sad, timid and fearful. White-water rafting clients expect more than to simply run the river safely; they expect a fun experience and the guides are the ‘fun providers’ as asserted in section 6.2.1.

The results also highlighted that emotional management is not just related to guides dealing with their own emotions. White-water rafting guides need to be able to manage clients’ emotions including their fear and anxiety, and promote at the same time pleasure and happiness. However even if one of the guiding roles is to be an emotional facilitator (section 6.2.2) an inner conflict could be created between the emotions felt by white-water rafting guides and the emotions that need to be expressed by them and/or stimulated in clients. Guides also focused on explaining the management of emotions in the context of their relationship with clients. Even when performing the ‘guardian angel’ role (section 6.2.3) white-water rafting guides asserted they need to manage emotions such as worry. Indeed, guides claimed that one of their main feelings while on the river is the worry about accidents involving clients, but worry cannot become an emotional intemperance, instead it is shown in order to make clients to feel protected.

Elements of emotional management are not limited to the relationship between guides and clients at the river, but also in other situations such as in pubs and restaurants. The emotional management beyond the workplace (section 7.4), which was not discussed in-depth by Hochschild (1983), became relevant for this thesis once the intertwined nature of

white-water rafting guides' work and non-work was perceived. Indeed, the intertwined nature of work and non-work and its influence in the management of emotions is one of the implications of this thesis as will be presented further in this chapter (see section 9.4).

To investigate white-water rafting guides' perceptions of emotional labor

White-water rafting guides asserted that they manage emotions during their day and in their interactions with clients. Many different reasons to justify the emotional labor were given by white-water rafting guides who perceive the management of emotions in different ways. For some of the guides it is necessary to perform emotional labor in order to satisfy clients' expectations and this performance is restricted to the workplace. The performance of emotional labor is also perceived as a tool that can be used to emphasise clients' image of the guide as someone who is courageous, knowledgeable, and funny. For other guides the emotional labor performed by them has a direct influence on the emotions clients' feel. Hence white-water rafting guides believe that the performance of positive feelings, including fun, pleasure and empathy, can enhance clients' satisfaction. This influence on clients' emotions is not just limited to the river environment but involves also non-work situations. Indeed, to some of the guides the performance of emotional management is perceived not as something related to work, but as something that is done in order to keep their lifestyle and satisfy the people that make this lifestyle possible; namely the clients. For the white-water rafting guides with this lifestyle perspective, emotional management is not done because the company imposes or because the client is buying such emotional performance. Instead, they manage their emotions because the people that are with them in their boat are part of their life and not just part of their work.

The results of this thesis suggest that depending on how guides comprehend their lifestyle and connect work and non-work, the perception of emotional labor changes. The fusion of work and non-work makes the emotional labor, as conceived by Hochschild (1983), impossible because it loses the exclusively commercial aspect. Some of the white-water rafting guides in this thesis presented this characteristic making relevant the comprehension of the third aim.

To comprehend the relationship between work and non-work and its influence in the emotional management of white-water rafting guides.

The third aim of this thesis was to investigate the boundaries between work and non-work in white-water rafting guides. Considering that Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory focuses mainly on the public (work) setting and her idea of emotional work regarding the private life (non-work), this thesis aimed to understand if there was any connection between work and non-work for white-water rafting guides. The results indicated the presence of many elements linking work and non-work in both 'occupational devotees' and 'lifestyler' rafting guides. The intertwined nature of work and non-work is a characteristic of the white-water rafting lifestyle and was observed during the fieldwork when, for example, family members were coming for lunch in the rafting base, workmates met during happy-hours, guides were going white-water rafting during their days-off, and when guides and clients have sexual relationships. It was also observed that many of the conversations guides had in pubs and restaurants were related to white-water rafting and to the memory of emotions they had during their trips.

The results of this thesis support the idea that white-water rafting guides share many common interests including their attachment to outdoor and river-based activities. Some of the guides live, travel, and work together in different parts of the world spending not just a season in the same place but sometimes the whole year enhancing their friendships. Indeed, guides asserted that their workmates are also their main friends indicating blurred boundaries between work and non-work becoming a characteristic of the guiding lifestyle, a lifestyle that is also emotional as described in section 7.2.

Mixing aspects of work and non-work have an influence in the emotional management of white-water rafting guides. The emotional performance of guides with their clients is not limited to the workplace; their emotional relationship with other guides is not just professional; and their feelings towards the white-water rafting activity are not merely related to economic aspects. Instead it was seen that white-water rafting guides manage emotions and interact with clients away from the river; the relationship with other guides is not limited to the rafting environment; and the white-water rafting activity is considered their 'passion' and their lifestyle, not just their work.

9.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THIS THESIS

The findings of this thesis have several implications for academic knowledge specifically regarding, but not necessarily restricted to, adventure tourism workers and the concept of emotional management. The first contribution to academic knowledge that this thesis offers is the critical review of the emotional labor theory developed by Hochschild (1983) and the extended literature that critiqued and/or re-interpreted the original concept (Wouters 1989; Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Tolich 1993; Morris and Feldman 1996; Grandey 2000; Korczynski 2002; Zapf 2002; Guy and Newman 2004; Bolton 2005; Gosserand and Diefendorff 2005; Diefendorff *et al* 2005; Brook 2009). The comprehensive review of this literature contributes to an understanding of the directions that studies on emotional management have taken since 1983.

Another contribution to the literature is the emphasis on the emotional management in workers of the adventure industry. Considering the many responsibilities that are involved in the guiding role, mainly related to safety issues, the emotional expression can be perceived as secondary. However, the emotional expression performed by adventure guides not only contributes to the feeling of safety and protection in clients but is also an element that can contribute to the entertaining side of the activity. In managing their emotions as well as using the ability to manage clients' emotions adventure guides can stimulate fun and pleasure and increase levels of customer satisfaction (Pugh 2001; Sharpe 2005).

Although this thesis contributes to the literature on emotional management and adventure guiding, arguably its most significant contribution to academic knowledge lies in the interpretation of the emotional management aspects regarding both work and non-work. A theme emerging from the interviews and the observations of white-water rafting guides was that the management of emotions is seen as part of the guiding role. However, the results of this thesis indicated that to some of the guides, particularly to the 'lifestylers', the guiding role is not limited to the river or to the rafting base, but permeates also non-work moments. The guiding role goes beyond the river because it is not seen as a work role but as part of a lifestyle, and contributes to a public and private identity formation. For this reason the management of emotions in white-water rafting guides cannot be reduced to the idea of emotional labor as conceived by Hochschild (1983). The emotional management of white-water rafting guides is not merely a commercial relationship where the employer pays the employee to emotionally perform according to certain organisational rules. The data collected

with white-water rafting guides questions the traditional image of work as separate from non-work. The data indicates that the emotional performances at work and at non-work are connected and sometimes fused indicating the need for a new framework integrating both aspects.

The Emotional Life framework was developed as a theoretical contribution to the literature about the management of emotions. The framework presented in chapter 8 is based on three aspects: Hochschild's (1983) theory; the critiques of Hochschild's (1983) theory and the different interpretations of the emotional labor concept; and the data collected for the empirical research of this thesis. The Emotional Life framework has three components interacting between them: the emotional performance at work, the emotional performance at non-work and the emotional simulacrum.

In Hochschild's (1983) book the connections between what she calls 'emotion work' and 'emotional labor' (see chapter 2) are not clear. However, for some of the white-water rafting guides, particularly for the 'lifestylers' (see section 7.3.2), a deep interaction between work and non-work was perceived. Consequently, the comprehension of the management of emotions cannot be based on the duality of work and non-work as separate phenomena, because for 'lifestylers' this division is blurred. Indeed, the emotional performances at-work and at non-work are distinct but interconnected in the Emotional Life framework.

Another component of the Emotional Life framework that was linked to the emotional performances at work and at non-work is the emotional simulacrum. Emotional memory, emotional expectation and emotional hyperreality are the three interconnected sub-components that form the emotional simulacrum. The overall concept of emotional simulacrum elaborated on Jean Baudrillard's (1994; 2005) idea that reality no longer exists because it is replaced, simulated and reproduced through memory and imagination with an influence of hyperreal sources including advertisements, television, and cinema.

The emotional memory was the element of the emotional simulacrum that was explored by Hochschild (1983). Hochschild (1983) asserted that emotional memory is a tool that can be used to evoke feelings and to facilitate deep acting. The presence of emotional memory was observed in white-water rafting guides when they described and remembered moments they had experienced in different rivers around the world, exchanging experiences and stories about their adventures with other guides and clients. Movies and pictures which remind white-water rafting guides of their past experiences are used to activate their emotional memory and are part of the emotional hyperreality. In the emotional hyperreality the

simulation of real events influence people's emotions and the way the expression of those emotions is managed.

The white-water rafting guides showed that emotional hyperreality can do more than just stimulate memories, it can also be the origin of emotional expectations. A specific case was described in section 8.3.2.2 when Paloma, who was watching a DVD about a white-water rafting trip in Canada, revealed her expectation and desire to work in the river showed in the movie. The images in the advertisement brochure, as well as the pictures and videos in the white-water rafting company's website, are also examples of hyperreal material stimulating both the emotional expectation of clients who want to do the activity and the emotional memory of clients who did the activity putting pressure on the guides to present and manage emotions in a specific way. Indeed, it is not only clients who have emotional expectations about the activity and about their guides, but white-water rafting guides also have expectations about clients and about the trip. In addition to Paloma's example, white-water rafting guides have emotional expectations regarding technical issues that can bring elements of novelty to the trip including the river's water level and morphological changes on the rapids. It was observed, for example, that on rainy days the possibility of high water trips change the mood and the emotional behaviour of guides who expect faster trips with more action.

The data collected from white-water rafting guides supported all the elements of the Emotional Life framework and most importantly showed their interconnected nature. The Emotional Life framework offers a broader perspective about a human's emotional performance that is not limited to the workplace and not just sold for a wage. Even though it is based on information collected within a specific group (white-water rafting guides), the Emotional Life framework is a holistic approach to understand the management of emotions. The complexities behind the action of managing emotions cannot be comprehended by limiting it to one role played by individuals in the society as addressed by the emotional labor theory (Hochschild 1983). Workers are not emotionally disconnected from the other social roles they play such as parent, relative or friend, or from the emotional inputs of the simulacrum.

Finally this thesis contributes to the literature on the consequences of emotional management. The results have implications for those involved in the development of strategies to reduce burnout and increase satisfaction within work organisations. A number of initiatives can be implemented to protect workers from both physical and emotional burnout

as well as increase employee satisfaction. In the case of white-water rafting guides, the high identification with clients, who are participants of their lifestyle and not just product buyers, seems to stimulate the emotional management that, when performed appropriately, increases job satisfaction. However, as suggested in the following section, more research is needed to better comprehend issues related to the empathy between clients and workers in the promotion of job satisfaction.

9.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this thesis offer significant insights about the management of emotions, especially in guides of the adventure tourism industry. However, several new questions have arisen during the production of this thesis and should be explored in future research. It was found that studies about emotions in adventure guides are limited and more research is needed to comprehend the influence of emotions in guides' behaviour. Additionally, future studies should focus on the influence of guides in clients' emotions and satisfaction, contributing to the development of marketing and organisational strategies as well as in a better comprehension of issues related to the empathy between clients and workers in the promotion of job satisfaction and reduction of burnout.

Another question raised by the results of this thesis is the influence of gender in the emotional performance of adventure guides. In the empirical research of this thesis among thirty-five participants observed and interviewed only four were female. However, for Hochschild (1983), women have historically been portrayed as emotional managers and consequently more likely to perform emotional labor in their careers. Future research should emphasise the possible differences and similarities between the performances of emotions in adventure tourism workers according to their gender as well as how different genders deal with the consequences of emotional management in and outside of a lifestyle context.

Based on the results of this thesis, a longitudinal study with white-water rafting guides in order to understand the transitions between 'occupational devotee' and 'lifestylers', if any, would be an interesting path of research. Such a longitudinal study would allow a better comprehension about the lifestyle and work changes in white-water rafting guides. Furthermore future research could consider whether the differentiation between 'occupational devotees' and 'lifestylers' is valid to other adventure guides and workers of the tourism industry or if it is something pertinent specifically to the rafting community. A different

group of workers could also be used in future research to determine whether the Emotional Life framework is valid beyond white-water rafting guides. Considering that the different countries can have different work cultures with possible influence in the way people manage their emotions, research on Emotional Life needs to be extended beyond the borders of New Zealand.

Finally, future researchers should employ different methods and methodologies to check the validity of the Emotional Life framework. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches could be relevant to develop discussions of the Emotional Life framework. Qualitative studies could be useful to understand and discuss in a detailed way the relationships between the different components of the framework. On the other hand, quantitative studies could contribute to an understanding of the Emotional Life framework in a more extensive perspective with a higher number of participants that could be statistically relevant. The methods used in this thesis were valuable to discuss the emotional management in a comparative way to Hochschild's (1983) original theory and to answer questions related to a specific group of workers: the white-water rafting guides in Queenstown. These methods could be further developed and used in multi-methods research, combined with quantitative methods such as questionnaires in order to verify the elements of the Emotional Life framework in an expanded group of workers.

9.6 CONCLUDING REMARK

Focusing on white-water rafting guides, this thesis explored the complexities involved in the management of emotions. Through an in-depth discussion of Hochschild's (1983) emotional labor theory and empirical research with white-water rafting guides in Queenstown, New Zealand, questions have been raised highlighting the necessity of a new framework. The new framework proposed in this thesis considers the process of managing emotions at work as a component of a bigger system named Emotional Life that involves emotional performance at non-work, and emotional simulacrum as well. Within this thesis it has been demonstrated that the management of emotions at work also depends on how the concept of work is conceived by employees. Despite the fact that this study has emphasised the possibilities of interaction between the three different components of the Emotional Life framework, this does not mean that each element cannot and should not be analysed in certain situations in a detached way. This thesis has advanced discussions about emotional

management, unifying elements present in the literature and observed in white-water rafting guides. In this way the Emotional Life framework is not just a product of an extensive and critical review of the literature but also an outcome of the thesis' empirical research.

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APPENDIX 1



COMMERCIAL RAFTING OPERATOR AND GUIDE RESPONSIBILITIES

The following is a summary of commercial rafting operator and guide responsibilities with specific reference to the Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992.

Rafting operator responsibilities

It is up to a rafting operator to:

- ensure compliance with Maritime Rules Part 80
- ensure the Safe Operating Plan is implemented and readily available, and that its effectiveness is evaluated, verified and reviewed regularly
- maintain an accident register containing records of every accident, incident and mishap
- report all accidents to Maritime New Zealand as soon as practicable
- confirm trip leaders and guides hold appropriate qualifications for the rivers rafted and that they have the required training, experience and skills to operate on those rivers safely
- ensure that all personnel involved with the rafting operation have an adequate knowledge of the safe operational plan
- ensure that the Certificate of Compliance is available
- provide well maintained and fit for purpose rafts and equipment.

Under the Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992 the operator must:

- provide a systematic process for hazard management
- ensure significant hazards are identified, assessed then eliminated, if elimination is not possible, isolate or minimise.
- provide a safe working environment
- develop processes for emergency response and practice these processes
- provide training and supervision appropriate for the operation, and maintain training records.
- provide opportunities for employee participation in safety management
- ensure availability and accessibility of protective clothing and equipment
- ensure reviews are carried out regularly with a view towards managing all identified hazards, providing appropriate training and supervision and providing adequate and appropriate emergency response.

Guide responsibilities

Guides must:

- comply with Maritime Rules for rafting
- operate in accordance with the requirements of the safe operational plan
- participate in ongoing training opportunities to ensure currency of skills
- participate in the rafting operations safety management system

Under the Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992 guides must:

- ensure that no action or inaction while at work causes harm to any other person
- be aware that they may refuse to perform work likely to cause serious harm
- participate in safety management systems with good faith as per requirements of Section 19C of Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992
- participate in the process for identifying and managing hazards
- ensure that protective clothing and equipment is worn, used properly and as required.

More information

The Maritime New Zealand website has more information that includes:

- Maritime Rules Part 80
- Sample Safe Operating Plan
- Health and Safety: A guide
- Fatigue management resources

Go to: www.maritimenz.govt.nz or ring (freephone): 0508 22 55 22

The Department of Labour website provides a useful overview of the Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992. Go to: www.osh.dol.govt.nz/law/hse.shtml

APPENDIX 2

Name	Season 2008/09	Season 2009/10	Country	Age (Dec/2010)
1. Jay		x	Canada	29
2. Patrick		x	New Zealand	21
3. Scott		x	New Zealand	24
4. Maurice		x	England	33
5. George		x	Brazil	30
6. Ferdinand		x	New Zealand	28
7. Paolo		x	Canada	20
8. Clair		x	Canada	26
9. Edwin	x		England	26
10. Dalton	x		New Zealand	27
11. Ernest	x		New Zealand	29
12. Marcus	x		New Zealand	29
13. Nelson	x		New Zealand	24
14. Quentin	x		New Zealand	23
15. Tau	x		New Zealand	24
16. John	x		New Zealand	24
17. Cristian	x	x	England	35
18. Leonel	x	x	USA	26
19. Carmelo	x	x	USA	38
20. Octavio	x	x	New Zealand	27
21. Phil	x	x	New Zealand	34
22. Sam	x	x	England	29
23. Salim	x	x	New Zealand	23
24. Rafael	x	x	New Zealand	55
25. Sonny	x	x	USA	41

26. Paloma	x	x	New Zealand	23
27. Peter	x	x	USA	25
28. Zeta	x	x	Australia	33
29. Etan	x	x	New Zealand	28
30. Tony	x	x	New Zealand	34
31. Ivan	x	x	Switzerland	31
32. Kraus	x	x	Canada	40
33. Bob	x	x	New Zealand	30
34. Genaro	x	x	New Zealand	22
35. Alan	x	x	New Zealand	26
36. Oliver	x	x	New Zealand	51