

The Impacts of Aesthetic Labour on Frontline Employees in Gweru Urban Lodging Facilities

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Article Info

Article History:

Received: 29 September, 2021

Accepted: 04 October, 2021

Published: 07 October, 2021

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Abstract

The tourism and hospitality industry heavily relies on aesthetic labour as a source of competitive advantage, so this study sought to unveil the impacts of aesthetic labour on frontline employees. The research was a qualitative study which utilized a descriptive research design to reveal the impacts of aesthetic labour on frontline hospitality employees. In-depth face to face interviews were conducted with the 8 managers and 48 frontlines employees in the 4 selected lodges in Gweru urban. The research found out that all the employees in the studied lodges had challenges in meeting the aesthetic labour demands and this resulted in stress, surface acting and labour turnover. Very few frontline employees in the studied lodges were satisfied with their jobs. The research recommended that hospitality organisations must strongly support aesthetic labour performers so as to enjoy commercial benefits from committed and healthy employees.

Keywords: Aesthetic labour; Impacts; Frontline employees; Lodges; Gweru

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Introduction

According to [1] the requirement to offer a competitive advantage has been recognized throughout various business sectors for decades. It is now generally accepted that in an increasingly competitive global economic environment, the competitive advantage of an organization no longer lies in its products or technology but in its employees [2,3]. In customer facing organisations such as the hospitality sector, employers now emphasise the personal characteristics of employees to such an extent that they seek to employ people who are "passionate, stylish, confident, tasty, clever, successful and well-travelled" [4,5]. Noted that in the hospitality environment where competition dominates, employers expect service employees to display cheerful and friendly emotions when interacting with customers and in turn customers measure their service experience primarily based on employee attitude, posture, friendliness and service promptness, the practice widely known as aesthetic labour. According to [6] aesthetic labour represents particular types of workers who are considered as looking well and sounding right. The term denotes the commoditization of employees' faces, voices and appearance for the delivery of aesthetic performances at work. In short, aesthetic labour is all about 'lookism' [7]. The study of aesthetic labour in the workplace has grown significantly since the early 1980s [6,8] are of the view that aesthetic labour brings commercial gain to businesses, enables organizations to gain competitive advantage and promotes cultural management [9] also discovered that hotel

guests think that the most effective employees are men and women who smile and are attractive, clean-shaven and looking smart [10] also posit that employers and managerial employees tend to utilize the personal appearance of employees and job applicants in their decision-making processes, policies and practices. Several past researchers also highlighted that aesthetic labour may lead to social exclusion and discrimination in the workplace [11-13]. Although much has been written on aesthetic labour, it can be noted that most research focused on aesthetic labour benefits, its disadvantages and the employer attempts to recruit or mould the right attitudes among workers neglecting the influence of this labour on performers [14] argued that though workplace attire plays an important role in influencing customer expectations, one element often forgotten is how workplace attire heavily influences employees as well. To add on, [15] found out that aesthetic labour can be a burden for employees as they strive to meet various aesthetic requirements and improve their personal aesthetic skills. This means that aesthetic labour performance puts some demands on performers and these demands might affect performers either positively or negatively. Currently, there is paucity of information on how aesthetic labour impacts the performers; therefore this research attempts to extend the literature on this subject by critically examining the impacts of aesthetic labour on frontline employees in Gweru urban lodges. In doing so, this study also shifts attention from the developed world to investigate the aesthetic labour concept in the developing world context.

Zimbabwe's hospitality industry is operating amid harsh economic challenges. The country is struggling economically due to several internal and external pressures. [16] noted that the prevailing economic conditions "have left employees with very little options in terms of job choice and most workers find themselves still going to work not because they want to, but because there is no other option available for them on the job market". Performing aesthetic labour under such prevailing conditions in Zimbabwe can be a complex task for performers hence the need to unveil the impacts of this form of labour on frontline employees and suggest ways of enhancing aesthetic labour performance in Gweru lodges.

Literature Review

The Concept of Aesthetic Labour

The notion of aesthetic labour stems from the classic work on emotional labour. According to [17] emotional labour refers to employees being required to manage their emotions at work in order to publicly present pleasant facial expressions or body language [18] noted that [17] construct of emotional labour could not be used to explain the aesthetics of the physical body so [19] replaced the concept of emotional with aesthetic labour. They therefore transformed the mental and emotional constructs emphasized in emotional labour into the constructs of appearance and physical presentation at work [20]. Also concurred that the concept of aesthetic labour was developed in order to expand the idea of emotional labour and reveals how the corporeality of employees are organizationally appropriated and packaged for commercial benefit [6] defined aesthetic labour as the employment of workers with desired corporeal dispositions. These dispositions are possessed by workers at the point of entry to employment and are then mobilized, developed and commodified by employers through processes of training, monitoring, discipline and reward so as to produce a service encounter that appeals to the senses of customers both visually and aurally. Added that aesthetic labour is actually when organizations commodify employee corporeality in an attempt to appeal to the senses of customers via the right look. In short aesthetic labour is all about "lookism". Highlight that having employees who have the favourable look, the right sound, or the right attitude to appeal to customers' senses gives an organisation a competitive advantage that will provide commercial benefit to the organisation. This has led to many managers now believing that looks, voice, accent, and attitude are a pre-requisite for customer-facing service workers since they physically embody the product and are ideal ambassadors for companies [15]. Emphasized that in order to meet the aesthetic specifications of

the organization service personnel must concretely perform the required aesthetic abilities and skills. Resultantly, organizations are increasingly becoming interested in improving their corporate images through enacting dress codes for employees. The dress code specifications include guidelines for general neatness, clothing style, accessories, personal grooming, hairstyle, and hair length [21] added that organisations may seek to control employees' language and body posture, from the length of their skirts and their hairstyles, their weight and the size of their bust, hips and thighs, the make-up that they wear, the way that they shave on both their faces and legs, their jewellery and shoes and the colour of their hair [22] felt that the clothing worn by employees when serving customers must reflect the corporate brand and enhance the corporate image. [4] added that as a way of addressing skills gaps in current employees, employers also provide training to improve the appearance and aesthetic skills of employees. On a different note, [23] views aesthetic labour as an iron cage which promotes rigidity and infringes the rights of the employees hence end up reducing their level of innovation and creativity. More importantly, [15] highlighted that employees must strive to meet various aesthetic requirements, improve their personal aesthetic skills, and aim to present a good image when serving customers [19] also added that employees must spend additional time (beyond regular work hours), effort, and money on presenting an appropriate and attractive appearance in the workplace. Resultantly, the aesthetic requirements can make employees feel burdened.

The Burden of Aesthetic Labor

The aesthetic labour burden was clearly expounded by [15] when they grouped the burden into (1) organizational aesthetic requirements and training (2) customer service pressures, and (3) burdens in time off work. The organizational aesthetic and training requirements burden dimension involves the pressure on employees to conform to clothing requirements, deportment requirements, training pressure and supervision pressures. Customer service dimension involves burden from customer criticism and service image requirements. The burden in time off work involves the burden of time, burden of financial cost and burden of efforts invested into aesthetics. The burden of aesthetic labour is summarized in (Figure 1) below: Although the above study identified the burden of aesthetic labour in three dimensions, the authors acknowledged that the relationship between the burden of aesthetic labour and its influence on employees was not investigated. This study therefore explores the impacts of the burden of aesthetic labour on employees.

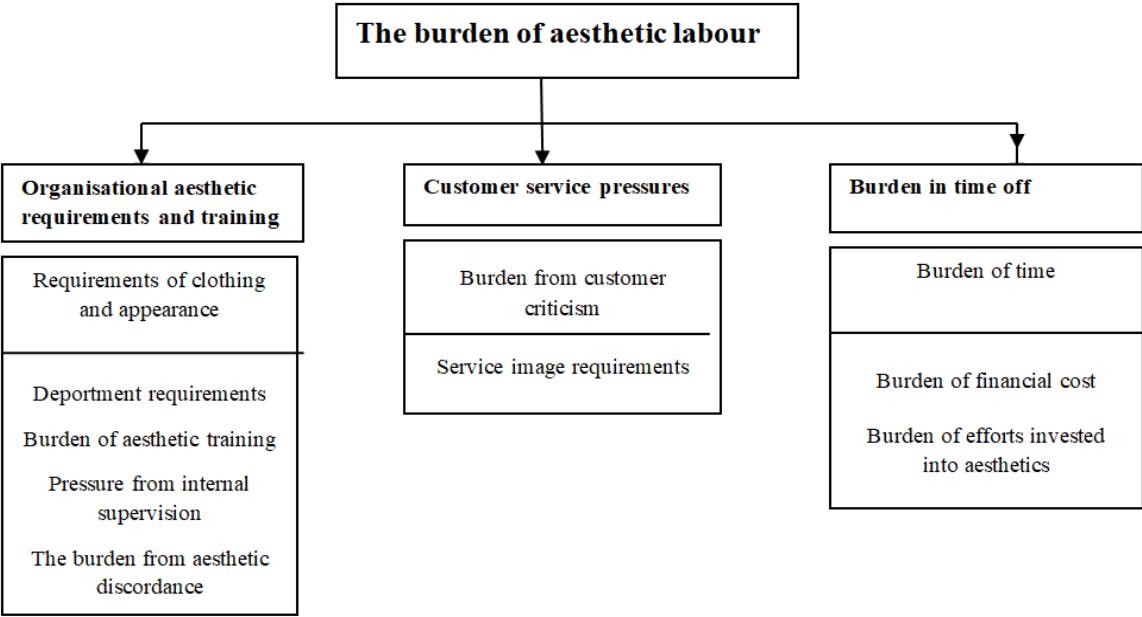


Figure 1: Aesthetic labour burden mode.

Impacts of Aesthetic Labour on Performers

[24] Investigated frontline employees in Taiwan hotels so as to determine the influence of aesthetic labour burden on employee engagement. The findings indicate that aesthetic labour burden has a negative impact on work engagement, whereas employee attributes such as physical attractiveness, displayed positive emotion and helpfulness have a positive impact. Physically attractive employees were found to be happy with their current jobs since they were able to meet the aesthetic demands of their organizations by displaying attractive appearances. Their proactive attitudes and positive thinking reduced the strain of doing aesthetic labour, and this improves their work engagement. The less physically appealing employees, on the other hand see aesthetic demands and norms as a source of stress. As a result, they are burdened and dissatisfied with their current jobs, making it difficult for them to devote themselves to their work [25]. According to employees displaying positive emotions tend to show work engagement, frequently evaluate the quality of the work and life positively and they resultantly show work engagement. Helpfulness suggests that staff is willing to assist or care for clients. Helpful employees are more motivated to attain their goals and resultantly, they are more engaged at work. According to [26] when performing aesthetic labour, frontline employees are always constantly reminded of the defined appearance standards and are expected to carry out tasks as per standards. Standards demand that frontline employees regulate their behaviours and emotions to complete their duties [27]. Research shows that emotional labour standards has both positive and negative impacts on frontline employees. Emotional labour causes increased employee self-efficacy and self-esteem,

Source: [15].

increased job engagement, organisational commitment and customer satisfaction [28,29]. However, emotional labour also induces emotional exhaustion and causes job stress, which affects job satisfaction [30,31]. Added that standards hinder employees from using their know how in solving customer complaints. The limited decision making powers may result to dissatisfaction. In a related study, [32] carried out a survey of 1320 hotel employees working in 5 Seoul hotels and discovered that there was a high correlation between emotional labor and fatigue, as well as emotional dissonance, which has been proven to have harmful effects on the psychological wellbeing of employees. Female hotel workers were also shown to be more likely than their male counterparts to engage in emotional labor, resulting in higher levels of fatigue. Fatigue can alter an individual's homeostasis and result in both physical and psychological disorders as a result of excessive emotional, physical, and mental exertion. Butler and [11] did research on slimming consultants in UK so as to give an account of a woman's experience in the role of being a slimming club consultant. The study revealed that when one's appearance becomes prominent over time, it can lead to dangerous behaviours such as use of weight loss pills and illegal drugs. These behaviours result in sleeplessness, frequent headaches and a feeling of disgust [12]. Also did an analysis of aesthetic labour in the organised retail industries in Kolkata, India and the found out that while female services workers may learn to inhabit consumerist spaces through a learnt performance of embodied consumer cosmopolitanism under aesthetic labour regimes; their class backgrounds continue to produce frictions, restrictions, and moral surveillance. Furthermore, [33] also condemn encouraging provocative dressing at work citing that it can lead to female

objectification rather than an appraisal of their competency at work [34] admits that there are potential negative repercussions for employees, mainly in the form of sexual harassment at the workplace (largely directed at women), since an organisation might employ a particular style of dress that accentuates an employee's sex appeal which could inadvertently create a hostile work environment and encourage sexual advances by customers, exacerbating stress and emotion management demands at work. For example, other outlets that encourage very short skirts for their female employees or very tight jeans where on several occasions' customers ending up being tempted to abuse the employees. Additionally, [35] did research in service sectors in Acas, London and found out that aesthetic labour practices may in some instances contradict values of diversity and inclusion within organisations. A corporate culture that acknowledges and promotes diversity and attends to concerns of discrimination in the workplace can enhance feelings of trust and contribute to employee wellbeing and performance. A climate that ignores prejudiced attitudes and practices, on the other hand, risks dissatisfied employees, lawsuits, and a tarnished business brand. [33] in his research to address the law's failure at addressing appearance-based discrimination highlighted that dress and appearance requirements adversely affect employees by prohibiting them individual expression. It was also found out that the dressing regulations give employers unjustifiable amounts of coercive power while creating illusion that employees have a choice in the matter. The researcher also found out that pressure to meet standards for attractiveness pushes women to excessive dieting, eating disorders and plastic surgery [36] highlighted that where employees experience a discrepancy between organisationally required aesthetic standards and their personal identity, it can result in value-conflicting aesthetic dissonance, feelings of being stigmatized, and the exacerbation of managing negative emotions during work and customer interactions. From the reviewed literature above, it is clear that if aesthetic labour is embraced well by organisations, it can result in their brands being very vibrant through proper representation by the staff members. It is also evident in the reviewed literature that aesthetic labour has significant impacts on performers. However, most of the studies on the impacts of aesthetic labour were done in the general service sector, few studies focused on the hospitality sector. There is therefore a need to provide tourism and hospitality related impacts of aesthetic labour on employees. The reviewed literature also evidence that most of the reviewed studies were done in developed countries while less research was done in Africa, and none was done in Zimbabwe's hospitality sector. This research, therefore, seeks to cover the literature gap.

Methodology

The study was qualitative in nature. The study population consisted of 12 Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) registered lodging facilities in Gweru. Four facilities were purposively

selected as study units based on the size and facilities offered. The Village lodge, The Suburban village, The Eagle's Nest lodge and Fairmile Motel are notably the selected finest lodging facilities in Gweru. The lodges are strategically located along the roads a few kilometres outside the central business district of Gweru within a radius of 5 to 7 km from each other. The Village Lodge is perched along the Harare road, the Suburban Village and the Eagle's Nest lodges along the Shurugwi road and Fairmile Motel along Bulawayo road. The accommodation outlets offer facilities that suites both business and leisure travellers in Gweru. These include the conference facilities, fine dining restaurants and luxurious accommodation services. The selected study units were considered as having a higher demand for aesthetic labour performance. The respondents relevant to this study were guest-contact workers. Stratified random sampling was used to choose frontline employees from the high guest contact departments of the selected lodges namely front office, food and beverage and housekeeping departments. The researchers randomly picked 4 waiters, 4 front office personnel and 4 bedroom attendants per lodge, thus having a total of 48 frontline employees for the study. Purposive sampling was used so select managers. According to judgemental or purposive sampling enables the researchers to use his or her wisdom and intellect to identify and pick sample elements suitable for the collection of data. Managers are the ones who decide on and implement dress codes and appearance standards for employees and also happen to be aesthetic labour performers so their views were considered important for the study. Two managers namely the the front office manager and food and beverage manager were chosen per lodge. A total of 8 managers were selected for the study bringing the total number of respondents to 56 and this was considered a true representation of the whole study population and adequate for the researcher to gather meaningful findings on aesthetic labour in Gweru lodging facilities. This qualitative study utilized face to face interviews as its main data collection instrument. Permission and consent to carry out the research was first sought from the organizations and data collection was done for 2 months from early February to mid-March 2020. An interview guide was used and all responses were recorded. The study achieved 95% response rate. Data was analysed using thematic analysis. The themes which emerged from the data analysis are presented in the findings section below.

Results and Discussions

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The researchers successfully conducted 53 interviews of the 56 scheduled interviews thereby attaining 95% response rate [37] argued that for the research findings to be justified, a response rate of 51% is supposed to be surpassed. 95% response rate was therefore high enough to justify the use of findings as a basis for drawing conclusions on the impact of aesthetic labour in Gweru lodges. 65% of the respondents were females while 35% were male. It was also found out that 30% of the respondents were

aged between 31-40 years; 45% were aged 21-30 years and 15% were over 41 years. As for employment status only 20% were permanent employees and have worked for the lodges for a period of between 1 to 10 years, while 80% were on contract and internship. This has implications on the findings, given that in most hospitality establishments in Zimbabwe, trainees and interns are not usually paid. All respondents reached secondary education. 35% had professional certificates, 5% had diplomas and 60% received in-house on-the-job training.

The Nature of Aesthetic Labour in Gweru Lodges

The research sought to establish the nature of aesthetic labour amongst Gweru urban lodges and below are the results on how aesthetic labour was performed.

Clothing and Appearance: All the interviewed managers and supervisors concurred that the issue of aesthetic labour is of paramount importance in their establishments. Appearance and expected conduct among front line employees has been given full attention to an extent that standard manuals have been developed to clearly state how employees should present themselves at work. As for dress code, all of the respondents highlighted that they had uniforms in their organizations. Black and white uniform was common in all the studied lodges except for the Village lodge and Suburban Village which had two different uniforms for frontline staff. In these lodges trainees put on black and white while permanent employees put on cream and coffee uniforms. Knee length dresses and skirts were prescribed for the female employees. Respondents also confirmed that uniforms were accompanied with name tags for easy identification and maintenance of corporate image. The findings also revealed that free uniforms were given to permanent employees and some casual employees while trainees bought their own uniforms. According to the interviewed managers, hair for ladies must be neatly done and tied at the back while males must have clean shaves. Jewellery standards were also set where only wedding rings and studs were allowed and nothing in excess. As for make-up, employees were allowed to wear decent make-up and the organization did not provide the make-up kits. Overall, on dressing and appearance, all the lodges had the uniform standards that recommended full and well-maintained attire. Reiteration was on the fact that the establishments expected all their employees to always depict positive aesthetics as prescribed in organisational standard operating manuals. These results are consistent with [27] who noted that frontline employees are always expected to perform as per the standards set by the organisation. The findings on dress code are also in accordance with [15] who highlighted that organizations are increasingly becoming interested in improving their corporate images through enacting dress codes for employees.

Employee Behaviour: The research findings revealed that employee behaviour was strictly controlled and monitored in line with the lodges' rules. It was expected that all employees must

have a positive attitude, friendly, smile always and be pleasant. When walking, the employees were supposed to walk briskly. When interacting with guests, they were supposed to listen attentively and display a jovial mood glazed with a smile at all times. This finding coincides with who believe that looks, voice, accent, and attitude are a pre-requisite for customer-facing service workers since they physically embody the product and become company ambassadors.

Supervision and Training: It was also found out that regular inspections are done in these organizations to check the state of compliance by every frontline employee. For restaurant employees, pre-service briefings were held as a way of supervising and inspecting the employees. All the managers acknowledged that orientation, training, and on the job monitoring was administered regularly. The establishments regularly held seminars on issues such as handling customer complaints and handling clients. The results are supported by [4] who highlighted that as a way of addressing skills gaps in current employees, employers also provide training to improve the appearance and aesthetic skills of employees. The findings on nature of aesthetic labour presented above reveal that the lodges in Gweru observe the practice of aesthetic labour and consider it as a tool of enhancing their brands as attributed by [1] who states that in the hotel industry organisations expect service employees to display cheerful and friendly emotions when interacting with customers. [38] also assert that the frontline service providers' look is a tool that image-oriented service managers employ to shape the brand's value proposition and differentiate themselves from competitors.

Impacts of Aesthetic Labour on Frontline Employees

The main objective of the research was to establish the impacts of aesthetic labour among frontline employees in Gweru urban lodges. Five key themes emerged as the main impacts of aesthetic labour and these were: work satisfaction; absenteeism and turnover; sexual harassment; surface acting and stress.

Work Satisfaction: The findings revealed that 30% of frontline employees were satisfied with their jobs while 70 % expressed dissatisfaction. Satisfied employees highlighted that they enjoy looking smart as per organisational expectations while dissatisfied employees cited the aesthetic demands as being too much for them. The research findings are in agreement with [5] who noted that aesthetic labour may reduce job satisfaction due to the pretends that come with it [4] also noted that aesthetic labour may be enjoyed by employees and may equip them with skills that advantage them both in and out of the workplace.

Absenteeism and Turnover: All supervisors revealed that they receive absenteeism cases related to aesthetics. One of the restaurant supervisors highlighted that some male waiters absent themselves from work citing that they were not cleanly shaven and had no money to pay for the shave. Absenteeism levels were said to be seriously affecting work scheduling and this has called

for disciplinary procedures and at sometimes contract termination. As for turnover, the managers acknowledged that employees do resign but were not comfortable to share the reasons for resignation. However, 80% of the interviewed frontline employees expressed high levels of turnover intentions. Interestingly, most respondents revealed that poor reward was the major reason for them intending to leave the organisation anytime if any better opportunity arises elsewhere. One of the male respondents was frank enough to reveal that he was not happy with the way they were treated especially by supervisors. The respondent highlighted that the supervisors at times overdo the supervision to the extent of treating them as people who cannot think on their own. This matches well with [35] who highlighted that stringent checks on dress adherence result in employees rebelling against the feelings of being infantilized [27]. Also affirms that if employees experience higher levels of emotional exhaustion and job dissatisfaction, they will have a higher intention to leave and transfer to a less emotionally demanding job.

Sexual Harassment: 80% of the female respondents highlighted that aesthetic labour exposes them to sexual harassment. They pointed out that some of the customers misinterpret some aesthetic labour gestures. For example, one respondent pointed out that ‘when i smile and am friendly to male customers, some take it as a sexual invite. A student on internship at one of the lodges also expressed concern that when she was at the reservations desk some customers said “you are looking very beautiful, can I book you also?” Such comments evidence that those frontline employees in hospitality organisations are victims of sexual harassment as pointed out by [34].

Surface Acting/Window Dressing: Findings also revealed that surface acting was prevalent among the frontline employees in Gweru lodges. 85% of the respondents revealed that they actually hide their true feelings and change normal appearances to suit the work situation. This was more prominent among front desk and the restaurant employees who have high guest contact. The employees are expected to display positive aesthetics at their respective work places under whatever circumstances. The respondents revealed that as normal human beings they also have personal problems which cannot be left at the doorstep when arriving at work. They end up pretending to be happy so as to conform to the work requirements. The aesthetic requirements therefore make them feel left out from their real selves [17] pointed out that performing aesthetic labour has detrimental consequences for an individual's well-being as it leads to estrangement from their genuine feelings [39] also added that surface acting predicts emotional exhaustion whereas deep acting predicts job satisfaction. When employees engage in surface acting, they use variety of mental resources to accommodate an emotional display and suppress their genuine emotions. The fact that surface acting is common among the studied employees means that aesthetic labour impacted them negatively.

Stress: 80% of the respondents from front desk, restaurant and rooms indicated that they always feel stressed up at the end of day and feel exhausted to face another day at work. Most of these respondents testified that there is always a lot of pressure especially during peak periods and when the lodges are hosting important functions where everyone is expected to be on their toes, active, fresh and charming when dealing with guests. The respondents also revealed that when at work they are not supposed to look overworked or tired even if they have been running the whole shift. This hard work came out as a very stressing challenge. When the stressed employees get home tired, they spend most of their time sleeping and this in turn results in poor work-life balance. The issue of insufficient funds to cater for aesthetic demands also came out as one of the major stressors among interns, casual and permanent frontline employees. Internship students in some lodges were not being given any allowance but were expected to come to work presentable and this caused a huge aesthetic financial burden for them. The rewards for those salaried employees were not enough to buy uniforms, hairdo and make up kits. With the current harsh economic situation in the country, the respondents highlighted that what they earn is not even sufficient to buy food for their families; hence meeting the aesthetic requirements was really a burden for them. These results are consistent with [40] that generally wages and salaries in the Zimbabwean hospitality sector have continued to lag behind the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) hence reducing the majority of the workers to the poor working class. Employees are always stressed about how to make ends meet in order to face another day at work. The study indicated that aesthetic labour has caused more stress among the front-line employees as they continued to suppress their inner feelings or genuine emotions. Both male and female respondents in the restaurants, front desks and rooms division of the lodges under study indicated the same effect of stress, fatigue and disharmony as a result of aesthetic labour. The results concur with [32] who revealed that there is a significant association between fatigue, aesthetic disharmony and emotional effort among female and male workers.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has examined the nature of aesthetic labour in Gweru urban lodging facilities and it was evident from the findings that employee dress codes, behaviour and appearance-related issues were considered as an important element of managing an organisation's brand and reputation [41-48]. All studied organisations had laid down dress codes and appearance standards which were to be emphasised for all employees. The study also explored the impacts of aesthetic labour among frontline employees in Gweru urban lodges the study concluded that the practice of aesthetic labour in Gweru lodges had both positive and negative impacts on the performers. Although some frontline employees were satisfied with their jobs, the majority expressed stress, sexual harassment, turnover, surface acting as the negative

impacts of aesthetic labour on performers. The few satisfied employees were those that were able to meet the dressing and appearance based aesthetic demands. On the other hand, those employees who had challenges in fulfilling the aesthetic demands were negatively affected. Overall, aesthetic labour performance had more negative impacts on performers than the positive impacts. It can therefore be deduced that if performers are not able to meet all the aesthetic requirements, aesthetic labour becomes a burden which brings negative impacts on performers; if performers are able to meet the aesthetic demands positive impacts of aesthetic labour will be experienced. It also became apparent from the research that the work environment has an effect on the outcomes of aesthetic labour. If the work environment does not address the employee's needs and problems, the performers will be negatively affected by aesthetic labour. One can therefore conclude that aesthetic labour thrives in an environment where both the employer and employees support and benefit from each other. Based on the conclusions above, the researcher recommended that the studied organisations must render financial support to their staff members in a bid to attain full participation in aesthetics. Related to this, the research also recommended that the organisations must take into consideration all the needs and concerns of performers. Policies that constantly assess the impacts of aesthetic labour on frontline employees should be implemented. Training programmes should also be designed to impart knowledge to employees on how to influence their appearance through deep acting because it leads to positive outcomes of employee performance and wellbeing. The prevalence of stress among frontline employees also exhibits the need for refresher courses, continuous monitoring and support for employees to learn how to cope with situations or problems that could emerge from aesthetic labour performance. This research suggests that further research be undertaken to determine the relationship between work environment and aesthetic labour and then use such information to create conducive environment for aesthetic labour performance.

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