Role of emotional labour in mental health

Vanshika Sachdeva, Namita Tayal and Dr. Virendra Pratap Yadav

Abstract
Emotional labour is defined as a deliberate disconnect between the felt and performed emotions when providing any specific or important service or interacting with some individual. Mental health consists of the individuals’ emotional, psychological and social well-being along with their ability to enjoy life and attain a sense of balance. Mental health is increasingly becoming important in the workplace and thus maintaining the mental health of employees is extremely essential and important. Employees in the garment industry improve their service quality by engaging in emotional labour which requires them to maintain pretentious and desirable emotions under all circumstances. The aim of the present study was to understand the relationship between emotion labour and mental health of salespersons working in garment stores. The study followed a qualitative approach and the sample was collected using purposive sampling, the total sample being 8 salespersons working in different garment stores in Delhi NCR. The data was collected through in-depth interview. Thematic Network Analysis was used to analyse the data to obtain a complete understanding of the meaning. The findings of the study provide an understanding about the importance of emotional labour and its associated benefits both at the employee and organizational level.

Keywords: emotional labour, regulation, mental health, salesperson, thematic network analysis

Introduction
World Health Organisation (WHO) has given prominence to mental well-being in its universal definition of health. In 1948 [13], WHO defined health “as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity”. Mental health is an integral component of health and well-being. In 2001 WHO defined mental health as “a state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community.” Mental health can affect our physical health along with our work and relationships. It includes the person’s ability to enjoy his/her life and to attain a balance between the life activities and the efforts to achieve psychological resilience. Research in the field of mental health indicates that high levels of mental health are associated with increased creativity, learning, productivity and positive interpersonal relationships with improved physical health and life expectancy.

There are many factors that influence the mental health of employees in the workplace which include the different components of organizational culture and climate like: poor communication and management practices, long or inflexible working hours, lack of cohesion between teams and limited participation in decision-making. Bullying, harassment, emotional labour are some other important factors that lead to work-related stress and mental health problems.

The concept of Emotional Labour has emerged as a key component of interactive service work (Lewig & Dollard, 2003) [7] where the employees are required to interact with the clients directly and sometimes it is emotionally taxing for the employees. In this competitive working environment, organizations aim to strengthen their own position by improving their service quality and selling their services with a smile. They expect their employees to regulate their emotional expression and display certain pre-established and contextually appropriate emotions in order to create a pleasant service interactions with the clients.

The term Emotional Labour was first introduced by American sociologist Hochschild (1983) [5] who defined it as “an act of expressing organizationally desired emotions during the service transactions, and is caused by the difference between the actual emotional state experienced by the employee and the emotional expression required by the organization’s emotional expression norms for effective job performance.”
She further categorised primarily two types of emotional labour: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting mainly refers to showing emotions that are not actually felt by the individual but are required by their business and thus suppressing or altering the emotions truly felt which may result in low organization commitment (Yang & Chang, 2006) [14], increased perception of job stress, decreased satisfaction and increased distress among the employee (Pugliesi, 1999) [13], emotional and work exhaustion, (Thisera & Silva, 2017; Blau, Bentley & Purcell, 2012) [12, 3], job dissatisfaction, perceived negative impact on health, and well-being (Giousmpasoglou & Hoang, 2018) [13], stress and burnout (Mann & Cowburn, 2005; Mahato, Kumar, & Raju, 2014) [9, 8]. Whereas, deep acting consists of an employees’ effort to consciously modify their feelings in order to express the desired emotion. Both the Surface Acting and Deep Acting are not natural but artificial behaviours. Research suggest that surface acting has more negative effects on the employee than deep acting. Emotional Labour is the expression of organizationally desirable emotions by service agents during service encounters (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996) [1, 4, 10]. This research focused on understanding the effect of one of these factors i.e. emotional labour on the mental health of the employees. The present study, aimed to qualitatively understand the relationship between emotional labour and mental health among the salespersons working in different garment stores in Delhi NCR.

**Method**

Sample: The data for the present research was collected from the salespersons working in different garment stores in Delhi and National Capital Region (NCR). The sample comprised of 8 garment salespersons comprising of both male and female employees within the age group of 25-45 years of age. The sample was collected for the study through purposive sampling.

Tool: The qualitative interviews were carried out to gain in-depth information from the participants in the study. The interview schedule was comprised of 24 open-ended questions, prepared on the basis of emotional labour model given by Hochschild (1983) [5].

**Data Analysis:** Thematic Network Analysis was used to analyse the data. In the present study, the themes were extracted from the data and analysed by using Thematic Network Analyses.

**Result and Discussion**

The present study was conducted to understand the relationship between emotional labour and mental health among the salespersons working in garment stores. The study followed a qualitative approach in which the experiences of the participants were collected through interview schedule. Thematic Network Analyses was used to analyse the data and identify the various themes. Data was collected on the salespersons employed in various garment stores in different parts of Delhi NCR.

**Emerging Themes**

The analysis of the data through thematic network analysis resulted into 31 basic themes, 8 organizing themes and 3 global themes. The three global themes mainly focus on the nature of emotional labour and its impact on the mental health. The service sector is considered to be the tertiary sector of the economy which is involved in the production and provision of services to other businesses as well as to the final consumers. The development of the service industry has made it one of the largest employment sectors in almost all the developed countries of the world (Lee & Wolpin, 2006) [6]. Within the service sector, employees’ roles and responsibilities involve frequent and intense interpersonal contacts with the customers, and thus, they are often required to engage in emotional labour in order to attain customer satisfaction. The emotional labour satisfies the customers completely but may have certain unconscious harm on the mental health of the employees in the present context. The garment sector industry is one such service industry that requires its employees to deal effectively and directly with the customers on a daily basis. Increased competition among the organizations and stores has put a lot of pressure on the employees and thus, they continuously have to use various means and positive emotions to enhance their services and prove their capabilities over the other employees. This study aimed to understand the role of emotional labour in the mental health of the garment sector salespersons.

**Table 1:** From Basic to Organizing to Global Themes

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<tr>
<th>Basic Themes</th>
<th>Organizing themes</th>
<th>Global Themes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pleasant emotions increase sales</td>
<td>Welcoming body language attracts customers’ attention</td>
<td>Effective Emotional Modulation, Route to Prosperous Business</td>
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<td>Increased preference towards particular salesperson</td>
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<td>Smiling faces lead to customer revisits</td>
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<td>Escalates customers’ contentment and commitment</td>
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<td>Customers feel accepted and valued</td>
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<td>Employee-to-employee comparison leads to contentment</td>
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<td>Frequent Customers produce “We” feeling</td>
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<td>Smiling face fetches positive feedback</td>
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<td>Customers prefer stores because of dealing</td>
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<td>Satisfied customers engage in Word of Mouth (WOM) Marketing</td>
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<td>Effective service gives an edge in competition</td>
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<td>New customers bring excitement</td>
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<td>More persuasion for sales</td>
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<td>Pressure to create a favorable impression</td>
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<td>Increases emotional regulation to make them feel comfortable</td>
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<td>Pressure to make them permanent</td>
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<td>Require less time, effort and emotions</td>
<td>Level of trust and comfort with</td>
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Global theme 1: Effective emotional modulation – A route to prosperous business
It depicted the need and existence of the emotional regulation experienced by the salespersons working in the different garment stores who are required to deal directly with the customers starting from 10 am in the morning to 10 pm in the night. Salespersons are expected to provide effective service while at the same time engaging emotionally with their customers and also mix it with personal touch and a sense of understanding to improve the overall quality of their service. Customers’ want salespersons who understand their needs, have a degree of control over their intense emotions and thus display certain socially acceptable emotions while showing their products. Thus moderating emotions give a pleasant experience to the customers and results in the blooming of business. Stores have successful business when the salespersons create a pleasant atmosphere that fascinates customers and motivates them to engage in increased buying resulting in greater gain and profits. The global theme can be understood clearly through 3 organizing themes.

Organizing theme 1.1: Welcoming body language attracts customers’ attention
Customers all over the world tend to have a certain preference for the kind of service rendered to them along with the quality of product which they intend to purchase. Within the garment sector industry, the body language and attitude of the salespersons is what the customer notices first and gives importance to it, which is substantiated by the excerpt: “Customer attraction ke liye sabse must hota hain apni grooming aur smile. Toh agar hum theek hain, humari grooming theek hain toh customer zaroor humse attract hogta aur humari taraf aaeega.” (Participant 3 Female). This organizing theme can be understood by these 5 basic themes: pleasant emotions increase sales, increased preference towards particular salesperson, smiling faces lead to customer revisits, escalates customers’ contentment and commitment, and customers feel accepted and valued. When customers are served with a pleasant and friendly attitude and are given genuine advice, they are more likely to purchase certain goods even when they do not intend to (excerpt: “Hum agar happy honge tabhi hum customer ko khush kar paenge aur uski baat samaj kar uski pasand ki cheeze bhi dikh paenge” Participant 4, Male). The competition within the garment sector industry is not only between different stores but also between the employees of a particular store as well who are constantly attempting to serve more and more customers and satisfy their needs. Customers directly and readily approach the salespersons who are groomed well, look presentable and show a smile and positive attitude. Salespersons who maintain a smile and eye contact, show helping attitude, eagerness to respond, care and concern towards the customers impress, fascinate and motivate them to come to their stores for shopping (excerpt: “Humare pass jab customer aata hain, joh firast time aaya hain aur humne usko bikhul ache se attend kra, smiling face se attend kra aur voh customer itna zyada hum logo se attach ho jaata hain ki voh next time ki shopping ke liye bhi pehle se hum logo ko bol ke jaata hain ki hum agli shopping pei aapke store mein hi aagene aura aapse sedge”, Interviewee 2, Female). Such a preference not only benefits the stores in terms of increased sales and customer revisits but also acts as a major source of validation for the salespersons who work hard each day.

Organizing theme 1.2: Emotional regulation leads to employee benefits
The garment sector salespersons have the responsibility of managing the sales and purchase of the stores. Salespersons who moderate their emotions to provide good experience to the customers, feel happy and satisfied on receiving praise and rewards from customers. This organising theme can be understood by three basic themes: employee-to-employee comparison leads to contentment (excerpt: “Bahut acha lagta jab koi customer humare store mein dabara aata hain aur voh mujhe aake kehta hain ki aap hi hume attend karo aur kapde dikhao kyunki ichli baar aapne hume bahut acha se deal kiya tha ya voh aa ke khud se hume dekhh ke smile kare ya gret kare toh bahut acha lagta hain”, Interviewee 3, Female). The frequent customers produce “We” feeling, and smiling face fetches positive feedback. When dealing with customers, salespersons create a family of their own. and connect them with a feeling of superiority when they know that the particular customer has come only because they liked their services and the preference to be attended by particular salesperson acts as a major reward and achievement for them. It also motivates them to improve their services. The family like felling produced by the frequent customers is indicated through the excerpt: “Joh humare regular customers hain unse milkar aisa lagta hain jaise ki voh humare ghar ke members ho. Ek toh unhe dekh ke apne aap mulli pei smile aa jaati hain aur phir voh bhi hume bahut ache se milte hain. Regular customers jab ghoorn ke aate hain humare pass aur joh sirf humse lena chahte hain uss samay Khushi bahut zyada hoti hain”
(Interviewee 7, Male).

Organizing theme 1.3: Emotional bonding builds brand image

These basic themes helps in gaining insight about this organising theme: customers prefer stores because of dealing, satisfied customers engage in word of mouth marketing, and effective service gives an edge in competition. It is the quality of service provided by the salespersons and the entire store staff that creates a memorable impression on the mind of their customers and increase their preference for that particular store for making any kind of future purchase. When customers are listened and their need are understood effectively by the salespersons they feel contended and never leave the store empty handed and remain loyal to that store for their service. When stores have loyal customers, who remain permanent and shop again, they automatically become superior over the other competitive stores and get competitive advantage over their rivals. Word of mouth marketing is the most promising and convenient forms of marketing that plays an important role in not only bringing new customers but also increasing their level of trust and confidence in the products and services of a particular store and thus directly increases the sale and profits of the store (excerpt: “Jha main job karti hun usme kamse kam 80% customers aise hain joh regular aate hain aur yeh joh log hain na voh sirf humari kya kehtaa hain na ek value joh bani hoti hain snowhite ki uski vajah se zyada keechi hui aate hain. Saath hi saath kuch hum logo ka attend karne ka tareeka hain joh customers ko humare store ki taraf kheechta hain. Dono cheeze saath hain jiski vajah se customers aate hain aur store ka naam bna rehta hain.” Interviewee 2, Female).

Global theme 2: Warm and familiar customer salesperson interaction - A path to mental- well-being

Salespersons have to deal directly with the customers who come to their store and provide them services. It is the kind of service that can ensure their popularity. To achieve this, sometimes they have to hide their true emotions and expressing smile on their face to satisfy and impress the customers. On a daily basis, salesperson have to deal with both new and known customers. Salespersons often have the tension and nervousness to deal effectively with new customers and make a good impression. However not every time the customer interaction causes stress to the salespersons. When the customers care for the needs of the salespersons and give them a sense of warmth then they also feel a sense of relief and contentment. Interactions with warm and known customers give salespersons a family like felling and give them a sense of happiness and comfort.

Organizing theme 2.1: New Customers require greater mental resources

Customers of all types require care and concern while dealing with them in order to give them a good service and provide them assistance. New customers come to any store with a lot of expectations from the stores when they visit for the first time and if these expectations are met, they begin to trust the stores otherwise they feel disappointed. Salespersons have to work hard to stand on the expectations of the new customers and meet their needs. The interaction of the salespersons with new customers and nature of their dealing can be understood through the following 5 basic themes: new customers bring excitement, more persuasion for sales, pressure to create a favourable impression, increases emotional regulation to make them feel comfortable, and pressure to make them permanent.

Dealing with new customers cause both mental exertion and stimulation and bring a sense of excitement in the normal routine of the job. Sometimes new customers do not know the salespersons and may sometimes misunderstand them or be rude with them and may go empty handed despite a lot of effort which causes a lot of strain and mental exertion. However, the salespersons also feel a mental stimulation and happiness when they do good in job and when they are able to deal effectively with a new customer and persuade them to purchase the goods that they were looking for. New customers are sometimes difficult to convince and require more energy and efforts (excerpt: “Joh new customers aate hain unki taraf balti zyada hi dhaavan hota hain humara ki joh bhi customer new aa rha hain usse acha experience mile taaki voh humare pass regular bna rhe. Toh uske liye thode efforts aur karne padte hain Toh sab cheeze hume unhe ache se samjhni padhhtii hain aur unke saath hain cheez ka zyada rakhna padhha hain aur har customer ke saath hamesha hume lagna hi padta hain.” Interviewee 1, Male). New customers pose new challenges in front of the salespersons which they have to accept with a smiling face and contribute more energy in satisfying and persuading them to engage in purchasing behaviour. Not only they have to engage in more persuasion but also they have to put in more effort to regulate their true emotions and there is a constant pressure to deal with them effectively so that they have a nice experience and they are even willing to visit the store in future and enjoy their services thus ensuring greater success and satisfaction.

Organizing theme 2.2: Level of trust and comfort with frequent customers, A cure to personal stress

This organizing theme can be understood in terms of the 6 basic themes: require less time, effort and emotions, interactions give family like feeling, require less pretentious behavior and generates happiness from within, provide time to think and deal with problems, interactions act as a source of refreshment, pressure to meet the expectations. When in the time of problem or stress there is certainly a change in the body language of the salespersons but they have to hide their genuine emotions in dealing with the customers. Salespersons are required to deal with new customers carefully and patiently and thus they continue to smile while dealing with them. However, regular customers are easily able to understand any minor change in their dealing because of the bond that has been created between them. Sometimes the frequent customers try to listen and understand the problems of the salespersons and give them solutions for the same and show them empathy and concern. Such interactions with the frequent customers give them a sense of comfort and reduces their level of stress. Frequent customers also interact with the salespersons like family members and give them respect in return of their service. This trust and relationship that the salespersons have with their frequent customers make them feel happy, satisfied (excerpt: “Joh humare frequent customers hote hain unhe dekh ke aar deal karke acha lagta hain kyunki jab voh customers aate hain toh aisa lagta hain ki jaise koi apne hi hain aur voh bhii humare saath issi tareeke se behave karte...” Interviewee 1, Male).
Having a prior knowledge about the temperament and interests of the frequent customers, the salespersons have to put in less effort in convincing them and also experience the genuine emotion of happiness and refreshment of dealing with family like customers who trust their service and rely on them to meet all their needs (excerpt: "Regular frequent customers joh hote hain voh toh family ki tarah ki ho jaati hain ek tareekhe se. We don’t hesitate much while interacting with them. Aur unse baat karte hain ki koi baar hame apni problems ke solutions bhi mil jaate hain. Aur koi baar toh aisa bhi hota hain ki un saath dekhte hain hum acha feel karne lag jaate hain aur humne energy aa jaati hain aur jisse stress bhi dar ho jata hain."). Interviewee 4, Male).

No doubt frequent customers bring a sense of comfort and familiarity with them that acts as a source of motivation but they also come with certain prior expectations and standards which they are required to meet under all circumstances and they cannot compromise on the quality of service provided by them to any customer. However, any kind of ill-treatment or problem in the dealing of the salespersons may cause them to lose their long-term customers (excerpt: "Joh humare regular customers aate hain voh ek umeed lekar aate hain ki unhe kis tarah ki madad chaihie aur unhe kaisi dealing chahiye. Ek baar jab hunme customer ko ache se dek nila toh next time jab voh aate hain toh unki kuch umeede hoti hain jinpe hume humesh aakh aap ko deal karna hain."). Interviewee 8, Male).

Global theme 3: Psychosocial coping strategies - A path to well-being:

Coping strategies refers to an action, or a thought process that is used in meeting a stressful or unpleasant situation or in modifying one’s reaction to such stressful situations. It consists of both behavioural and psychological strategies that people employ to regulate the effects of stressful events. The working hours of garment salespersons are also very long which cause fatigue, frustration and disappointment due to the work-life imbalance and while performing these tedious duties, they have to face the stress of maintaining customer satisfaction along with the name and reputation of the store. The salespersons have to moderate their emotions and present pleasant feelings while dealing with customers in order to create a positive atmosphere and make the customers feel valued and comfortable. Psychological and social strategies used by the salespersons help them to feel calm and relaxed and reduce their level of stress that may hamper their work and productivity.

Organizing theme 3.1: Interpersonal relationships and their therapeutic effect

This organizing theme is best described by 4 basic themes: inter-employee cooperation enhances sales, we feeling provides support and motivation, supportive attitude of management, and sharing of roles and responsibilities to reduce distress. Most of the salespersons share a good interpersonal relationship with each other due to prolonged and extended working space. They also feel comfortable in opening up with them about their problems and act as a pillar of support to each other whenever required. Support from colleagues helps salespersons to remain strong and continue working hard despite any personal or professional problems and prevent them from experiencing any kind of negative effects or consequences. Together they can handle all problems and create the best image of their stores in front of the customers (excerpt: “Kyi baar customer kuch bol ke chula jaata hain jiska bura bhi lagta hain hume par phir unke jaane ke baad hum aapae mein dusre ke saath discuss kar leta hain ki voh yeh keh kar gya yey eh kiya. Aapae mein discuss karke ek dusre ko samajha lete hain ki koi baat nahi ab chahe voh joh bhi bole hone he deal karne hain aur hum unh e nahi kuch bole sakte. Toh hum ek dusre ko hi support dete hain aur samjha dete hain ki koi nahi bhool jao aise customers ko.” Interviewee 2, Female).

Salespersons feel happy and motivated when they get the support of their fellow employees in not only dealing with the customers but also in understanding and solving their problems and it is this cooperation that reduces the stress experienced by them and also increases their sales (excerpt: “Support mil hi jaati hain saaman utane ke liye aur joh baaki dukkaan ke salesmen hote hain na unse. Toh unse kaafi support milti hain jisse ek baar joh baaki salesperson hote hain jaane vale toh kyi cheeze agar unhe nahi pta toh toh unhe help karke cheeze nikal nikal kar dete hain. Toh hum sab aapae mein ek dusre ki madd karte rehtae hain aur isse saara kaam bhi bat jaata hain aur pasrehaa bhi kam hoti hain.” Interviewee 5, Male). Management also play an important role in sustaining the salespersons and motivating them to keep going. Salespersons feel happy when the managers listen to them and help them in dealing with difficult customers. When the management supports the salespersons and give them the confidence that they will be helped when in need they feel happy and satisfied. The salespersons are able to discuss about the customers and problems with the managers that helps them to reduce their stress.

Organizing theme 3.2: Increased ratio of successful customers over the unsuccessful customers lead to employee satisfaction

Salespersons have to deal with different types of customers and persuade them to purchase. Even when the customer purchases a small piece of cloth the salespersons feel happy and satisfied that their efforts have been successful. Successful customers bring positive emotions and please the salespersons and lead them to forget all their problems and feel happy. While dissatisfied or upset customers may cause frustration and may lead the salespersons to doubt their skills and abilities which may unnecessarily magnify their issues and problems. When the number of satisfied, happy customers overpower the unsatisfied or unhappy customers, the salespersons feel happy and relaxed and they are able to calmly or freshly think about their problems. Meeting the needs of the customers plays an important role in motivating the salespersons, reducing their stress and making them feel happy about their jobs. Praise and feedback reduce negativity within, and increased gratification due to customers’ favourism towards salesperson are the 2 basic themes that can be used to understand the organizing theme. The benefit of successful customers was indicated through the following excerpt: “Agar customer ke saath dekhte hain humare mind idhar udhar kha chaal raha hoga na toh main usse deal nhi kar paunga voh bhi khali haat hai jaega aur voh khali haat jaega toh mera aur dimag kharab hoga phir isliye kuch bhi kyun na ho usse cheez ko nikalna padta hain dimag se taaki hum ache se dekal kar sake kyunki uss cheeze se itna feel nhi hoga jitna kisi grahak ke humari

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Organizing theme 3.3: Positivity generated by instrumental self-talk

Salespersons have to go through a lot of ups and downs in terms of their both personal and professional lives and the most difficult part of this is that they cannot let these emotions reflect on their face when dealing with any customer and thus have to maintain a very calm and positive and attitude at all times. However it is only when they maintain an optimistic attitude and focus on the positive things that they are able to deal with the stress and reduce its negative impacts on their life and work. It is only when the salespersons alter the appraisal of the stressful situation and attribute negative things to the external causes then they can easily avoid any kind of bitterness and irritation in dealing with customers and thus deal with all the customers with a sense of confidence, trust, happiness and positivity. This organizing theme can be understood in terms of the 3 basic themes: optimistic outlook towards the problem situation, cognitive reappraisal of situation reduces frustration, and external attribution to failures causes stress relief. When salespersons are unable to convince the customers, or the customer goes empty handed despite their tremendous efforts and persistence, the salespersons feeljected and disappointed and begin to blame themselves. Employees who engage in self-talk are able to keep themselves positive and motivated even in the most difficult times. Self-talk allows the individuals to think and understand the situation completely and think of ways to handle it effectively and correctly. Salespersons who engage in such positive thinking feel more relaxed and calmer and do not blame themselves for minor things. They are able to maintain a positive attitude towards a vast majority of things and thus remain motivated and determined to perform their duties effectively (excerpt: “Jab customer ko hum ache se dekal kar rhe hote hain aur usse sab bta rhe hota par tabhi bhi voh khali haath chala jaata hain ya hume kuch sunna deta hain toh usse time bura toh bahut lagta hain par phir hum khudko samjha lete hain. Jab customer nhi hota toh hum khud hi sochte rehte hain aur apne aap ko samajhle rehte hain ki koi nhi aisa kuch bura lagne vali baat nhi hain. sab theek hain hume agli baar customer ko ache se dekal karna hain.” Interviewee 2).

Conclusion

The key findings of the study indicate that emotional regulation and modulation are beneficial for the customers and salespersons and also leads to business success; smiling faces of the salespersons make them preferable for customers and increase their popularity in stores; garment Stores can only increase sales and achieve more only when their customers are satisfied completely and enjoy the service; work relationships have therapeutic effect on the salespersons, ability to deal effectively and successfully with the customers give huge amount of satisfaction to the salespersons and reduces any kind of negativity experienced by them, support from the management gives certain kind of confidence to the employees and give them the desire to continue their job in the particular organization; and sharing of roles and responsibilities and cooperation between the employees of any organization enhances the productivity of that organization and leads to success.

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