

**Emotions in Organizations:
Drawing Connections to Social Capital and Employee Well-Being**

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Abstract

Employee emotions are essential to relationship building in organization and work settings. Emotions can potentially improve or damage relationships among employees, and between employees and clients. While there are several concepts used to study emotions, the concept most commonly discussed in academic literature with respect to work and organizations is emotional labor. Since its genesis in 1983, emotional labor has been used by scholars in several disciplines to explore questions of individual well-being and organizational effectiveness. This dissertation conducts three studies and builds on previous scholarship to provide a nuanced understanding of how emotions influence intra-organization relationships and employee well-being.

The first study provides an initial examination of emotional labor and organization social capital using quantitative methods. The findings indicate employees perceiving themselves as more emotionally competent are likely to also perceive more connections among members of their organizations and higher levels of identification with their organization. The second study relies on series of in-depth interviews with local government employees to explore how they regulate their emotions during interactions with coworkers. Here, the interviews suggest that professionalism acts as an organizational display rule, potentially restricting the development of social capital. The final study conducts a meta-analysis that examines how different strategies of emotional labor influence employee well-being. The research findings suggest deep acting, a primary strategy of emotional labor, does not hold as notable of a relationship with employee well-being as surface acting and the expression of genuine emotion. The findings also indicate profession and culture act as important moderators when studying the influence of emotional labor on burnout and job satisfaction. Following the presentation of all three research studies, I provide a summary of each study and a discussion of my future research agenda. Finally, I close with a

discussion of how emotional labor scholars can provide research that is relevant to public administration scholarship and practice.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Prior research suggests that emotions act as a guide, directing individuals on how to behave during social interactions (Lord & Kanfer, 2002, p. 12). Within an organizational setting, emotions allow one actor to express or suppress how they feel, while providing others with information (i.e. social cues) that can be interpreted and used to respond appropriately. In short, emotions are central to the social interactions that allow individuals to develop and maintain personal relationships. With respect to organizations, emotions can support or impede relationships among employees, and between employees and clients. Recognizing the significance of emotions for personal interactions, this dissertation uses a mixed methods approach to study the role of emotions in organizational settings. More specifically, this dissertation conducts three distinct research studies using survey analysis, in-depth interviews, and meta-analysis to provide a nuanced understanding of how emotions influence intra-organization relationships and employee well-being.

1.0.1 Emotions in Organizations

The Industrial Revolution is credited with introducing rationality as the primary administrative paradigm (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). Administrators and administrative scholars were tasked with developing efficient government organizations (Wilson, 1887) and rational, objective decision-making was considered the primary strategy to achieve this end. The presence of emotions in organizational settings was understood as a roadblock to the development of an efficient and effective organization that could only be produced through rational decision-making (Jin & Guy, 2009). Although bounded rationality was introduced in the 1970s and highlighted the limitations in one's ability to make rational decisions (Simon, 1976), scholars'

perspectives on the role of emotions in organizations remained consistent: completing the tasks necessary to run an organization should be void of emotional influence (Mumby & Putnam, 1992, p. 470). This belief that emotions would lead to the downfall of rational and efficient organizations helped ensure that discussions of feelings, emotions, and emotional displays would remain largely absent from administrative and organizational behavior literature throughout most of the 1900s (Grandey, 2000).

In the mid-1980s and the years following, studies examining the role of emotions in organizational settings became substantially more prominent (Morris & Feldman, 1996). There was a shift in administrative and organizational scholarship from avoiding emotions to welcoming them. This shift was triggered by a change in how scholars perceived the relationship between emotions and organizational success. Specifically, scholars began to connect the emotions and emotional displays of employees with organizational outcomes. Rather than viewing the humanistic qualities of employees as a detriment, they were perceived as a potential tool to achieve organizational goals, particularly in areas involving service delivery transactions. This transition in thinking coincides with changes in the economy.

In the 1950s, the United States as well as several other countries began to see a shift in their economies from an emphasis on manufacturing to an emphasis on service (Buera & Kaboski, 2012). As interpersonal skills of employees became more significant in the quickly developing service economy, scholars began to recognize and propose that emotional displays of employees while at work were likely to have at least some connection to organizational effectiveness (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Because a customer's opinion of an organization is partially the consequence of their interaction with that organization's employees, employee emotions and emotional displays became noticeably more important to the functioning of organizations (Morris & Feldman, 1996)

Organizational leaders wanted to be perceived as a respectable service providers among competitors and employee emotions were one component of their success in that area.

Looking beyond service delivery transactions with clients, scholars also began to notice that the ability of an employee to regulate their emotions could influence their relationships with other organizational members. Employees lacking the ability to properly regulate their emotions could potentially, “wreak havoc within the organization” (Kiel & Watson, 2009, p. 23) and slow the completion of work.

Regardless of whether the personal transaction is happening between employees or between an employee and customer, emotions and emotional displays are essential to ensuring the interaction is not detrimental to the organization. With the impact emotions have on organizations, discussions of emotions can no longer remain on the margins of administrative and organizational behavior literature. As long as people are present in organizations, emotions possess a strong connection with the organization’s ability to complete its core functions.

Since the 1980s, scholars have developed and explored several concepts to study emotions. For example, emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995; 1998), emotion management (Hochschild, 1990; Bolton, 2005), and emotion work (Hochschild, 1979). Each of these concepts have become well-known in the social science literature. However, the concept most commonly discussed in the literature with respect to work is emotional labor. Since being introduced, several scholars have presented their own unique definitions of emotional labor (See Table 1). However, the originator of the concept, Arlie Hochschild, defines emotional labor as, “the management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display” (1983, p. 7). Central to the initial explanation of emotional labor is the idea that organizations have commoditized employee emotions to achieve organizational goals (Hochschild, 1983). This means that when producing emotional labor,

employees are expected to present emotions that align with organizational norms to achieve goals established by the organization (Hwa, 2012; Mastracci, Newman, Guy, 2010). For example, when a teacher smiles at new students to make them feel welcome in the classroom, or a police officer acts serious to maintain authority over a situation. Regardless of how the employee actually feels, while on the job they are required to present specific emotions during specific situations to meet the goals of their organization and effectively carry-out their work. The social and organizational expectations that dictate what emotions are appropriate to outwardly display while on the job are known as display rules (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Table 1. Definitions of Emotional Labor

Author(s)	Definition
Hochschild (1983)	“The management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display” (p.7).
Ashforth & Humphrey (1993)	“The act of displaying the appropriate emotion (i.e. conforming with a display rule)” (p. 90).
Morris & Feldman (1996)	“The effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (p. 987).
Grandey (2000)	“The process of regulating both feelings and expressions for organizational goals” (p. 97).
Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson (2006)	“Personal interactions—separate from actual job descriptions—among employees and between employees and clients that facilitate the effective and smooth operation of the organization” (p. 899).
Wharton (2009)	“The process by which workers are expected to manage their feelings in accordance with organizationally defined rules and guidelines” (p. 147).
Jin & Guy (2009)	“Work that requires the engagement, suppression, and evocation of the worker’s emotion to get the job done” (p. 89).
Mastracci, Newman, & Guy (2010)	“Relational work that requires human service workers to manager their own emotions, and to elicit behaviors and feelings from clients and citizens” (p. 124)
Roh et al. (2016)	“Human efforts to manage emotional actions and expressions to achieve individual and organizational goals” (p. 46)

Several scholars have argued that the production of emotional labor is harmful to organizational members (Grandey, Rupp, & Brice, 2015). The primary explanation is that,

“engaging in emotional labor strips away the individual experience, the relational context, and the intimacy that typifies the expression of personal feelings” (Mumby & Putnam, 1992, p. 472). Others have challenged these negative perceptions and argued that emotional labor has the potential to benefit both the individual and the organization when harnessed correctly (Humphrey, Ashforth, & Diefendorff, 2015). Regardless, the consequences of regulating one’s emotions are complex and continue to interest those wanting a deeper understanding of how emotions impact the individual and organization.

This dissertation seeks to expand on previous literature and explore how emotions influence intra-organization relationships and employee well-being by conducting three studies. First, minimal work has explored organizational social capital as a consequence of employees regulating their emotions. Due to the lack of work that has been conducted in this area, this dissertation provides an initial examination of emotional regulation and social capital through quantitative methods. Second, the emphasis on emotions and service delivery transactions has created a deficit on studies examining emotions between colleagues within the same organization. Because of this, the second project in this dissertation conducts a series of in-depth interviews with local government employees to explore how they regulate their emotions during interactions with coworkers. With respect to the third project, several studies utilizing quantitative methods have explored how emotional labor influences employee burnout and job satisfaction, creating a robust collection of literature. For this reason, this dissertation conducts a meta-analysis that examines the relationship between commonly measured emotional labor strategies, the dimensions of burnout, and job satisfaction. Through the use of meta-analysis, this work provides overarching conclusions on the association between emotional labor, burnout, and job satisfaction.

Collectively, these three studies use emotions as a lens to explore colleague relations and employee well-being.

1.0.2 Purpose and Research Questions

Although research on emotions in organizational settings has increased significantly since the 1980s, there is still room to theorize and explore the role of emotions, particularly in the field of public administration (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006). The central purpose of this dissertation is to examine how employee emotions influence intra-organization relationships and employee well-being. Three research questions guide this work.

Question 1: How does the regulation of employee emotion influence organizational social capital?

This question establishes employee emotions as a predictor of organizational social capital (OSC). OSC is described as, “a resource reflecting the character of social relations within the organization, realized through members’ levels of collective goal orientation and shared trust” (Leana & Van Buren, 1999, p. 540). This relationship has received little attention in the literature, allowing this dissertation to provide an initial examination. This question is addressed using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) and ordinary least squares (OLS) regression on survey data from two municipalities in North Carolina collected by the Local Government Workplaces Initiative.

Question 2: How do local public servants conceptualize their use of emotional labor and the relationship this has to social bonds with their colleagues?

Because emotions are relational, they do not exist in a vacuum. In an organizational setting, emotions are social experiences, that happen between organizational members. For this reason, it is necessary to study emotions using a qualitative approach that allows for public sector employees

to share their personal experiences. By emphasizing how emotional regulation is conceptualized with respect to colleague relationships, this question highlights the necessity of a qualitative approach. To address this area of research, this dissertation presents an analysis of several in-depth, semi-structured interviews with local government employees in Kansas, Missouri, and Minnesota.

Question 3: How do the different emotional labor strategies (i.e. surface acting, deep acting, and the expression of genuine emotion) influence the dimensions of burnout (i.e. emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a lack of personal accomplishment) and employee job satisfaction?

Because scholars have studied the influence of emotional labor on burnout and job satisfaction heavily, there is a need to collectively examine the results presented in the literature and identify overarching conclusions. Burnout is the result of an employee's work requirements exceeding their individual capacity (Hsieh, 2014), while job satisfaction represents how positively or negatively an individual feels about their job (Rainey, 2009, p. 298). Together, burnout and job satisfaction represent two of the most common measures of employee well-being. To identify overarching conclusions in the literature, meta-analysis will be used to make sense of previous findings in the literature and develop cumulative knowledge (Schmidt & Hunter, 2015) on the relationship between emotional labor, burnout, and job satisfaction.

Building on existing literature and using both qualitative and quantitative methods, this dissertation provides a deeper understanding of employee emotion and its implications for organizations.

1.0.3 Contributions to the Literature

By examining the role of emotions in public organizations, this dissertation works at the intersection of public administration and organizational behavior literature. By exploring how

emotional labor influences social capital and employee well-being, this work provides meaningful contributions to both fields of literature.

The first contribution of this dissertation is that it explores social capital as a potential consequence of employee emotion. When examining the consequences of emotion for the individual, literature has often focused on the individual well-being of employees, particularly burnout and job satisfaction. When examining the consequences of emotional labor with a focus on the organization, literature has often focused on performance measures, such as customer satisfaction or the effectiveness of task completion rated by managers or coworkers. This dissertation looks at organizational social capital as a potential consequence of employee emotion, examining a relatively unexplored area of the literature.

The second contribution of this dissertation is that it draws aggregate conclusions about the influence of emotional labor on employee burnout and job satisfaction. The literature recognizes that emotional labor is conducted through three distinct strategies: surface acting, deep acting, and the expression of genuine emotions (Humphrey, Ashforth, & Diefendorff, 2015). In addition, burnout has three distinct dimensions: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a lack of feeling personal accomplishment (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Each strategy of emotional labor has a unique relationship with each dimension of burnout and job satisfaction. This dissertation sheds light on each relationship, providing nuanced understanding of emotional labor, burnout, and job satisfaction.

Finally, this dissertation participates in each major step necessary for the development of knowledge. Emotional labor scholarship represents an area of highly developed academic literature including extensive elements of theory development, theory testing, and the development of accumulated knowledge. This dissertation speaks to each of these elements of knowledge

development. Utilizing a mixed methods approach, the current work participates in each step of knowledge development, allowing the information gained from this dissertation to assist in providing a more robust understanding of emotional labor.

Collectively, the studies in this dissertation provide an examination of emotions in organizations that can be beneficial to scholars studying emotional labor, and more broadly organizational behavior and public administration.

1.0.4 Overview of Dissertation

Utilizing a mixed methods approach, this dissertation presents three distinct studies exploring the role of emotions in organizational settings. A brief summary of each study is provided below.

The first study, *Emotional Labor and Organizational Social Capital: An Analysis of Local Level Employees*, provides an examination of the relationship between emotional labor and organizational social capital using survey data from local government employees in North Carolina. The second study, *Intra-Organizational Emotions: Insights from Local Practitioners*, uses interviews with local public administrators in Kansas, Missouri, and Minnesota to explore emotions as that take place within the organization between colleagues in the context of local government. The third and final study, *Emotional Labor and Employee Well-Being: A Meta-Analysis*, examines 131 primary studies to provide an understanding of the relationship between several facets of emotional labor and the individual well-being of employees.

The conclusion of this dissertation provides a summary of each study, highlighting their major findings and contributions to the literature. This is followed with discussion of my future research agenda on emotional labor and major themes in the literature that I plan to address.

Finally, I close with an exploration of the future of emotional labor scholarship in the field of public administration.

Chapter 2

Emotional Labor and Organizational Social Capital: An Analysis of Local Level Employees

2.1 Introduction

Regardless of whether public employees are interacting with clients or their colleagues, they are tasked with presenting and maintaining a specific demeanor while at work. While this demeanor may vary based on the who the employee is interacting with or the task they are completing, the expectation to stay in character is constant. This effort put forth by employees to align their outward display of emotions with the expectations of their organization is commonly referred to as emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; Dehart-Davis, 2017). More specifically, emotional labor is the, “effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (Morris and Feldman, 1996, p.987).

Discussions of emotions have traditionally been excluded or on the periphery of public administration scholarship. However, following the introduction of emotional labor into the field of public administration by Guy and Newman (2004), several scholars have used emotional labor to understand organization performance and employee well-being. While emotional labor has become common in public administration scholarship over the last fifteen years, it was first coined in field of sociology in the early 1980s by Arlie Hochschild. At its genesis, emotional labor was concerned with highlighting the individual implications of emotional regulation in the workplace, mainly in the private sector.

The creator of the concept, Hochschild (1983), perceived emotions as a resource that were being commoditized and exploited by organizations. Specifically, organizations were requiring

employees to always be in *character*, regardless of how they were being treated by clients. This emotional performance was leaving employees emotionally fatigued from attempting to meet the normative expectations of proper emotional display required by the organization. This initial conception of emotional labor as an exploitive tactic from organizations established a path in the literature leading scholars to primarily focus on individual level outcomes of emotional labor that emphasized employee well-being, such as burnout or job satisfaction (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Jin & Guy, 2009; Hwa, 2012; Hsieh, 2014; Wilding, Chae, & Jang, 2014).

Studies examining the individual level consequences of emotional labor have deeply informed our understanding of emotions and emotional displays in organizational settings. However, with scholarship regularly emphasizing the consequences of the individual, we have often overlooked the consequences of emotional labor for the organization. The current study seeks to address this shortcoming in the literature by exploring how emotional labor influences employee perceptions of organizational social capital.

This research makes several contributions to public administration scholarship. The primary contribution this project makes is providing more research that connects emotional labor to an organization-level outcome, organizational social capital (OSC). Scholarship examining the impact of emotional labor often draws connections to individual well-being outcomes (Steinberg & Figart, 1999), leaving organizational-level outcomes minimally explored. Second, this study examines emotional labor as it takes place between coworkers with a measure of emotional personal efficacy. Emotional personal efficacy is a measure of emotional labor that represents how competent an employee feels performing emotional labor, especially with respect to their colleagues (Hsieh & Guy, 2009). Finally, the nested structure of the survey data allows for the examination of individual and group-level variables using hierarchical linear modeling.

Specifically, group-level variables of emotional labor are constructed to determine how department competencies of emotional labor influence perceptions of structural social capital, along with the individual-level measures of emotional labor.

To explore the relationship between emotional labor and organizational social capital, this study begins by reviewing the literature relevant to both emotional labor and organizational social capital. It then connects both concepts and, develops hypotheses depicting their relationship. This is followed by a presentation of the data and methods. Finally, the results obtained from the data analysis are presented, before providing concluding remarks, implications, and areas to expand future research.

2.2 Emotional Labor in the Public Sector

Emotional labor is often defined as, “the process by which workers are expected to manage their feelings in accordance with organizationally defined rules and guidelines” (Wharton, 2009, p. 147). The act of producing emotional labor involves an individual regularly altering their, “words, tone, or body language” (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008, p. 187). Essential to the definition of emotional labor is that employees must be attempting to align their felt emotions and outward display of emotions with the normative expectations of their organizations.

Organizations socialize their members to know which emotions they should present through display rules. Display rules represent social standards for how emotions can be appropriately displayed while at work (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Buckner & Mahoney, 2012). The organization determines which emotions should be shown, at what times, and with whom. It is the responsibility of the employee to recognize the organization’s expectations and properly display the correct emotions, at the correct time when interacting with clients and coworkers. The employee is performing a role that requires constant adaptation to be executed correctly. In short,

emotional labor is requires organizational members to constantly manage their emotions to get the job done (Jin & Guy, 2009, p. 89).

Emotional labor was first examined in the private sector (Hochschild, 1983), leading several scholars to follow suit and examine emotional labor in the context of private sector customer service (Roh et al., 2016). Some might assume that emotional labor is less of a necessity in the public sector because public organizations do not have market competitors to the same extent as private organizations and public employees do not work on commission or for tips, like their counterparts in the private sector. However, having public sector employees capable of performing emotional labor is still necessary to ensure organizational effectiveness in public sector organizations.

Emotional labor is often connected to effective service delivery during citizen-state encounters because public servants skilled in managing their emotions and the emotions of the citizen, can better manage challenging and high stress situations (Hsieh, Guy, & Wang, 2019). Along with citizen interactions, emotional labor plays an important role in coworker interactions. More specifically, employees able to provide emotional labor on behalf of their colleagues can build relationships beneficial to their status in the organization (Humphrey, 2020), and help establish a collegial work environment (Kiel & Watson, 2009). In sum, emotional labor happens when interacting with both clients and colleagues (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006), and is still needed in public organizations to improve client satisfaction and employee interactions in the public sector.

Although emotional labor has been studied in public administration scholarship for more than a decade, research examining emotional labor in the public sector is still in its early stages. A recent study from Hsieh et al. (2019) shows there have been less than twenty-five original studies

on emotional labor published in public administration journals. Even though there are more studies needed on emotional labor in the public sector, the studies published have presented notable theoretical and empirical developments. Theoretical studies have highlighted the gendered implications of emotional labor (Guy & Newman, 2004; Mastracci, Newman, & Guy, 2006), while also stressing the need for an “affective approach” to theory and practice that emphasizes caring and emotions (Guy & Mastracci, 2018; Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009). Empirical studies have connected emotional labor to several outcomes, such as burnout (Jin & Guy, 2009; Hsieh, 2014; Wilding et al., 2014), job satisfaction (Jin & Guy, 2009; Sloan, 2014; Wilding et al., 2014; Hsieh, Hsieh, & Huang, 2016), turnover (Cho & Song, 2017), and performance (Meier et al., 2006; Hsieh & Guy, 2009). In addition, Guy et al. (2008), developed the GNM Emotional Labor Scale, which has been used to measure emotional labor in several public management studies (Hsieh & Guy, 2009; Jin & Guy, 2009).

2.3 Organizational Social Capital

Similar to emotional labor and emotion management, social capital became popular towards the end of the 20th century (Kwon & Adler, 2014) as a means to understand collections of people and groups. Defined as the, “features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordinate and cooperation for a mutual benefit” (Putnam, 1995, pp. 67), social capital provided a unique lens to understand the many social dynamics taking place within organizational settings. Scholars interested in social capital are united by the key assumption that the relationship built between individual and group actors are an essential resource (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Organizational social capital is, “a resource reflecting the character of social relations within the organization, realized through members’ levels of collective goal orientation

and shared trust” (Leana & Van Buren, 1999, p. 540). OSC moves a step beyond social capital by emphasizing group relations *within an organization*.

Public sector organizations value social capital because it is often theorized as enhancing performance. Previous scholarship suggests OSC increases the possibility of knowledge development and information sharing among organization members, leading to enhanced performance (Andrews, 2010; Inkpen & Tsang, 2005). Every organizational member has the potential of enhancing or diminishing organizational social capital through their relationships with other organizational members (Ruiz, Martinez, & Rodrigo, 2010). People spend a substantial portion of their lives at work with their colleagues building relationships. If these relationships are harnessed appropriately, the goodwill exchanged between organizational members can become a valuable resource (Leana & VanBuren, 1999; Adler & Kwon, 2002). Because work is often a social setting where individuals establish fulfilling friendships and develop shared norms, the workplace provides an optimal setting to study social capital (Putnam, 2000). The current study uses local government organizations as the workplace setting to explore individual perceptions of OSC.

Organizational social capital contains three dimensions, structural, relational, and cognitive (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). While each of these three dimensions emphasizes the significance of ties between organizational members, they each present a distinct element of social relationships. Structural social capital indicates connections among organizational members (Andrews, 2010). The relational dimension of social capital moves a step beyond the basic connections between organizational members, and instead emphasizes trust and reciprocity between members (Tantardini & Kroll, 2015). More specifically, relational social capital is associated with resilient, generalized trust that develops through norms of reciprocity (Leana & VanBuren, 1999). With respect to cognitive social capital, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), initially described this dimension

as “shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among parties” (p. 244). However, after additional refinement of the original concepts, scholars now describe cognitive social capital as an indicator of shared values and goals among organizational members (Andrews, 2010; Tantardini & Kroll, 2015). In short, “structural social capital indicates the presence of a network of access to people and resources, while relational and cognitive social capital reflect the capability for resource exchange” (Andrews, 2010, pp. 586).

2.4 Connecting Emotional Labor with Organizational Social Capital

The current study examines the influence of emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy on the three dimensions of organizational social capital (i.e. structural, relation, and cognitive). Emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy are two measures of emotional labor from the GNM Emotional Labor Scale (Guy et al., 2008). Emotion work per se demonstrates the extent that an employee performs emotional labor as part of their job (Hsieh & Guy, 2009; Jin & Guy, 2009). Emotional personal efficacy is unique from emotion work per se because rather than focusing on the emotional requirements of the job, it emphasizes how competent an employee feels performing emotional labor, especially with respect to their colleagues (Hsieh & Guy, 2009). By examining both emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy, this study provides an understanding of how the emotional requirements of a job and the individual capabilities of an employee influence the development of organizational social capital.

The development of organizational social capital is at least partially contingent on the relationships of organizational members (Ruiz et al., 2010). Emotions act as a foundation for relationship building in organizational settings (Waldon, 2000). Employees capable of regulating and controlling their emotions, perform valuable work that can help establish social bonds among their coworkers (Lord & Kanfer, 2002). In short, the ability of organizational members to regulate

their emotions can influence the levels of organizational social capital. Emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy are both variations of emotional labor. However, when examining the capacity of employees to regulate their emotions using the concepts of emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy, it is likely these different types of emotional labor will have varying relationships with the dimensions of organizational social capital.

Because emotional personal efficacy emphasizes individual competence with respect to regulating emotions, it is likely employees providing higher levels of personal efficacy will perceiving higher levels of organizational social capital along all three dimensions. With respect to structural social capital, someone highly skilled at managing their emotions and the emotions of their colleagues will view themselves as well connected within their organization and perceive a high level of connections among organizational members (Humphrey, 2020). Furthermore, because of the emotional foundation of connections between colleagues, employees may perceive more trust (i.e. relational social capital) throughout their organization. Because cognitive social capital is described as, “shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among parties” (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p. 244). Someone skilled in emotional personal efficacy is likely to establish relationships with an emotional foundation that provide them greater insight into interpretations and meanings from those surrounding them. Based on the empirical findings and theoretical discussions from prior research, the current study offers the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Employees with higher levels of emotional personal efficacy will perceive greater structural organizational social capital.

Hypothesis 2: Employees with higher levels of emotional personal efficacy will perceive greater relational organizational social capital.

Hypothesis 3: Employees with higher levels of emotional personal efficacy will perceive greater cognitive organizational social capital

Looking at the relationship between emotion work per se and structural social capital, it is likely these two concepts are unrelated. Because there is no indication of whether the emotional requirements of a job are on behalf of a client or colleague, there is no way to tell whether an employee is building intra-organization relationships from their emotional labor. With respect to relational social capital, while the emotional requirements of a job may not directly translate into trust, prior research has found that employees coping with a lot of emotion work often rely on their colleagues to cope (Lively, 2000). This mutual reliance organizational members have on one another may be associated with trust and norms of reciprocity (i.e. relational social capital). Lastly, because emotion work per se requires organizational members to align their emotional states with the normative expectations of the job and organization, it is likely that employees scoring themselves higher on emotion work per se will view themselves as more aligned with the organizations' values and mission. In short, they may perceive more cognitive social capital in their organization. Therefore, the current study will also test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4: The amount of emotion work per se an employee provides at work, will be unrelated to structural organizational social capital.

Hypothesis 5: Employees providing more emotion work per se, will perceive higher levels of relational organizational social capital.

Hypothesis 6: Employees providing more emotion work per se, will perceive higher levels of cognitive organizational social capital.

2.5 Data and Method

2.5.1 Procedure and Sample

Survey data was collected by the Local Government Workplace Initiative (LGWI) out of the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill. LGWI strives to produce research that incorporates perspectives from local government employees to improve the functioning of municipal organizations. LGWI collected the survey data in the Fall of 2019 from a city and county government in North Carolina. Both the city and county would be considered smaller municipalities since each serves a population of under 55,000 residents. While the sample may not reflect larger municipalities, it does reflect municipal governments that have populations of under 50,000, which is a majority of municipalities in the United States (National League of Cities). The survey was sent to all members in the city and county governments via email and received a response rate of more than 50%, providing a sample of 254 usable responses.

2.5.2 Measurement

To operationalize emotional labor and organizational social capital, research participants responded to a collection of survey items that measured emotion work per se, emotional personal efficacy, structural social capital, relational social capital, and cognitive social capital. Participants were prompted to indicate their agreement with each survey item using a 7-point Likert Scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. See Table 2 for a complete list of measures and their reliabilities.

The two independent variables in this study are conceptions of emotional labor adapted from the GNM Emotional Labor Questionnaire (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008). The first independent variable, emotion work per se, measures the extent to which a job requires an employee to provide emotional labor using four items (e.g. “My job requires many different emotions when interacting with others”). The second independent variable, emotional personal efficacy, measures the extent to which an organizational member feels confident in their ability to

manage their emotions and the emotions of people they interact with using three items (e.g. “I help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work”). Together, these concepts provide an understanding what emotional requirements an individual employee has with respect to their job, as well as an indicator of their emotional abilities in the workplace.

Table 2. Study Measures

Concept	Survey Items
Emotional Labor	
Emotion Work Per Se ($\alpha = .88$)	My job requires that I display many different emotions when interacting with others. My work requires me to guide people through sensitive and/or emotional issues. My job requires that I manage the emotions of others. My work involves dealing with emotionally charged issues as a critical component of the job.
Emotional Self-Efficacy ($\alpha = .85$)	I help coworkers feel better about themselves. I help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work. I attempt to “keep the peace” by calming clashes between coworkers.
Organizational Social Capital	
Structural ($\alpha = .84$)	Employees in my department work together as a team. My department works well with other departments. Employees in my department often collaborate with employees from other departments.
Relational ($\alpha = .74$)	I trust my supervisor. I trust my department head. I trust the county manager
Cognitive ($\alpha = .87$)	When I talk about the organization, I usually say “we” rather than “they”. This organization’s successes are my successes. When someone praises this organization, it feels like a personal compliment.
Management Support ($\alpha = .94$)	How often does your supervisor do the following? Praises good performance by department employees. Encourages employees to look for better ways to get the job done. Encourages employees to work together. Explains what results for expected for an assignment or task. Asks employees for their ideas and suggestions when making important decisions.
Demographic Characteristics	
Age	Years old
Gender	(female = 1, male = 0)
Employee of Color	(EOC = 1, white = 0)
Tenure	Years

The three dependent variables in this study are structural, relational, and cognitive organizational social capital. Structural social capital measures links among colleagues using three survey items (e.g. “Employees in my department together as a team”), while relational social capital measures trust using three survey items (e.g. “I trust my department head”). Cognitive

social capital measures shared representation among organizational members (e.g. “When I talk about the organization, I usually say *we* rather than *they*”). Table 3 provides list of all variables along with their means, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum values.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Emotional Labor (Personal Efficacy)	0.05	0.84	-4.79	1.25
EL (Personal Efficacy) - Department	0.04	0.24	-1.53	1.05
Emotional Labor (Work Per Se)	-0.07	0.96	-2.49	1.79
EL (Work Per Se) - Department	-0.06	0.45	-1.86	1.24
Structural Social Capital	0.02	0.88	-2.89	1.48
Relational Social Capital	-0.04	0.75	-2.34	1.16
Cognitive Social Capital	0.00	0.85	-2.86	1.35
Manager Support	0.00	1.01	-2.38	1.28
Gender (Women)	0.84	0.37	0.00	1.00
Employee of Color	0.56	0.50	0.00	1.00
Age	48.31	11.64	22.00	71.00
Tenure	9.08	8.67	0.00	3.00

Several control variables are included to identify alternative predictors of organizational social capital. To account for variation in individual characteristics controls are included for gender, race, and tenure in the organization. To address the influence a manager could have on employee perceptions of organizational social capital, a measure for management support is including using five survey items (e.g. Manager encourages employees to work together”). Lastly, two measures providing an indicator of the emotional context of each department were included. Specifically, the emotional context variables are department level measures of emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy. While the employee level variables provide individual perceptions of both concepts, the department level variable provides averaged perceptions from the individual’s colleagues in their department. The process for constructing these measures followed of other research examining group effects (See Kroll, & Dehart-Davis, & Vogel, 2019).

Table 4 provides a correlation matrix depicting the relationships between all variables included in the analysis.

Table 4. Correlation Matrix

E. Personal Eff	1.00											
E. Personal Eff - Dept	0.03	1.00										
E. Work Per Se	0.05	0.05	1.00									
E. Work Per Se - Dept	0.03	0.12	0.32	1.00								
Structural	0.24	0.09	-0.05	0.00	1.00							
Relational	0.10	-0.08	-0.04	0.05	0.14	1.00						
Cognitive	0.26	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	0.05	0.22	1.00					
Manager Support	0.18	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.30	0.51	0.23	1.00				
Gender (Women)	0.04	0.12	-0.23	-0.28	-0.04	-0.14	-0.03	-0.10	1.00			
Employee of Color	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.10	0.00	-0.15	-0.09	-0.07	0.21	1.00		
Age	0.05	0.05	-0.15	-0.25	0.07	-0.06	0.02	-0.02	0.23	-0.05	1.00	
Tenure	0.01	-0.05	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.13	0.03	-0.07	-0.02	-0.05	0.46	1.00

2.6 Analysis and Results

The analysis for the current study uses both hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) and ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Because the data possesses a nested structure (i.e. employees nested within departments), each dependent variable was tested for group level effects. The relational and cognitive social capital variables showed no evidence of group level effects. However, structural social capital possesses an ICC (1) of .118, indicating 11.8% of an employee structural social capital perception is explained by differences in department (Robson & Pevalin, 2016).

The results for the hierarchical linear model of structural social capital are presented in Table 5. The first coefficient indicates the emotional personal efficacy is positively related to perceptions of structural social capital ($b = 0.26$; $p < .01$). This suggests individuals viewing themselves as more competent in regulating their emotional states, are likely to also perceive more connections among members of their organizations. Other than emotional personal efficacy, management support is the only significant individual-level variable ($b = 0.28$; $p < .01$), indicating

helpful and engaging behavior from managers increases employee perceptions of structural social capital. The department level variables for emotional personal efficacy and emotion work per se are both positive and statistically significant, which suggests the emotional capabilities and requirements of a group may influence individual perceptions of organizational member connections.

Table 5. Hierarchical Linear Model

	Null Model	Model 1
<i>Individual (Level 1)</i>		
Emotional Personal Efficacy		0.26** (0.06)
Emotion Work Per Se		-0.04 (0.05)
Gender (Women)		-0.07 (0.13)
Employee of Color		0.07 (0.1)
Age		0.00 (0.00)
Tenure		-0.01 (0.01)
Management Support		0.28** (0.05)
<i>Department (Level 2)</i>		
Dept. Emotional Personal Efficacy		0.43* (0.2)
Dept. Emotion Work Per Se		0.25* (0.12)
Organization		0.14* (0.06)
Constant	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.24)
Var. Level 2 Residuals	0.31	0.00
Var. Level 1 Residuals	0.85	0.76
n - Employees	275	254
n - Departments	25	21
AIC	712.24	632.04
BIC	723.09	674.86
Log Likelihood	-353.12	-304.02

Note: Hierarchical linear models. Estimator: maximum likelihood; SD in parentheses; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

The null hierarchical model is also included in Table 5, so the full model can be compared against the null. Both the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian Information

Criterion (BIC) suggest good model fit. Specifically, the AIC decreases from 712.24 to 632.04, while the BIC decreases from 723.09 to 674.86. The evidence for model fit indicates the full model performs well.

Table 6. Ordinary Least Squares Regression

	Relational	Cognitive
Emotional Personal Efficacy	0.01 (0.05)	0.25** (0.06)
Emotion Work Per Se	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.06)
Gender (Women)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.14)
Employee of Color	-0.20* (0.08)	-0.09 (0.11)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)
Tenure	-0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Management Support	0.39** (0.04)	0.20** (0.05)
Dept. Emotional Personal Efficacy	-0.002 (0.16)	-0.04 (0.21)
Dept. Emotion Work Per Se	0.25** (0.09)	-0.05 (0.12)
Constant	0.22 0.19	0.16 (0.25)
n	254	254
R-Squared	0.35	0.14

Note: SD in parentheses; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

The results for the OLS models of relational and cognitive social capital are presented in Table 6. The emotional labor coefficients indicate that neither emotional personal efficacy nor emotion work per se have a significant relationship with relational social capital. However, the group-level measure of emotion work per se is significant (b = .25; p < .01), suggesting if the departments perceives their work as requiring more emotional regulation, individual perceptions of trust among employees increase. In addition, management support (b = .39; p < .01) and

identification as an Employee of Color ($b = -.20$; $p < .05$) also have a significant effect on relational social capital.

Emotional personal efficacy ($b = .25$; $p < .01$) is positively related to perceptions of cognitive social capital, which indicates that individuals viewing themselves as more emotionally competent are likely to also perceive high levels of identification within their organization. Manage support ($b = .20$; $p < .01$) is the only other variable holding a significant relationship with cognitive social capital, suggesting that management support has a consistent positive influence on all dimensions of organizational social capital.

2.7 Discussion and Conclusion

While the literature has provided a robust understanding of how emotional labor influences several individual factors, there is far less scholarship examining how emotional labor impacts the organization. The current study addresses this issue by exploring the association between emotional labor and organizational social capital.

2.7.1 Review of Findings and Implications for Public Administration Research and Practice

Operationalizing two forms of emotional labor (i.e. emotion work per se and emotional personal efficacy) from the GNM Emotional Labor Scale (Guy et al., 2008), the current study provides evidence that emotional personal efficacy is related to organizational social capital, while emotion work per se has no association. Specifically, emotional personal efficacy is positively associated with structural and cognitive social capital, indicating that as an employee's confidence in their ability to manage their emotions and the emotions of others increases, so does their perception of organizational connections and shared representations among organizational members. While this finding supports evidence from Humphrey (2020) that emotional labor

influences social capital, it provides additional nuance in the field's understanding of this relationship by distinguishing between the different dimensions of organizational social capital.

Another key finding in the current study is the relationship between groups-level variables of emotional labor and organizational social capital. Model 1 indicates that department level measures of emotional personal efficacy and emotion work per se both positively influence structural social capital. In addition, departmental emotion work per se also has a positive association with relational social capital. Group level measures of emotional labor are uncommon in the literature. However, findings from the current study suggest they may have a notable impact in organizational settings.

Evidence of a relationship between emotional personal efficacy and organizational social capital, has several implications for theory and practice. Theoretically, this finding highlights the continued relevance of emotional labor in organizational settings and suggests the need for additional exploration of an employee's confidence in their ability to manage their emotions. With several emotional labor studies focusing on how much emotional labor an employee has to provide based on their work-role, scholarship has overlooked the impact of someone's comfort level in providing emotional labor.

Addressing the practical implications, research findings from the current study highlight a need for managers to ensure employees have a least some confidence in managing their own emotions and the emotions of others, regardless of official job requirements. Because the research findings provide no evidence of a relationship between emotion work per se and organization social capital, while emotional personal efficacy was positively related to structural and cognitive social capital, this suggests employee confidence with emotions should be a concern among organizational leaders. Furthermore, the findings also indicate that regardless of whether a

department perceives the role as requiring the regulation of emotions (i.e. emotion work per se), having employees that are confident in their emotional abilities may be able to enhance structural social capital, or connections among group members. This highlights that regardless of whether emotions are required by in context of the official work role, increased emotional ability of employees can still benefit employees and the organization.

2.7.2 Limitations

While this research has provided findings significant to the field of public administration and its understanding of emotional labor, there are still many limitations. A primary area of concern is that the survey included municipal governments within the same state, with populations of less than 50,000 people. This suggests the sample may not be reflective of municipal governments in other US states and larger metropolitan areas. While this sample may not be generalizable to large metropolitan areas, it provides a reasonable middle ground between larger metropolitan areas and rural communities.

In addition, there were no measures of surface and deep acting included in the operationalization of emotion labor. Surface acting and deep acting address the extent which an employee's feelings align with their outward display of emotions (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000). Prior research has shown that surface acting and deep acting hold strong associations with measures of employee well-being, such as burnout and job satisfaction (Guy et al., 2008). Incorporating these forms of emotional labor into the current study would have given additional depth to the research findings by providing an explanation of how alignment between feelings and emotional displays, influences perceptions of organizational social capital.

Another limitation is that this study fails to disaggregate people of color (POC) based on their race. While the original survey did measure the race of each respondent, there was so little

variation among different minority groups in the sample, an aggregate variable including all people of color was necessary. Having a greater number of respondents that identify as a non-black, employee of color and then disaggregating people of color could provide nuance to our understandings of emotional labor and perceptions of organization social capital. The racial and ethnic diversity of the United States is changing, with increase in Latinx, Asian, and immigrant communities (Brookings Institute, 2010). Recognizing the emotional experiences of these groups in public sector organizations will be essential to ensuring administrative research reflects the experiences of the public employees.

It is also important to recognize that this study uses an unideal measure of cognitive social capital. At its genesis, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), defined cognitive social capital as “shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among parties” (p. 244). While the current study does operationalize this concept by measuring how employees identify with their organization, previous studies have emphasized how an employee identifies with the organization’s specific mission (See Kroll, & Dehart-Davis, & Vogel, 2019). Although the current study does not emphasize an organization’s mission, it still provides a measure aligning with Nahapiet and Ghoshal’s initial conception of cognitive social capital. Even with these several limitations, the current study provides valuable insights to the field’s understanding of emotional labor as it relates to organizational social capital.

2.7.3 Potential Areas of Future Research

The contributions and limitations of this study create an avenue for future emotional labor research in the field of public administration. Future research should explore outcomes of emotional labor that expand beyond the common measures of employee well-being (e.g. burnout, job satisfaction, etc.) and focus on the organization. Hochschild’s (1983) initial conception of

emotional labor emphasized the individual outcomes of producing emotional labor on behalf of an organization. This established a precedent in the literature of scholars focusing on individual implications of emotional labor. While individual-focused research has enhanced our understanding of emotions in organizational settings, it has also overlooked organizational outcomes of emotional labor. Because public administration scholars are often trained to see the value of organizations, especially as they contribute to governance, examining how emotions influence organizational outcomes and governance is a unique contribution that the field of public administration can make to the emotional labor scholarship.

Future research on emotional labor should also aim to become more prescriptive and provide recommendations to practitioners. Emotional labor research often takes a descriptive approach—scholars conduct research that helps to describes emotional labor and its impacts in organizational settings. Future research needs to take a more prescriptive approach and begin recommending how to minimize the negative implications of emotional labor and expand the positive implications of emotional labor. In the context of the current study, future research could identify what strategies help organizational members to become more confident managing their emotions and the emotions of others. Addressing these areas of future research will allow scholars to contribute to emotional labor research from a theoretical and practice-oriented lens.

Chapter 3

Intra-Organizational Emotions: Insights from Local Practitioners

3.1 Introduction

Emotions play an essential role in the development of high functioning public organizations. Emotions act as a foundation for relationships, helping direct social interactions, so bonds can form between organizational members (Waldon, 2000; Lord & Kanfer, 2002). Public employees capable of adapting their emotions to meet the situational expectations of their work cultivate productive service-delivery transactions (Lu & Guy, 2014) and assist their organization in maintaining an amicable workplace climate (Kiel & Watson, 2009). Public sector research that examines the role of emotions has primarily emphasized service delivery transactions and their impact on the individual employee.

The current study attempts to address this gap in the literature by exploring emotions as they take place among colleagues within the organization. More specifically, the current study explores the topic of intra-organizational emotional labor in the context of local government. Emotional labor is “the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (Morris and Feldman, 1996, p. 987). While the concept of emotional labor as it pertains to service delivery has gained prominence in public administration scholarship as a means to understanding individual well-being (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008; Jin & Guy, 2009; Sloan, 2014; Wilding, Chae, & Jang, 2014) and organizational performance (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006; Hsieh & Guy, 2009), scholarship examining emotions between coworkers is still relatively unexplored.

Through a series of interviews with ten local government employees, the current study identifies several themes providing nuance to the discussion of intra-organizational emotions and colleague relations. To explore intra-organization emotions, the study begins with a review of literature on emotions in public administration. The section following outlines the study's research focus and questions. The current study aims to answer questions related to how local government employees display their emotions when interacting with colleagues inside their organization, and how they cope with the emotional exhaustion experienced at work. Next, the research design and method of data analysis are outlined. This is followed with a presentation of key themes identified from the interviews. Lastly, the conclusion discusses the implications of the key themes for theory and practice.

3.2 Emotions in Public Administration

Discussions of emotions have historically been absent from public administration (PA) scholarship. Although emotions are essential to understanding employee behavior, they were considered a barrier to the rationality needed to run an efficient and effective organization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). Organizational leaders desiring an effective workplace perceived emotion as a threat to the operation of their organizations (Jin & Guy, 2009). Because PA literature has historically painted emotions as a detriment to the organization, the field avoided explicit discussions of emotions until much later than other social science disciplines, such as sociology and psychology.

In these disciplines, the topic of emotions and work began to gain prominence in the 1980s when sociologist Arlie Hochschild coined the term emotional labor (Grandey, 2000; Guy & Newman, 2004; Kaur & Malodia, 2011). Hochschild (1983) defined emotional labor as “the management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display” (p. 7). Employees

providing emotional labor are attempting to align their “psychological states” and outward displays of emotions with the normative standards of behavior in their organization (Dehart-Davis, 2017). The introduction of emotional labor into academic literature led to a boom of research from psychologist and management scholars in the 1990s. These researchers were primarily interested in refining Hochschild’s initial conception of emotional labor, measuring emotional labor, and testing hypotheses on the role of emotions in organizations (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; 1995; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Grandey, 1999). While scholars in management and psychology began to extensively study how organizational members regulated their emotions at work, the term emotional labor was absent from the field of public administration until 2004 with the work of Guy and Newman.

Although it took the field over twenty years from the genesis of emotional labor to incorporate the topic, since 2004 there have been several studies using emotions as a foundation to understand issues of administration and organizational behavior. PA scholars have examined the relationship between emotions and leadership (Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009; Kiel & Watson, 2009), public service motivation (Hsieh, Yang, & Fu, 2012), job satisfaction (Jin & Guy, 2009), and performance (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006). While the field’s most foundational literature recommended that organizations and their employees be devoid of emotions to achieve efficiency and effectiveness (Guy & Newman, 2004), these studies provide evidence that emotions are present within organizational settings and can help organizations to operate more smoothly.

While these works are essential to the field’s understanding of emotions in public sector organizations, they have often emphasized the role of emotional labor in service delivery transactions, while overlooking the emotional labor that takes place within the organization among employees. Rather than focusing on emotional labor using a more traditional lens (i.e. service

delivery), this study seeks to expand the field's understanding of employee-to-employee interactions.

3.3 Research Focus and Questions

The purpose of the current study is to understand how local government employees regulate and display their emotions when interacting with other organization members, as well as explore how employees manage and cope with emotional fatigue from work.

Moving Beyond Emotions Related to Service Delivery

In the field of PA, discussions of emotional labor are deeply embedded in the topic of public service. Research often focuses on how emotional labor is used in citizen-state encounters (Mastracci, Newman, & Guy, 2010; Guy & Mastracci, 2018) and service delivery (Wharton, 2009; Hsieh, Yang, & Fu, 2011). Although emotional labor, "is a component of the dynamic relationship between two people: worker and citizen or worker and worker" (Guy et al., 2008, p. 7), emotional labor as it takes place within the organization between two workers has received far less attention in scholarship.

To gain deeper insights on intra-organizational emotional labor between colleagues, the current study seeks to answer the following questions. How do local government employees try to display their outward emotions when interacting with colleagues? What are the implications of these emotional displays for the relationships with colleagues? Addressing these questions provides a nuanced understanding of emotional labor that extends between the traditional service delivery perspective.

Beginning to Understand Coping Mechanisms.

Scholars across multiple disciplines have conducted several studies exploring the relationship between emotional labor and employee emotional exhaustion using quantitative

methods (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Blau, Bentley, & Eggerichs-Purcell, 2012; Allen, Diefendorff, & Ma, 2014). Prior research provides evidence indicating the emotional labor, specifically surface acting, significantly impacts emotional exhaustion (Hwa, 2012; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). While several studies have managed to draw the connection between these two concepts, few have explored how to mitigate the negative impact of emotional labor and what organizational members can do to cope with emotional exhaustion.

To address this gap in the literature, the current study attempts to answer the following questions. How are local government employees coping with the emotional exhaustion they experience at work? What are they doing to recover from emotional fatigue? Answering these questions can provide important insights to local organizations on how to confront emotional exhaustion experienced at work.

3.4 Research Design and Data Analysis

Research findings for the current study are based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with ten local government employees currently working in Kansas, Missouri, and Minnesota. Interviews took place from October 2019 to January 2020. This small, purposive sample of interviews cannot provide generalizable results. However, the key themes taken from this collection of interviews allows the study to “take the pulse” of how intra-organizational emotions influence local government employees currently working in the field (Gooden & Rissler, 2017). Positions held by participants are all local government administrative positions (e.g. city manager, assistant city manager, middle manager, analyst). Table 7 provides a descriptive summary of each participant, including the age, gender, race, and position. All descriptive information was self-identified by the research participants at the conclusion of their interview.

Table 7. Participant Descriptions

Interview	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Race	Position
1	Amy	27	Female	Black	Strategic Analyst
2	Gina	32	Female	White	Assistant Manager
3	Rosa	27	Female	White	Analyst
4	Raymond	39	Male	White	City Manager
5	Charles	32	Male	Hispanic	Analyst
6	Melanie	27	Female	White	Middle Manager
7	Terry	27	Female	White	Middle Manager
8	Grace	42	Female	White	Assistant Manager
9	Doug	44	Male	White	Manager
10	Brianna	36	Female	White	Assistant Manager

Research participants completed a single interview with the principal investigator for approximately thirty minutes to one hour at their office. Interviews were digitally recorded following written consent from the participant. All research participants were asked the same set of standard questions. See Appendix A for a complete list of research questions. While there was standard set of questions, the semi-structured format of interviews allowed for variation in follow-up questions to clarify participant responses. To protect participant confidentiality, all names used to discuss research participants are pseudonyms.

Data analysis took place concurrently with data collection to refine and focus analysis (Pope, Ziebland, & Mays, 2000; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). More specifically, once an interview was complete, it was immediately transcribed and reviewed for general concepts. Once all interviews were complete, an additional round of review was completed for familiarization with the data (Pope et al. 2000). The current study uses an integrated coding structure, which emphasizes “inductive (ground-up) development of codes as well as a small deductive list of preset codes (start list)” (Bradley, Curry, & Devers, 2007, p. 1763). All coding was completed with Nvivo. Themes presented in the next section were developed from conceptual codes during data analysis.

3.5 Findings

The current study seeks to understand how local government employees regulate and display their emotions when interacting with others in the organization, as well as explore how employees manage and cope with emotional fatigue from work. Key themes identified while analyzing the data suggest that research participants often suppressed their true emotions out of fear of being perceived as unprofessional by other organizational members. In addition, organizational leaders felt the need to be even more vigilant of how they display their emotions because of the ripple effects their behavior can have on the rest of the organization. Finally, when coping with emotional fatigue, research participants often emphasized the need to disconnect from their work. A complete discussion of each theme is presented in the following section.

Maintaining Professionalism

Professionalism is a central tenet of local government administration. This emphasis on professionalism developed at the genesis of the field with the hiring of the first professional managers (Montjoy & Watson, 1995). It remains a concept that is promoted today by professional organizations. When using emotional labor as a lens, professionalism is described as “expressed and suppressed emotional expressions that are required for a person to claim the status associated with a professional role coupled with the ability to actually enact the role” (Lively, 2000, p. 38). This definition highlights that professionalism is a performed role that requires employees to use their emotional displays to meet the expectations of the role.

The desire to be perceived as professional was regularly discussed among employees in the sample. Research participants regularly expressed feeling “passionate” about a project, or “frustrated” by a situation in their organization. However, they emphasized the need to suppress these feelings so they could maintain a professional appearance among their colleagues.

Discussions of suppressed emotions suggests that several participants seemed to be participating in surface acting while at work. Surface acting represents a specific strategy of emotional labor which organizational employees hide their actual emotions to outwardly display emotions appropriate for the current context (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000). When prompted to discuss how they outwardly display their emotions at work, participants often emphasized the need to put on a “face.” Regardless of whether the situation involved a peer, organizational superior, or the public, showing true emotions strayed from maintaining a sense of professionalism. Amy, an analyst, discussed disagreements with peers when asked about emotional displays:

“My rule of thumb is [a] poker face. I just try to always make sure that I have a good attitude and a positive attitude. You have situations where maybe you don't agree with something. I try not to wear my emotions on my face because to me, I think about it in terms of, I just want to always be professional.”

From Amy’s perspective, it is important that she does not let her true feelings arise in confrontational situations. This idea of needing to suppress emotions and maintain a professional demeanor when interacting with colleagues was also discussed by Brianna, an assistant city manager:

“One of the things that I have been working on is to have more of a poker face in some situations. I'm a very passionate person and I think that people know that I'm very passionate. When I believe strongly about something I can get really animated. So, one of the things that I am trying to work on is to come across as a more calm, professional.”

The need to suppress emotions and align with organizational expectations seemed to have an even stronger influence on managers who are regularly in the public eye. We might assume

managers feel required to suppress their emotions to the same extent as other members of their organizations since they are all experiencing the same organizational culture. However, the publicness of the manager's job requires that they are more vigilant of their behavior and outward displays to ensure they do not contradict the desires of their elected bodies. Doug, currently working as a city manager, highlighted the complexities of hiding outward displays of emotion from the public:

“You always have to realize and remember that you're there to serve the elected officials. And so sometimes you just have to suck it up. You might say, ‘I totally don't agree with what you're doing or what your policy is’, and you make those efforts known behind the scenes. But in public, you need to carry this stoic, straight face and support what the elected officials do and say.”

While emotional labor, specifically surface acting, is often described as an employee's ability to suppress emotions to meet the normative expectations of their organization (Kaur & Malodia, 2017), among the local government employees interviewed, emotional labor is also connected to broader normative expectations within the field to be professional.

In local government, the term “professional” is often associated with masculinity (Guy, 2017) and whiteness (Portillo, Bearfield, & Humphrey, 2020), which can create challenges for women and people of color in work settings. Previous literature has often found that women provide more emotional labor than men. This additional emotional labor is attributed to the assumption that women often act as nurturers and caregivers. Interviews from the current sample suggest there may be an additional reason women produce more emotional labor than men. Heighted levels of emotional labor among women in work settings might be an indicator of additional effort to manage emotional displays and be perceived as professional. Stivers (2002)

notes that the expected gender roles (i.e. dominance and stoicism) of men, often align with their work roles. When women show these characteristics, it deviates from what is expected and has implications for how their emotive performance is assessed by other organizational members (Guy, 2017). People of color often face a similar challenge. In workplace settings, particularly in predominately white institutions, people of color must provide additional effort for their emotive performances to be seen as meeting the normative expectations of their organizations (Evans & Moore, 2015). While everyone is expected to act professional in the work setting, being perceived as professional could require additional effort from traditionally marginalized groups because they are perceived as being more distant from the concept of professionalism. Although professionalism is often associated with removing patronage from local government, it is important to consider the gendered and racial implications for holding this concept central to what defines a local government employee.

Emotions, Social Capital, and Trust

While emotional labor literature has often focused on organizations regulating employee emotions to achieve organizational benefits (Hochschild, 1983), some research suggests that organizational members capable of properly regulating their emotions can achieve individual benefits. Specifically, employees capable of regulating their emotions can build interpersonal relationships with their colleagues that allow for the development of social capital (Humphrey, 2020). Several participants in the current study emphasized the significance of colleague relations in similar terms. Melanie, a middle-manager, said: “I don't think you can be successful in local government if you did not build relationships because those are the people that will have your back. The good days and bad days, those are the people that have your back or don't have your back.”

While the significance of colleague relationships is unsurprising, what made these conversations interesting was how participants connected their emotional displays, with their ability to build relationships that provided personal utility, or individual social capital. Social capital is defined as the “features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for a mutual benefit” (Putnam, 1995, p. 67). Research studying social capital at the individual level suggests that organizational members can use social capital to obtain individual advantages and benefits (e.g. promotion, inside information, policy influence, etc.) (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005).

Interviews from the current study align with this idea that emotional regulation is tied to relationship building that allows for the development of social capital. When discussing how outward displays of emotion relate to relationship building, Amy, noted:

“I worked at places and there's been these projects or processes that feel untouchable. There's things that we know we could do differently or better, but there's a gatekeeper for it, and if you don't have a relationship with the gatekeeper, you're not going to get any change in that project or that process.”

In this example, Amy recognizes that in order to have influence in her organization, she must have a relationship with the key players or “gatekeepers” of the organization. As mentioned in the previous section, Amy believes in maintaining a “poker face” at work that includes a “positive attitude.” The outward display of positivity is a foundational part of her relationship building in the organization.

While her true feelings may not always align with her outward display of positivity, her ability to surface act has the potential for individual utility as it allows for the development of a relationship that will provide her with capital to influence projects and processes of the

organization. This highlights an incident where an organizational member can use a strategy of emotional labor (i.e. surface acting) for to achieve an individual goal, influence. While her ability to meet the organizational expectation of seeming positive and professional at work likely achieves an organizational goal (e.g. employee cohesiveness), it also provides Amy with utility.

Other local government workers expressed sentiments similar to Amy's perspective. Gina, an assistant city manager, also stressed the importance of being in a "good, consistent mood" and the implications her mood had for her relationships. She regularly emphasized the need to display a good mood to her colleagues because of her concerns with how she would, "come off to people in the workplace." When discussing how her moods influenced her relationships, Gina stated:

"Throughout my career, having good relationships with people has made a difference in my ability to get where I'm at right now. When you have people that are willing to go to bat for you, when they're willing to recommend you to be on panels and nominate you for awards and things like that, none of that happens unless you have quality relationships with people and you made an intentional focus on building those relationships."

Being consistent in her presentation of a "good" mood was important to ensure that should could maintain important relationships with her colleagues. Furthermore, nurturing these relationships provided Gina with social capital that could be used for personal benefits, such as recommendations and award nominations. She recognized how the outward display of her mood influenced her relationships, which had implications for her capital with others.

While emotional displays were regularly connected to relationships that provided personal utility, or social capital, discussions of emotional displays were largely absent from discussions of trust, which is often described as a specific dimension of social capital (Putnam, 1995; Nahapiet

& Ghoshal, 1998). Participants were clear, trust was dependent on time on results and work outcomes.

Participants working in local government for only a few years emphasized that it was difficult to directly say whether they trusted their colleagues, because they had not been in the organization long enough to make those judgements. This perspective differed from managers who emphasized that trust was dependent on results—if you do poorly on an assignment or miss a deadline, you will lose their trust. Grace, an assistant city manager, said:

“I trust most of my colleagues. The ones that I trust, I think it just comes down to accountability. If I say I'm going to do something, I'm going to do it and I expect the same back, and [that's how] you establish a good and trusting relationship.”

Gina, another assistant city manager, emphasized the same sentiment. To her, trust was people proving they could get the job done:

“The biggest thing I look at about trust as a manager is in the quality of work that you're doing and the dependability. Like, can I trust you if I give you this project, [that] you're going to get it done and you're going to do it the way that I asked you to do it.”

Because trust was perceived as being results-based from the perspective of sample participants, it allowed a manager's trust to be broken easily—once an employee produces a poor result, the trust is gone. Doug, the city manager, noted: “It's built slowly and it's also fragile, right? Because it only takes one instance for something to happen to where you're never going to go and trust that person again.” His statement highlights how quickly this dimension of social capital can be lost.

When participants discussed building instrumental relationships or developing individual social capital, managing emotional displays was necessary. However, when participants discussed building trust, management of emotional displays was no longer on their radar. With respect to trust, participants emphasized results.

Influence of the Manager

Top managers occupy a significant position in their organization's hierarchy that allows them to influence the actions and behaviors of subordinate employees (Crane & Jones, 1991; Rainey, 1997). This is often done through more formalized mechanisms, such as hiring and firing practices or organization onboarding and training (Stillman, 1974). However, informal mechanisms are likely also at play, like how managers regulate their emotions at work.

Based on discussions with research participants in the current study, managers can influence intra-organization emotions through their display of emotions. Specifically, managers and organizational leaders seem to feel as though their emotional state has a ripple effect on the rest of the organization. This led participants holding management positions to emphasize that showing emotion at times is important because, "it shows your staff or whoever you're talking to that you care" (Raymond, person-interview). However, managers also stressed their ability to present themselves as calm in the workplace is essential. When discussing the outward display of emotions at work, Gina, an assistant city manager noted:

"I feel a great sense of responsibility for the employees that I supervise, for their happiness at work. I can't always change the nature of their job, but I do feel there are things I can do to ensure that they are happy at work. I take a lot of pride in being consistent in my moods. I've worked for supervisors that whatever's happening in their personal life, they would bring it into the workplace. And that

makes it really hard for employees you supervise to know whether it's a good day to talk to you.”

From Gina’s perspective, the emotional states of employees within her organization do not exist in a vacuum. The employees’ experiences are part of a system, which she has significant influence over. Her emotions and attitudes do not solely impact her work, they span throughout the organization. Doug, the city manager, expressed a sentiment similar to Gina:

“I have learned that as the manager, you have to recognize how your tone and your emotions impact the rest of the organization. I've heard stories about other managers who, when they walk in the door, people know what kind of day they're going to have based on the attitude of that person coming in. So, I try to set a steady course, try not to have too many highs, too many lows.”

While this was a concern expressed by all of those in senior management positions (i.e. city managers and assistant city managers), junior employees also noted the impact their supervisors’ emotions, or lack of, had on them at work. Charles, a junior analyst, emphasized that his emotions at work are, “really dependent upon the person who's in charge.” Having held a position in an organization where the supervisor often remained distant and avoided interpersonal relationships, Charles mentioned how when he was feeling frustrated or uncertain about his work, and went to the supervisor with questions, that he, “couldn't really show emotion because it was something that [his supervisor] didn't really understand.” It would leave the supervisor annoyed that Charles was being emotional at work, and it would leave Charles feeling like he could not ask for help.

Comments from participants in this sample suggests that organizational leaders hold an essential role in intra-organization emotions. Their emotional state is likely to have ripple effects

through the organization, requiring them to be vigilant in how they express their outward emotions in front of other organizational members.

Disconnecting from Work

Stressful encounters with colleagues or the general public that required emotional labor were the norm. Every research participant was able to remember a situation that left them feeling emotionally exhausted. Emotional exhaustion is the most commonly studied dimension of burnout and indicates an organizational member being depleted of their emotional resources (Maslach et al., 2001).

When questioned on how to cope with these encounters, the primary strategy research participants discussed was a complete disconnect from work. Knowing when to take a break, when to leave work, and how to mentally separate yourself from work, were all discussed as essential features for coping with the stress of local government employment. According to Gina, the assistant city manager, “knowing when you need to *not* be at work is just as important as the obligation to be at work.”

Several participants also stressed the importance of leaving work at the office, so they had time to recuperate their energy. This is seen in a statement from Amy, the analyst, “When I go home for the day, I try to disconnect unless there's something I absolutely feel I need to do. But if it's something that can wait, it can wait.” Many participants stressed that they “enjoy” and are “passionate” about their work, but for the sake of their mental well-being, they needed to create space between their lives at work and outside of work.

While several research participants were able to identify the significance of separation from their job, it was apparent that organizational leadership also plays an important role in allowing

employees to disconnect from their work. Raymond, a city manager, recalled a time early in his career when a supervisor encouraged him to give his life outside of work more attention:

“I had a mentor who if I was working late one day he would come in and be like, ‘It’ll be here tomorrow, come back tomorrow. Go take a break, go home, be with your family.’ Work is important, but your mental edge is just as important and people need to take days off.”

This was a perspective held by many participants—that disconnecting from work is more than leaving work at the office; it is about extended time away that allows for recovery. Organizational members that openly prioritize their personal well-being challenge notions of the “administrative man” (Denhardt & Perkins, 1976; Mastracci & Arreola, 2016) and “disembodied worker” (Acker, 1990). The administrative man or disembodied worker is an ideal employee because they hold work as their top priority at the sacrifice of personal needs and interests. It was assumed that men could fill this role in organizations because their personal responsibilities were less cumbersome since they were often not expected to act as primary caregivers. However, participants in this study, both men and women, emphasized how important it was for them to maintain a life outside of work. The openness that employees discussed their need to disconnect from work may suggest that organizations are moving away from viewing the “administrative man” or “disembodied worker” as the ideal employee, a change could help women enter leadership positions within their organizations.

3.6 Discussion and Conclusion

Public administration scholarship addressing intra-organizational emotions is still in the elementary stages of research. The service delivery perspective of emotional labor still has a powerful presence in scholarship. Prior research has typically examined emotional labor between

public employees and their organization's clients, and the effect of this work on employee well-being (Guy et al., 2008; Jin & Guy, 2009; Hsieh, 2014). The current study sought to build on existing literature and explore how local government employees regulate and display their emotions when interacting with others in the organization, as well as explore how employees cope with emotional exhaustion from work.

Relying on interviews from ten local government employees across three states, the current study suggests that research participants often suppressed their true emotions out of fear of being perceived as unprofessional by other organizational members. Organizational leaders seemed to feel an even greater need to suppress their emotions due to the ripple effects their behavior can have on the rest of the organization. In addition, when coping with emotional exhaustion, participants regularly focused on the need to disconnect from their work. These key themes from the data have several implications for theory and practice.

Findings from the current study suggest that the need to be professional often pushes local government employees to rely on surface acting while at work. Professionalism seems to act as a display rule in the context of local government, providing standards of what emotions are appropriate to show while at work (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). In the context of the current sample of research participants, the *professional display rule* seems to suggest that employees must maintain consistent moods that lean towards being either neutral or positive when interacting with their colleagues. Future research should explore how professionalism is associated with emotional labor, and the implications of different professional display rules on employee well-being. In addition, because of the small, purposive sample, the current findings are not generalizable. Future research may also consider quantitative methods that can be generalized to a larger population of local government employees.

Acknowledging the practical implications for public administration, themes from the current study highlight the need for “affective leadership” (Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009), among public managers. Prior research suggests that, “affective leaders can help people contain and recover from their emotional stressors on the job” (Newman et al., 2009). In addition, the current study also highlights the need for public organizations to create opportunities for employees to disconnect from their job, as this is essential for them to recuperate from emotional exhaustion. Because not all employees have the same access and ability to disconnect from work, managers should work to ensure that employees at all levels of the organization have an opportunity to separate themselves from their work and recover from the emotional toll of their job.

Chapter 4

Emotional Labor and Employee Well-Being: A Meta-Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Historically, organizations have been tasked with being rational and efficient. Emotions were perceived as a threat to the functional outcomes that a rational organization could produce (Jin & Guy, 2009). Because of the negative connotations associated with emotions, the topics of feeling and emotional displays were largely absent from administrative literature until the 1980s. Scholarship consistently emphasized the importance of rationality in the workplace (Grandey, 2000). However, from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s discussions of feelings and emotional displays became an increasingly popular topic among scholars studying organizations (Morris & Feldman, 1996). The primary reason for this change is that organizational scholars began to recognize that employee emotions influenced organizational outcomes. Rather than overlooking the role of emotions, scholars began to propose that the emotional displays of employees influenced organizational effectiveness (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Because a customer's perception of an organization is influenced by their interactions with employees, proper emotional displays from employees becomes of paramount importance in service delivery transactions (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Furthermore, outside of service delivery transactions, scholars began to see the significance of emotions between colleagues. Specifically, employees unable to properly regulate their emotions when interacting with coworkers could have a detrimental effect on the organization environment (Kiel & Watson, 2009, p. 23).

With the rising popularity of emotions in administrative scholarship, several concepts have been developed to articulate the role of emotions in organizational settings. The current study

focuses on emotional labor, which is, “the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (Morris and Feldman, 1996, p. 987). Emotional labor is often recognized as an ideal lens to study the role of emotions in organizational settings because it highlights how the emotional performance of employees impacts organizational outcomes and individual well-being. In her initial conception of emotional labor, Hochschild (1983) emphasized the positive consequences of emotional labor for the organization, and negative consequences of emotional labor for employees. While this is an idea that some scholars still emphasize in current literature (Grandey, Rupp, & Brice, 2015), several have challenged this narrow view of emotional labor and pushed for research that examines a range of emotional labor consequences (Humphrey, Ashforth, & Diefendorff, 2015).

A primary consequence of interest among scholars has been the influence of emotional labor on employee well-being (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). Employee well-being is predominately operationalized through two concepts: employee burnout and job satisfaction. Researchers in various fields have examined the relationship between emotional labor and employee well-being creating an expansive collection of evidence spanning across disciplines. The current study aims to make sense of these previous studies by using meta-analytic procedures to estimate the influence of emotional labor on burnout and job satisfaction.

To date, four studies have conducted a meta-analysis on emotional labor (Bon & Vey, 2005; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Wang, Siebert, & Boles, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). The current study still provides several contributions. First, the current study includes the expression of genuine emotion as a strategy of emotional labor. While previous studies have examined the influence of surface acting and deep acting, this study presents an initial exploration of genuine emotion through meta-analysis. Second, this study incorporates the use of two

moderators not explored in previous studies, profession and gender. Finally, this study incorporates additional studies not included in previous meta-analyses. With the most recent meta-analysis being conducted more than five years ago, this allows for the incorporation of several additional original studies.

Using a meta-analytic procedure, the current study provides a deeper understanding of the relationship between emotional labor and employee well-being. The next section defines emotional labor, burnout, and job satisfaction, while also presenting the dimensions of each concept. Next, this study offers the hypotheses guiding the analysis. Following this is a presentation of the methods, which discusses how relevant literature was identified and coded, in addition to explaining the meta-analytic procedure used to produce the results. Finally, I provide a discussion of the study's implications before presenting the concluding remarks.

4.2 Emotional Labor

First introduced in the field of sociology by Arlie Hochschild, emotional labor gave name to specific elements of service work that often went unrecognized by organizational leaders and administrative scholars (Grandey, 2000; Hwa, 2012; Kaur & Malodia, 2017). Originally defined as, “the management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display” (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7), emotional labor acknowledged that an employee's feelings and emotional displays could be regulated by an organization for its own benefit. When producing emotional labor, employees are expected to hide and suppress their actual feelings to present emotions that align with organizational norms (Mastracci, Newman, & Guy; 2010; Hwa, 2012; Dehart-Davis, 2017). Hochschild's conceptualization of emotional labor pushed the idea that feelings could become a commodity. From her perspective, organizations regulated this commodity through feeling rules, or organizational norms that seek to control the feeling of employees (Hochschild, 1983).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) expanded on Hochschild's initial conception of emotional labor and proposed scholarship should begin emphasizing display rules, rather than feeling rules. Their suggestion was grounded in the belief that organizations cannot directly control thoughts and feelings, but can control outward displays of emotion (Humphrey et al., 2015). Although scholars might vary in their conceptualizations of emotional labor, there are three consistent assumptions in the literature that guide emotional labor scholarship. First, employees have the ability to regulate their emotions while at work (Grandey, 2000). Second, organizations are interested in controlling this process for their own gain and do so through display rules (Hochschild, 1983; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Third, regardless of what they are truly feeling, employees must follow display rules while at work (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003).

When abiding by display rules, scholars have identified three primary strategies that employees use to manage their emotions, surface acting, deep acting, and the expression of genuine felt emotion (Hochschild, 1983; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Glomb & Tews, 2004). Surface acting involves managing outward emotional expressions to meet social expectations, while maintaining one's true feelings (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000). This means there is a mismatch between what is outwardly displayed and inwardly felt.

Deep acting involves the modification of actual feelings to meet the expectations of the current social interaction (Hochschild, 1983). While surface acting and deep acting were introduced by Hochschild (1983), the expression of genuine emotion, also referred to as natural or spontaneous emotion, was articulated later by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993). An employee participates in the expression of genuine emotion when they naturally feel the acceptable organization emotion without needing to actively incite the emotional state (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). In sum, emotional labor is a role performed by employees for the benefit of the

organization and can be practiced through three distinct strategies: surface acting, deep acting, and the expression of genuine emotion.

4.3 The Consequences: Burnout and Job Satisfaction

Burnout and job satisfaction are two of the most highly studied consequences of emotional labor. Burnout began regularly appearing in academic literature in the mid-1970s (Maslach et al., 2001), nearly a decade before emotional labor was coined. Maslach and Jackson (1981) created the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI), providing researchers with a common means to measure burnout. Consensus in measurement allowed burnout to become a widely studied concept in the organizational behavior literature during the 1980s with several studies examining the antecedents and correlates of burnout (Guy et al, 2008). Burnout is often described as the result of an employee's work requirements exceeding their individual capacity to complete the work (Hsieh, 2014). With respect to emotions, this suggests that an employee experiences burnout when they become too emotionally involved with others at work and have minimal means to restock the emotional resources they are using (Grandey, 2000).

Burnout has three dimensions: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal accomplishment (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Emotional exhaustion is the most commonly studied form of burnout. This dimension of burnout, "refers to feelings of being overextended and depleted of one's emotional and physical resources" (Maslach et al., 2001). Depersonalization, also called cynicism, refers to distant and negative employee behaviors while at work (Grandey, 1999). The final dimension of burnout, lack of personal accomplishment, refers to employees with a diminished sense of effectiveness (Guy et al., 2008).

Although emotional exhaustion is a core component of job burnout, scholars seldom used emotional labor as an explanation of burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). This changed in the

early 1990s. As scholars interested in emotions began to hypothesize consequences of emotional labor, connections were quickly drawn to burnout (Morris & Feldman, 1996). With measures of emotional labor becoming more common in the late-1990s and early-2000s, several studies began empirically examining the relationship between emotional labor and burnout (Zammuner, 2000; Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Zapf et al., 2001; Grandey & Brotheridge, 2002; Holman, Chissick, & Totterdell, 2002).

Organizations are concerned about burnout because of the negative implications it can have on individual employees and the broader organization. At the individual level, burnout is often associated with turnover (Carlson & Thomas, 2006), absenteeism (Lambert, Hogan, & Altheimer, 2010), and mentally withdrawing from work activities (Guy et al., 2008). When employees experience burnout, they stop placing the same amount of attention on their work, which reduces performance quality (Fogarty, Singh, Rhoads, & Moore, 2000). The negative effects of burnout at the individual level can lead to severe problems at the organization level. Specifically, higher rates of turnover and detached employees can create gaps in institutional knowledge and decrease organizational efficiency.

Job satisfaction is another notable consequence of emotional labor that has interested organizational scholars. Job satisfaction represents how positively or negatively an individual feels about their job (Rainey, 2009, p. 298). More specifically, job satisfaction has been described as the degree to which employees find their work interesting and meaningful (Jin & Guy, 2009). Several studies have examined the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction. While Adelman (1989) found that employees working jobs requiring higher levels of emotional labor report lower job satisfaction, Wharton (1993; 1996) found the opposite. Wharton's studies suggest employees working jobs that typically require emotional labor experience higher levels of

job satisfaction than those in other positions. Later studies found that the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction is dependent on the emotional labor strategy being used by employees (Jin & Guy, 2009; Sloan, 2012; Wilding et al., 2014). This suggests that when exploring the influence of emotional labor on job satisfaction, scholars must examine the concepts of surface acting, deep acting, the expression of genuine emotion.

4.4 Theoretical Model and Hypotheses

The current study aims to provide a cumulative understanding of the emotional labor literature by using meta-analytic procedures to estimate the influence of emotional labor on burnout and job satisfaction.

Surface acting and deep acting both require employees to align themselves with the emotional expectations of their organization. However, the ways in which these strategies are operationalized is unique. Surface acting involves the altering of outward emotional displays, while deep acting involves the altering felt emotions. When considering how these concepts influence the dimensions of burnout and job satisfaction, both their similarities and differences need to be taken into consideration. Because surface acting and deep acting involve some form of emotional change to align with the organizational standards, we should expect both strategies to have a positive relationship with emotional exhaustion. At the same time, we should also expect differences in the how they relate to depersonalization, personal accomplishment, and job satisfaction.

Felt and expressed emotions do not have to align. When an employee suppresses their feelings to abide by organizational expectations of emotional displays, they are surface acting. This form of acting is likely to make employees feel distant from their work since they are not being authentic in their interactions, which suggests that surface acting will have a positive

relationship with depersonalization. On the other hand, we should expect the opposite for deep acting. Although employees are still expending effort to transform their felt emotions, moderating their actual feelings to align with what they outwardly express should reduce feelings of depersonalization.

Looking at personal accomplishment and job satisfaction, previous scholarship would suggest surface acting is negatively related to both. Because surface acting takes a large emotional toll on employees by requiring them to suppress their emotions, someone who uses surface acting more will likely feel less accomplished and find less meaning in their work (Hülshager & Schewe, 2011). In sum, as levels of surface acting increase, we should expect personal accomplishment and job satisfaction to decrease. Deep acting should have the opposite effect. Deep acting involves employees bringing their emotions in line with organizational expectations. Alignment with the organizational expectations should trigger feelings of accomplishment (Hülshager & Schewe, 2011). In addition, previous research suggests that when employees deep act, they build more relationships because they are viewed as more authentic. These relationships allow employees to perceive greater meaningfulness in their work (Grandey et al., 2005).

Hypothesis 1: Surface acting will be positively related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, while being negatively related to personal accomplishment.

Hypothesis 2: Surface acting will be negatively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3: Deep acting will be positively related to emotional exhaustion and personal accomplishment, while being negatively related to depersonalization.

Hypothesis 4: Deep acting will be positively related to job satisfaction.

The expression of genuine emotion is distinct from surface acting and deep acting because employees are not actively working to align themselves with the expectation of their organization,

but instead are relying on what they feel in the moment. When relying on the strategy of genuine emotion, employees should use far less emotional resources compared to surface acting and deep acting (Humphrey et al., 2015), feel connected to their work through their authentic interactions, and have a more favorable perception of their work with respect to accomplishment and satisfaction.

Hypothesis 5: Expression of genuine emotion will be negatively related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, while being positively related to personal accomplishment.

Hypothesis 6: Expression of genuine emotion will be positively related to job satisfaction.

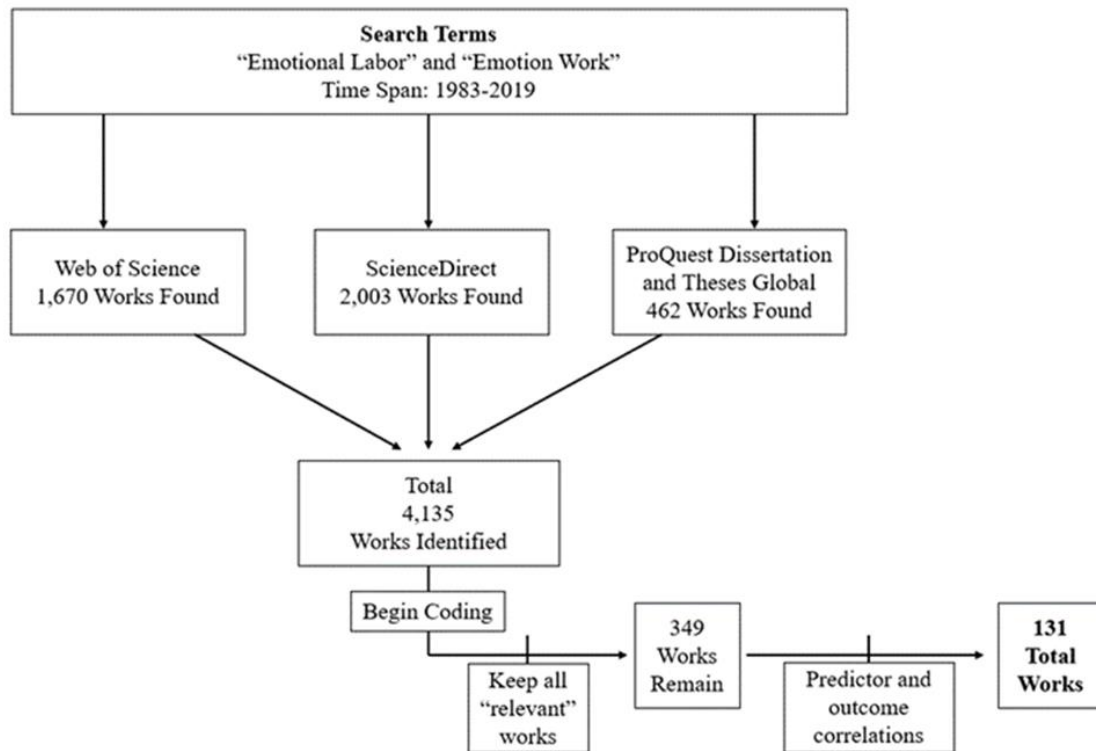
4.5 Method and Data

The current study uses meta-analytic procedures to estimate the relationship between emotional labor and two outcomes, burnout and job satisfaction. The relationship between these concepts has been studied extensively in the literature, often presenting mixed findings. Taking the findings of these primary studies, meta-analysis is used to synthesize the evidence and construct an overarching conclusion from the results (Aguinis, Pierce, Bosco, Dalton, & Dalton, 2011; Ringquist, 2013; Cantarelli, Belardinelli, & Belle, 2016).

4.5.1 Literature Search and Inclusion Criteria

To identify data, I conducted a search for primary studies in July of 2019 using the Web of Science, ScienceDirect, and ProQuest Dissertation and Theses Global. In each of these databases, the terms “emotional labor” and “emotion work” were searched resulting in a combined total of 4,135 records.

Figure 1. Search and Coding Process



To begin the coding process, all duplicates were removed from the database, leaving one record of every study. Using the abstract of each work, an initial round of coding was completed that eliminated all works not relevant to the current study. Relevant studies needed to directly address the relationship between emotional labor and burnout or job satisfaction, and quantitatively analyze these relationships. Among the 4,135 records found during the search, only 349 remained following the determination of relevance. See Figure 1 for more information on the literature search procedure.

After studies were coded for relevance, a second round of coding was initiated that focused on identifying studies that included the necessary quantitative information to complete a meta-analysis. Studies needed to provide a zero-order correlation between one measure of emotional labor and one of the outcome variables. If a study did not provide the zero-order correlation but

did provide t-statistics, or regression coefficients and standard errors that could be used to calculate the zero-order correlation, it was still included in the final sample.

Following the implementation of the inclusion criteria, 131 studies were included in the final dataset, providing 520 observations. Studies used in the meta-analytic procedure had a mean sample size of 515, with the smallest sample including 18 participants, and the largest including more than 11,000. Surface acting was the most commonly operationalized strategy of emotional labor, making up more than half of all observations. See Table 8 for a complete description of the primary studies.

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics of Primary Studies

Total Number of Studies	131
Total Number of Observations	520
Mean Sample Size of Studies	515.64
Range Study Sample Sizes	18 – 11337
Total Number of Observation for Each Predictor	
Surface Acting	265
Deep Acting	213
Genuine Emotion	42

4.5.2 *Coding Original Studies*

Primary studies were coded for three dimensions of emotional labor, including surface acting, deep acting, and the expression of genuine emotion. Measures of surface acting and deep acting often followed work from Brotheridge and Lee (1998) or Diefendorff and colleagues (2005). However, there were also several studies that used the GNM Emotional Labor Scale to operationalize surface acting (Guy et al., 2008). Measurements of genuine emotion typically

followed Glomb & Tews (2004) or Diefendorff et al. (2005). Studies were also coded for job satisfaction and the three dimensions of burnout, including emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal accomplishment, which were often operationalized using the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981).

Several additional characteristics of each study were also coded. These characteristics included the author(s) and year the study was published. The publication status of each primary study was coded as either published or unpublished. Published studies included peer-reviewed articles, books, and book chapters. Unpublished studies included dissertations and conference papers. In addition, the country that each study took place documented. This information was later recoded to into culture clusters (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985), a practice used by Hülshager and Schewe (2011) in their meta-analysis. The percentage of the sample identifying as a woman in each primary study was also documented. Lastly, the profession of each sample was coded into one of eight categories: government, health/medical, police officers, education pre-k–12, private services, higher education, nonprofit, or combination.

4.5.3 Meta-Analytic Procedure

This study uses a psychometric meta-analytic procedure (Hunter & Schmidt, 2014) to examine the relationship between emotional labor and burnout. The first step in this procedure requires correcting for attenuation in the correlation coefficient using reliabilities of the independent and dependent variable. Because most studies provide the alpha coefficients as an indicator of measurement reliability, this value could be used to individually correct raw correlation values for each primary study. Twelve studies did not include measurement reliabilities in either the predictor or outcome. The current study calculated sample size-weighted averages ($\bar{\alpha}$) of the reported measurement reliabilities to address the missing values. The sample size-weighted

averages were then used to correct correlations of the twelve studies without measurement reliabilities. See Table 9 for list of a sample size-weighted averages (\bar{a}).

Table 9. Sample Size Weighted Averages

Variable	\bar{a}
Predictor	
Surface Acting	0.83
Deep Acting	0.84
Genuine Emotion	0.76
Outcome	
Emotional Exhaustion	0.87
Depersonalization	0.74
Personal Accomplishment	0.78
Job Satisfaction	0.89

4.5.4 Moderator Analyses

To understand how moderators influence the relationship between emotional labor strategies and the outcome variables, the current study conducted a random effects meta-regression using four moderator variables. The first moderator of interest was a continuous variable measuring the percent of research participants in each sample that identified as a woman. In addition, three categorical variables were examined: profession, publication status, and culture. Only surface acting and deep acting were used to examine the influence of moderators because they had enough original studies (k is between 24 and 101 original studies) to conduct the analysis. No analysis was completed for the genuine emotion correlations since there were few studies operationalizing this strategy of emotional labor.

4.6 Results

Table 10 reports the combined correlations depicting the relationship between the predictor and outcome variables: emotional labor, burnout, and job satisfaction. The table includes total number of studies used in the analysis (k), the combined sample size (N), the raw correlation

estimate (\bar{r}), the standard error of the raw correlation ($SE_{\bar{r}}$), the corrected correlation estimate ($\hat{\rho}$), the standard error of the corrected correlation ($SE_{\hat{\rho}}$), and the 95% confidence interval (95% CI) for the corrected correlation ($\hat{\rho}$). The 95% confidence interval is of particular interest when interpreting the corrected correlation as it illustrates the range of values that include the true correlation value. If the 95% confidence intervals, “do not cross zero, we interpret this to mean that a true meaningful relationship exists between two variables” (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2011, p. 65).

Table 10. Combined Correlations

	k	N	\bar{r}	$SE_{\bar{r}}$	$\hat{\rho}$	$SE_{\hat{\rho}}$	95% CI
Surface Acting							
Emotional Exhaustion	96	54,582	0.38	0.05	0.45	0.06	0.34; 0.57
Depersonalization	32	9,358	0.33	0.03	0.42	0.04	0.34; 0.51
Personal Accomplishment	26	8,305	-0.14	0.03	-0.19	0.04	-0.27; -0.11
Job Satisfaction	64	64,553	-0.30	0.03	-0.35	0.04	-0.42; -0.27
Deep Acting							
Emotional Exhaustion	77	49,875	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	-0.06; 0.15
Depersonalization	28	8,361	-0.05	0.03	-0.07	0.04	-0.15; 0.01
Personal Accomplishment	25	7,559	0.10	0.04	0.12	0.05	0.02; 0.22
Job Satisfaction	50	54,138	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.06	-0.04; 0.19
Genuine Emotion							
Emotional Exhaustion	14	4,313	-0.23	0.03	-0.28	0.03	-0.34; -0.21
Depersonalization	7	2,077	-0.27	0.06	-0.35	0.08	-0.51; -.19
Personal Accomplishment	8	2,401	-0.10	0.12	-0.12	0.15	-0.42; .17
Job Satisfaction	8	2,612	0.33	0.02	0.42	0.02	0.38; 0.47

Surface acting possesses the strongest relationships with the dimensions of burnout and job satisfaction. Surfacing had substantial positive relationships with emotional exhaustion ($\hat{\rho} = .45$) and depersonalization ($\hat{\rho} = .42$), while having negative relationships with personal accomplishment ($\hat{\rho} = -.19$) and job satisfaction ($\hat{\rho} = -.35$). The findings for surface acting provide evidence in support of hypotheses 1 and 2.

Deeping acting has no relationship with emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, or job satisfaction. However, the 95% confidence interval for personal accomplishment does not cross zero, suggesting deep acting has a positive relationship with accomplishment. Overall, these findings indicate that deep acting does not have a meaningful relationship with burnout or job satisfaction, and only provides support for part of hypothesis 3. Genuine emotion has a negative relationship with emotional exhaustion ($\hat{\rho} = -.28$), depersonalization ($\hat{\rho} = -.35$), no effect on personal accomplishment ($\hat{\rho} = -.12$), and a positive relationship with job satisfaction ($\hat{\rho} = .42$). This provides evidence in support of two parts of hypothesis five and support for hypothesis 6.

Table 11. Moderator Effects for Surface Acting

	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization	Personal Accomplishment	Job Satisfaction
Women	-0.001	-0.001	0.005*	0.002
	0.136	0.001	0.002	0.001
Published	0.054		0.108	-0.049
	0.070		0.108	0.070
Profession				
Health/Medical	0.065	0.031		-0.183*
	0.093	0.118		0.090
Police Officer	-0.162	-0.202	0.370	
	0.172	0.177	0.209	
Education PreK - 12	0.056	-0.007	-0.117	-0.153
	0.098	0.123	0.121	0.120
Private Services	0.093	0.033	0.007	-0.114
	0.084	0.135	0.143	0.089
Higher Education	0.238*	0.184	-0.411*	-0.284*
	0.121	0.151	0.182	0.119
Nonprofit	-0.542**			-0.366
	0.186			0.218
Combination	-0.044	0.106	-0.042	-0.215*
	0.108	0.133	0.123	0.108
Culture Cluster				
Arab				0.057
				0.154
Western	0.200**	0.236***	-0.203	-0.168**
	0.068	0.069	0.127	0.060
Near Eastern	0.020	0.046	0.035	0.512**
	0.110	0.088	0.159	0.158
Germanic	0.354***	0.279**	0.044	
	0.105	0.103	0.229	
Latin European	0.174	0.301*		-0.137
	0.142	0.130		0.116
Intercept	0.127	0.252	-0.365	-0.081
Observations	101	31	27	71

Table 11 reports the moderator effects of surface acting on emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, personal accomplishment, and job satisfaction. Gender and publication status did not moderate the relationship between surface acting and the outcome variables, excluding the relationship between surface acting and personal accomplishment. However, the coefficient value for the relationship between surface acting and personal accomplishment ($b = .005$) is small, suggesting that while the relationship is statistically significant, it has little meaning. The most notable moderators are the culture cluster variables. More specifically, we should expect larger correlations when looking at the influence of surface acting on emotional exhaustion and depersonalization for Western and Germanic countries when compared to the base category, eastern countries.

Table 12 reports the moderator effects of deep acting on emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, personal accomplishment, and job satisfaction. Gender, publication status, and profession did not moderate the relationship between deep acting and the outcome variables, with the exception of the relationship between surface acting and personal accomplishment ($b = .196$) for research participants working on the frontlines of private sector organizations. Again, the cultural cluster categories suggest that the cultural norms of emotional expression are consistently different between Western and Eastern countries. Specifically, samples collected in Western countries, when compared to samples from Eastern countries, tend to have larger correlations when deep acting is examined in relation to emotional exhaustion ($b = .164$) and depersonalization ($b = .22$), and smaller correlations when deep acting is examined in relation to personal accomplishment ($b = -.203$) and job satisfaction ($b = -.357$).

Table 12. Moderator Effects for Deep Acting

	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization	Personal Accomplishment	Job Satisfaction
Women	0.002	-0.001	0.001	0.001
	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002
Published	-0.111	-0.040	-0.002	-0.128
	0.063	0.081	0.071	0.079
Profession				
Health/Medical	0.057	-0.088		0.054
	0.103	0.189		0.162
Police Officer	0.311	0.212	0.038	
	0.186	0.243	0.149	
Education Pre K - 12	0.023	-0.225	-0.081	-0.016
	0.100	0.185	0.086	0.187
Private Services	-0.063	-0.371	0.196*	0.107
	0.089	0.202	0.098	0.155
Higher Education	0.100	-0.159	-0.063	-0.146
	0.118	0.223	0.125	0.187
Nonprofit	-0.289			
	0.223			
Combination	0.043	-0.158	0.161	-0.033
	0.118	0.200	0.092	0.176
Culture Cluster				
Arab				0.227
				0.164
Anglo	0.164**	0.220*	-0.203*	-0.357***
	0.062	0.091	0.082	0.073
Near Eastern	0.143	0.086	-0.428**	-0.503*
	0.098	0.121	0.105	0.237
Germanic	0.312***	0.163	-0.116	
	0.093	0.138	0.142	
Latin European	0.251			
	0.169			
Intercept	-0.142	0.111	0.242	0.412
Observations	83	26	24	53

4.7 Discussion and Conclusion

This study examines the relationship between emotional labor and two of its primary consequences: burnout and job satisfaction. A psychometric meta-analytic procedure was used on 131 original studies to identify corrected correlation estimates for the relationships between the predictor and outcomes variables. Meta-regression was conducted to understand how key moderators influence emotional labor's relationship with burnout and job satisfaction. The findings from the current study suggest that while surface acting and the expression of genuine emotion have a notable influence on employee well-being, deep acting does not have a meaningful relationship with these variables. The meta-regression produces findings similar to Hülsheger &

Schewe (2011). Specifically, the analysis suggests that culture has the most notable influence on emotional labor effect sizes.

Implications for Theory and Practice

The current study has several implications for research. With respect to theory, the current study highlights the uniqueness of each emotional labor strategy, while showing there is more to learn about deep acting and the expression of genuine emotion. Unsurprisingly, surface acting holds a strong relationship with job satisfaction and each dimension of burnout. These relationships have been hypothesized and supported empirically across several studies for decades.

The relationship deep acting holds with job satisfaction and burnout is less expected. The 95% confidence intervals indicate that deep acting has no relationship with emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, or job satisfaction, and only possesses a weak positive relationship with personal accomplishment. When considering the relationship deep acting has with burnout and job satisfaction, it is important to consider if these null relationships are the result of actual null findings in primary studies, or if they are positive and negative relationships from primary studies canceling each other out. Addressing this issue will indicate whether scholars are finding the same null relationship, or if they are finding conflicting relationships. If the conflicting relationships are in fact cancelling each other to generate a meta-analytic null finding, further research is needed to determine why scholars are finding conflicting results. There may be unaccounted for characteristics of the sample that influence whether deep acting has a positive or negative impact on burnout and job satisfaction. Finally, the current study finds evidence that genuine emotion has a negative relationship with emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, a positive relationship with job satisfaction, and no relationship with personal accomplishment.

The meta-regression highlights the significance of profession and culture as moderators of the relationship between emotional labor and the outcomes of interest. Using government employees as the base category, we see slight differences in the experiences of working in higher education and the non-profit sector with respect to surface acting. However, profession has no influence as a moderator with respect to deep acting. Cultural clusters were the most notable moderator in the analysis. Western and Eastern countries have the most dramatic differences. This finding suggests scholars should pay greater attention to cultural differences in organizational settings when studying emotional labor.

With respect to practice, the current study highlights the complexities in attempting to minimize the harmful effects of emotional labor in organizational settings. There is a clear pattern in the findings that surface acting is harmful, while the expression of genuine emotion is beneficial. The negative implications of surface acting have been hypothesized and supported with empirical evidence consistently over decades of research. This has led some scholars to suggest that organizations should have no requirements instructing employees on how to display their emotions while at work (Grandey, Rupp, & Brice, 2015). The expectation is that if there are no requirements on how employees outwardly express their emotions, there is no need for harmful emotional labor strategies, like surface acting. However, ridding organizational settings of surface acting is an unrealistic expectation (Humphrey et al., 2015). If organizations expect to see a reduction in burnout and an increase in job satisfaction, there needs to be some room allowed for the expression of genuine emotion. This creates a challenge for management in striking a balance between maintaining organizational standards that require surface acting, while also allowing the expression of genuine emotion that preserves employee well-being.

Limitations and Future Research

While this study presents many contributions to the literature, it also has several limitations. First, there were a limited number of studies examining the influence of genuine emotion on burnout and job satisfaction. Future research should continue to explore the expression of genuine emotion since has often studied surface acting and explored the negative implications of emotional labor. The emphasis on surface acting has provided a detailed understanding of how emotional labor can harm employees, but failed to acknowledge the potential benefits of emotional labor (Humphrey et al, 2015). Findings from the current study suggest the expression of genuine emotion decreases emotional exhaustion and feelings of depersonalization among employees, while increasing job satisfaction. Researchers should continue to explore the expression of genuine emotion and how it can become more embedded in organizational practices.

Another shortcoming of the current research study is that all coding was completed by a single person. Every other meta-analysis on emotional labor (Bon & Vey, 2005; Hülshager & Schewe, 2011; Wang, Siebert, & Boles, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013) has been conducted by a group of researchers. With the current studying being conducted by a single individual, it prevents the opportunity to ensure intercoder reliability.

Finally, the cultural clusters used in this analysis are broad and provide an aggregate view of how culture influences emotional labor. While these categories follow common practices in prior research (Hülshager & Schewe, 2011), they are likely hiding a more detailed understanding of how culture influences emotional labor. Specifically, there are likely culture differences within samples. However, these differences were rarely documented in primary studies. To address this shortcoming, emotional labor scholars should begin regularly measuring cultural differences among their study's participants.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.0.1 Summary of Dissertation

The behavior of organizational members is central to organizational success (Denhardt, Denhardt, & Aristigueta, 2013). The significance of employee behavior on organizational success highlights how deeply employee emotions and emotional displays are connected to the functioning of organizations. Because emotions guide social interactions (Lord & Kanfer, 2002), scholars regularly place emotions at the center of employee-to-client and employee-to-employee interactions. While previous literature has often emphasized employee-to-client service delivery interactions and individual well-being, my research emphasized employee-to-employee interactions and social capital along with individual well-being. Emotions and social capital are both relational concepts, stressing the significance of personal connections and the consequences of connections in social settings. This dissertation helps push the literature beyond studying the implications of emotions on individual well-being, and instead also highlights the implications of emotions on relationships.

To explore the role of emotions in organizational settings and gain a deeper understanding of how employee emotions relate to social capital and individual well-being, this dissertation conducted three distinct studies using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. More specifically, it examines the emotional labor produced by organizational members in relation to employee well-being (i.e. burnout and job satisfaction) and social capital by addressing the following questions:

1. How does the regulation of employee emotion among local government employees influence perceptions organizational social capital?
2. How do local public servants conceptualize their use of emotional labor and the relationship this has to social bonds with their colleagues?
3. How do the different facets of emotional labor (i.e. surface acting, deep acting, and the expression of genuine emotion) influence the dimensions burnout (i.e. emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a lack of personal accomplishment)?

The purpose of the first study was to connect emotional labor with organizational social capital. Using a sample of local public employees and operationalizing emotional labor with measures from Guy, Newman, and Mastracci (2008), the current study relied on hierarchical linear modeling and ordinary least squares regression to explore how the two concepts relate. Results from the study indicate that emotional personal efficacy is positively related to perceptions of structural social capital and cognitive social capital. This suggest that individuals viewing themselves as more emotionally competent are likely to also perceive more connections among members of their organizations and higher levels of identification within their organization. These findings are significant because they highlight the relational impacts of emotional labor. While the literature has often focused on individual implications of emotional labor, these findings suggest a greater need to explore the relational implications.

The next study also examined emotional labor and social capital, but rather than focusing on social capital at the organizational level, the emphasis was on individual social capital. By analyzing a collection of semi-structured interviews from several local government employees, the study suggests that professionalism acts as an organizational display rule, restricting the development of social capital. This is an important finding, because while previous research

suggests emotional labor has a positive relationship with individual perceptions of social capital (Humphrey, 2020), the current study highlights a potential barrier to this relationship.

The final study examines the influence of emotional labor on burnout and job satisfaction using meta-analysis. An initial literature search returned more than four thousand studies, which were systemically coded into a final dataset including 131 primary studies. A psychometric meta-analytic procedure was used to explore associations between emotional labor and the outcomes of interest, along with meta-regression to explore the role of moderators. The results of the meta-analysis suggest surface acting holds a strong relationship with job satisfaction and each dimension of burnout, while deep acting has no relationship with emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, or job satisfaction, and only possesses a weak positive relationship with personal accomplishment. Genuine emotion has a negative relationship with emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, a positive relationship with job satisfaction, and no relationship with personal accomplishment. Findings from the meta-regression suggest profession and culture act as significant moderators when studying the impact of emotional labor on burnout and job satisfaction.

5.0.2 Next Steps and New Areas of Research

Completing my dissertation has allowed me to become deeply embedded in emotional labor scholarship across several disciplines, primarily public administration, sociology, and psychology. While I believe emotional labor scholars have made several contributions to the social sciences because of their rigorous theoretical and empirical research, I still have my frustrations. There were several days when I would ask myself, “How has an area of study that’s been around more than 30 years not addressed these issues?”

There are several ways that I can continue my current research with emotional labor. However, the future questions that I truly hope to address within my research focus on my

frustrations with the literature that developed while completing this dissertation. More specifically, there are several themes I found missing or understudied in the current emotional labor literature. Each is theme is listed below:

- **Theme 1:** Organizational members are theorized as having a severe lack of autonomy by scholars
- **Theme 2:** The pleasantness or hostility of interactions should influence regularly studied outcomes of emotional labor (i.e. burnout, job satisfaction, etc.)
- **Theme 3:** Emotional labor is a product that is likely valued differently based on who is producing it and in what setting
- **Theme 4:** Organizational outcomes of emotions constantly remain secondary to individual outcomes

The first theme addresses a commonly held notion in the literature, organizational members lack autonomy of their emotions in organizational settings. This notion was first presented in Hochschild's (1983) work. She took a significant anti-organization position in her work, arguing that organizations exploit employee emotions for the achievement of their own goals. I agree this is likely happening in many organizational settings. However, I deviate from Hochschild in believing that organizational members *do* have some autonomy and can use their emotions for individual utility, rather than solely organizational utility. I think this initial conception of organizations exploiting organizational members set the path for emotional labor scholars to study the well-being of employees. While this has provided several significant insights on emotional labor, it has also left a gap in the literature where scholars overlooked exploring how organizational members may use their emotions for individual benefits.

The second theme attempts to refocus the literature on a key assumption in emotion scholarship: emotional labor is an interactive experience. When producing emotional labor, employees take part in a back-and-forth interaction with a client, colleague, or some other actor. However, when studying emotional labor, scholars often directly connect the emotional labor strategy (i.e. surface acting, deep acting, or the expression of genuine emotion) to the outcome of interest (i.e. burnout, job satisfaction, etc.). While this research has provided several important insights on how emotions influence the work of organizational members, it also overlooks the actual interaction that took place and how it influences the relationship between emotional labor strategy and the outcome under investigation. We often assume these differences by studying people in different professions (e.g. police compared to teachers). However, we have failed to truly explore how the interaction moderates the relationship between emotional labor and well-being. Attempting to account for how cordial or hostile an employee's interactions are when working, we can have a more accurate understanding of how emotional labor relates to commonly studied outcomes.

Addressing the third theme provides an excellent opportunity to explore how race and gender interact with organizational settings and influence emotional labor. There have regularly been theoretical discussions in the literature exploring how emotional labor is valued differently when performed by women and people of color when compared to their white, male counterparts (Guy & Newman, 2004; Evans & Moore, 2015). However, there has been little empirical evidence on the accuracy of these assumptions. Using experimental survey methods, I believe there is a real opportunity to examine how patrons of public organizations value the emotional labor of employees and the complexities of how race and gender influence these situations. In addition, organizational setting may also influence this dynamic. For instance, the literature has often

suggested organizations are gendered and the ways in which gender is perceived in organizations leads to unequal outcomes for men and women (Acker, 1990; Britton, 2000; Guy, 2017). Based on these assumptions, it is likely we would see the emotional labor of men in women valued differently in organizations depending on whether the organization is perceived as being more masculine or feminine.

With respect to the last theme, there are several disciplines outside of public administration that study the role of employee emotions in organizational settings. However, every discipline has often presented a narrow focus of emotional labor that emphasizes individual outcomes. Again, I think this is connected to the initial conception of emotional labor from Hochschild (1983). Because organizations were perceived as exploitive to individual employees, the concern of scholars was not on how emotional labor potentially harm the organization, but how emotional labor could potentially harm the individual. This established a perceptiveness in the literature that the primary focus of emotional labor scholarship should be on the individual well-being of employees. Scholars have failed to provide a robust understanding of how employee emotions influence organizational outcomes. I argue that studying how emotions influence organizational outcomes and governance is a unique contribution that the field of public administration can make to the emotional labor literature that could be of interest to other disciplines. Because public administration is a discipline that deeply values the contributions of organizations, it has the potential to connect emotional labor to organizational outcomes in ways that many other disciplines cannot.

5.0.3 The Future of Emotional Labor in Public Administration Scholarship

Emotional labor research is expansive and robust. As mentioned at the start of this dissertation, emotional labor scholarship represents an area of highly developed academic

literature including extensive elements of theory development, theory testing, and the development of accumulated knowledge. While emotional labor scholarship is rigorous on several research standards, it struggles to remain relevant, especially in public administration. While emotional labor rose to prominence quickly in the 2000s, scholars have produced less than 25 original studies on the topic (Hsieh, Guy, & Wang, 2019). Moving forward into the future of emotional labor research, there are several obstacles that scholars must address to provide research that is relevant to public administration scholarship and practice.

First, emotional labor scholars need to determine how they can make their research beneficial to the work of practitioners. Emotional labor scholarship often exists solely in the descriptive realm of research—scholars conduct research that can describe the phenomena of emotional labor without providing any prescriptions on how to deal with the challenges of emotional labor in organizational settings. As mentioned previously, much of the emotional labor research focuses on implications for the individual, many of which are negative (e.g. burnout and job turnover). If these findings are going to be relevant and helpful to practitioners, they need to move beyond describing problems and begin to suggest solutions. There is consensus among emotional labor scholars that surface acting is positively associated with burnout. However, when asked to describe how to subdue the negative implications of surface acting, there are few solutions proposed (See Grandey et al., 2015). Furthermore, some scholars argue that the few proposed solutions are not realistic (See Humphrey et al., 2015). A transition from descriptive research to prescriptive research would help emotional labor research leave a larger footprint in the field of public administration.

Second, emotional labor scholars need to expand their discussions outside of their disciplines. While sociologists and psychologists have conducted extensive research on emotional

labor, public administration scholars often remain absent from their work. The reverse is also true—public administration literature includes the most prominent work from psychologists and sociologists (e.g. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*), many other important pieces go overlooked. Both areas have important insights to bestow on the other, if scholars begin taking notice. Sociologists and psychologists present some of the most refined qualitative and quantitative methods with respect to emotional labor, while public administration possesses an organizational perspective that is deeply needed to counter the individual perspective in much of the sociology and psychology research. If emotional labor scholars more regularly begin utilizing work of others outside of their home discipline, several new and beneficial contributions could be made to the literature.

While emotional labor scholars have made several contributions over the past 30 years of research, there are still many themes they can explore. Focusing on emotional labor in public administration, if scholars begin to explore emotional labor through a prescriptive lens that spans outside of the discipline, they will produce research that is relevant to both public administration scholars and practitioners.

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Appendix A – Tables and Figures

Table 1. Definitions of Emotional Labor

Author(s)	Definition
Hochschild (1983)	“The management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display” (p.7).
Ashforth & Humphrey (1993)	“The act of displaying the appropriate emotion (i.e. conforming with a display rule)” (p. 90).
Morris & Feldman (1996)	“The effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (p. 987).
Grandey (2000)	"The process of regulating both feelings and expressions for organizational goals" (p. 97).
Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson (2006)	“Personal interactions—separate from actual job descriptions—among employees and between employees and clients that facilitate the effective and smooth operation of the organization” (p. 899).
Wharton (2009)	“The process by which workers are expected to manage their feelings in accordance with organizationally defined rules and guidelines” (p. 147).
Jin & Guy (2009)	“Work that requires the engagement, suppression, and evocation of the worker’s emotion to get the job done” (p. 89).
Mastracci, Newman, & Guy (2010)	"Relational work that requires human service workers to manager their own emotions, and to elicit behaviors and feelings from clients and citizens" (p. 124)
Roh et al. (2016)	“Human efforts to manage emotional actions and expressions to achieve individual and organizational goals” (p. 46)

Table 2. Study Measures

Concept	Survey Items
Emotional Labor	
Emotion Work Per Se ($\alpha = .88$)	My job requires that I display many different emotions when interacting with others. My work requires me to guide people through sensitive and/or emotional issues. My job requires that I manage the emotions of others. My work involves dealing with emotionally charged issues as a critical component of the job.
Emotional Self-Efficacy ($\alpha = .85$)	I help coworkers feel better about themselves. I help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work. I attempt to “keep the peace” by calming clashes between coworkers.
Organizational Social Capital	
Structural ($\alpha = .84$)	Employees in my department work together as a team. My department works well with other departments. Employees in my department often collaborate with employees from other departments.
Relational ($\alpha = .74$)	I trust my supervisor. I trust my department head. I trust the county manager
Cognitive ($\alpha = .87$)	When I talk about the organization, I usually say “we” rather than “they”. This organization’s successes are my successes. When someone praises this organization, it feels like a personal compliment.
Management Support ($\alpha = .94$)	How often does your supervisor do the following? Praises good performance by department employees. Encourages employees to look for better ways to get the job done. Encourages employees to work together. Explains what results for expected for an assignment or task. Asks employees for their ideas and suggestions when making important decisions.
Demographic Characteristics	
Age	Years old
Gender	(female = 1, male = 0)
Employee of Color	(EOC = 1, white = 0)
Tenure	Years

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Emotional Labor (Personal Efficacy)	0.05	0.84	-4.79	1.25
EL (Personal Efficacy) - Department	0.04	0.24	-1.53	1.05
Emotional Labor (Work Per Se)	-0.07	0.96	-2.49	1.79
EL (Work Per Se) - Department	-0.06	0.45	-1.86	1.24
Structural Social Capital	0.02	0.88	-2.89	1.48
Relational Social Capital	-0.04	0.75	-2.34	1.16
Cognitive Social Capital	0.00	0.85	-2.86	1.35
Manager Support	0.00	1.01	-2.38	1.28
Gender (Women)	0.84	0.37	0.00	1.00
Employee of Color	0.56	0.50	0.00	1.00
Age	48.31	11.64	22.00	71.00
Tenure	9.08	8.67	0.00	3.00

Table 4. Correlation Matrix

E. Personal Eff	1.00												
E. Personal Eff - Dept	0.03	1.00											
E. Work Per Se	0.05	0.05	1.00										
E. Work Per Se - Dept	0.03	0.12	0.32	1.00									
Structural	0.24	0.09	-0.05	0.00	1.00								
Relational	0.10	-0.08	-0.04	0.05	0.14	1.00							
Cognitive	0.26	-0.05	-0.05	-0.05	0.05	0.22	1.00						
Manager Support	0.18	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.30	0.51	0.23	1.00					
Gender (Women)	0.04	0.12	-0.23	-0.28	-0.04	-0.14	-0.03	-0.10	1.00				
Employee of Color	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.10	0.00	-0.15	-0.09	-0.07	0.21	1.00			
Age	0.05	0.05	-0.15	-0.25	0.07	-0.06	0.02	-0.02	0.23	-0.05	1.00		
Tenure	0.01	-0.05	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.13	0.03	-0.07	-0.02	-0.05	0.46	1.00	

Table 5. Hierarchical Linear Model

	Null Model	Model 1
<i>Individual (Level 1)</i>		
Emotional Personal Efficacy		0.26** (0.06)
Emotion Work Per Se		-0.04 (0.05)
Gender (Women)		-0.07 (0.13)
Employee of Color		0.07 (0.1)
Age		0.00 (0.00)
Tenure		-0.01 (0.01)
Management Support		0.28** (0.05)
<i>Department (Level 2)</i>		
Dept. Emotional Personal Efficacy		0.43* (0.2)
Dept. Emotion Work Per Se		0.25* (0.12)
Organization		0.14* (0.06)
Constant	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.24)
Var. Level 2 Residuals	0.31	0.00
Var. Level 1 Residuals	0.85	0.76
n - Employees	275	254
n - Departments	25	21
AIC	712.24	632.04
BIC	723.09	674.86
Log Likelihood	-353.12	-304.02

Note: Hierarchical linear models. Estimator: maximum likelihood; SD in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 6. Ordinary Least Squares Regression

	Relational	Cognitive
Emotional Personal Efficacy	0.01 (0.05)	0.25** (0.06)
Emotion Work Per Se	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.06)
Gender (Women)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.14)
Employee of Color	-0.20 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.11)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)
Tenure	-0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Management Support	0.39** (0.04)	0.20** (0.05)
Dept. Emotional Personal Efficacy	-0.002 (0.16)	-0.04 (0.21)
Dept. Emotion Work Per Se	0.25** (0.09)	-0.05 (0.12)
Constant	0.22 0.19	0.16 (0.25)
n	254	254
R-Squared	0.35	0.14

Note: SD in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 7. Participant Descriptions

Interview	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Race	Position
1	Amy	27	Female	Black	Strategic Analyst
2	Gina	32	Female	White	Assistant Manager
3	Rosa	27	Female	White	Analyst
4	Raymond	39	Male	White	City Manager
5	Charles	32	Male	Hispanic	Analyst
6	Melanie	27	Female	White	Middle Manager
7	Terry	27	Female	White	Middle Manager
8	Grace	42	Female	White	Assistant Manager
9	Doug	44	Male	White	Manager
10	Brianna	36	Female	White	Assistant Manager

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics of Primary Studies

Total Number of Studies	131
Total Number of Observations	520
Mean Sample Size of Studies	515.64
Range Study Sample Sizes	18 – 11337
Total Number of Observation for Each Predictor	
Surface Acting	265
Deep Acting	213
Genuine Emotion	42

Table 9. Sample Size Weighted Averages

Variable	$\bar{\alpha}$
Predictor	
Surface Acting	0.83
Deep Acting	0.84
Genuine Emotion	0.76
Outcome	
Emotional Exhaustion	0.87
Depersonalization	0.74
Personal Accomplishment	0.78
Job Satisfaction	0.89

Table 10. Combined Correlations

	k	N	\bar{r}	$SE_{\bar{r}}$	$\hat{\rho}$	$SE_{\hat{\rho}}$	95% CI
Surface Acting							
Emotional Exhaustion	96	54,582	0.38	0.05	0.45	0.06	0.34; 0.57
Depersonalization	32	9,358	0.33	0.03	0.42	0.04	0.34; 0.51
Personal Accomplishment	26	8,305	-0.14	0.03	-0.19	0.04	-0.27; -0.11
Job Satisfaction	64	64,553	-0.30	0.03	-0.35	0.04	-0.42; -0.27
Deep Acting							
Emotional Exhaustion	77	49,875	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	-0.06; 0.15
Depersonalization	28	8,361	-0.05	0.03	-0.07	0.04	-0.15; 0.01
Personal Accomplishment	25	7,559	0.10	0.04	0.12	0.05	0.02; 0.22
Job Satisfaction	50	54,138	0.07	0.05	0.08	0.06	-0.04; 0.19
Genuine Emotion							
Emotional Exhaustion	14	4,313	-0.23	0.03	-0.28	0.03	-0.34; -0.21
Depersonalization	7	2,077	-0.27	0.06	-0.35	0.08	-0.51; -0.19
Personal Accomplishment	8	2,401	-0.10	0.12	-0.12	0.15	-0.42; .17
Job Satisfaction	8	2,612	0.33	0.02	0.42	0.02	0.38; 0.47

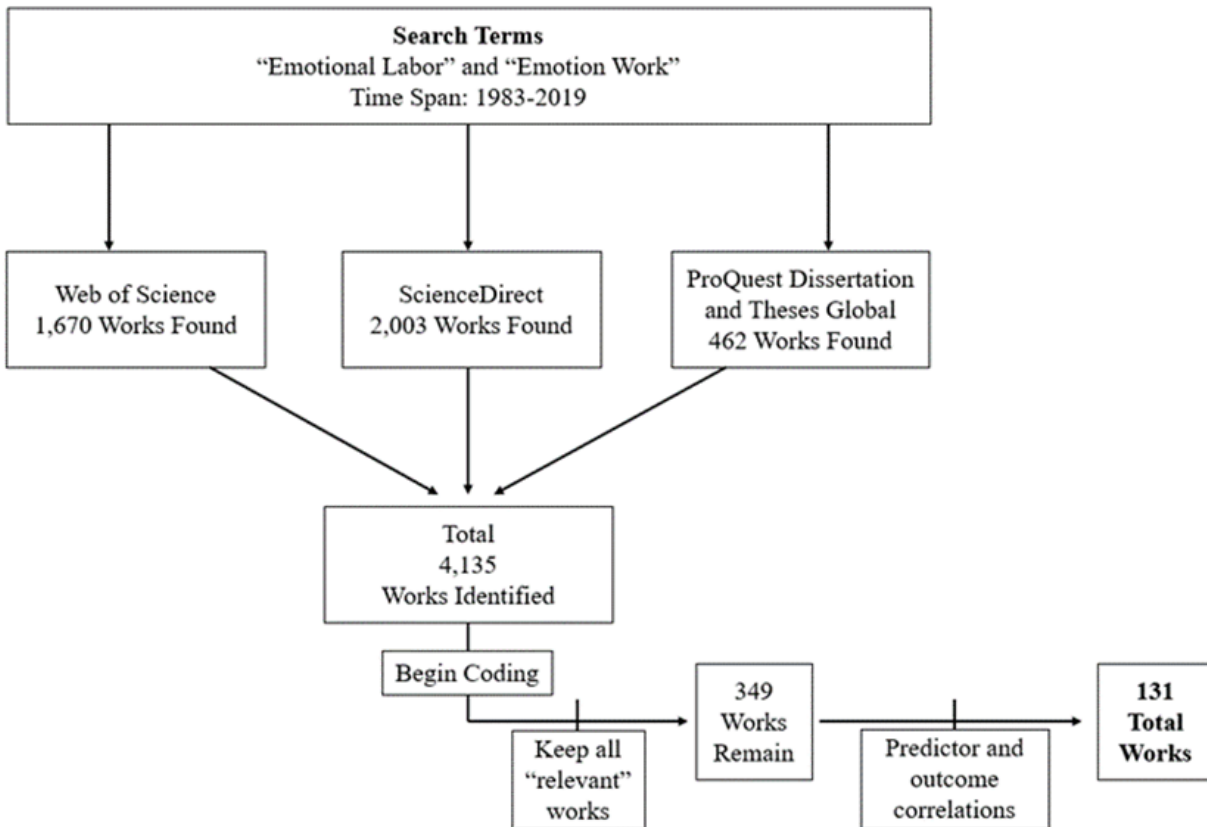
Table 11. Moderators Effect for Surface Acting

	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization	Personal Accomplishment	Job Satisfaction
Women	-0.001	-0.001	0.005*	0.002
	0.136	0.001	0.002	0.001
Published	0.054		0.108	-0.049
	0.070		0.108	0.070
Profession				
Health/Medical	0.065	0.031		-0.183*
	0.093	0.118		0.090
Police Officer	-0.162	-0.202	0.370	
	0.172	0.177	0.209	
Education PreK - 12	0.056	-0.007	-0.117	-0.153
	0.098	0.123	0.121	0.120
Private Services	0.093	0.033	0.007	-0.114
	0.084	0.135	0.143	0.089
Higher Education	0.238*	0.184	-0.411*	-0.284*
	0.121	0.151	0.182	0.119
Nonprofit	-0.542**			-0.366
	0.186			0.218
Combination	-0.044	0.106	-0.042	-0.215*
	0.108	0.133	0.123	0.108
Culture Cluster				
Arab				0.057
				0.154
Anglo	0.200**	0.236***	-0.203	-0.168**
	0.068	0.069	0.127	0.060
Near Eastern	0.020	0.046	0.035	0.512**
	0.110	0.088	0.159	0.158
Germanic	0.354***	0.279**	0.044	
	0.105	0.103	0.229	
South European	0.174	0.301*		-0.137
	0.142	0.130		0.116
Intercept	0.127	0.252	-0.365	-0.081
Observations	101	31	27	71

Table 12. Moderator Effects for Deep Acting

	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization	Personal Accomplishment	Job Satisfaction
Women	0.002	-0.001	0.001	0.001
	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002
Published	-0.111	-0.040	-0.002	-0.128
	0.063	0.081	0.071	0.079
Profession				
Health/Medical	0.057	-0.088		0.054
	0.103	0.189		0.162
Police Officer	0.311	0.212	0.038	
	0.186	0.243	0.149	
Education Pre K - 12	0.023	-0.225	-0.081	-0.016
	0.100	0.185	0.086	0.187
Private Services	-0.063	-0.371	0.196*	0.107
	0.089	0.202	0.098	0.155
Higher Education	0.100	-0.159	-0.063	-0.146
	0.118	0.223	0.125	0.187
Nonprofit	-0.289			
	0.223			
Combination	0.043	-0.158	0.161	-0.033
	0.118	0.200	0.092	0.176
Culture Cluster				
Arab				0.227
				0.164
Anglo	0.164**	0.220*	-0.203*	-0.357***
	0.062	0.091	0.082	0.073
Near Eastern	0.143	0.086	-0.428**	-0.503*
	0.098	0.121	0.105	0.237
Germanic	0.312***	0.163	-0.116	
	0.093	0.138	0.142	
Latin European	0.251			
	0.169			
Intercept	-0.142	0.111	0.242	0.412
Observations	83	26	24	53

Figure 1. Search and Coding Process



Appendix B - Recruitment Email and Attached Flyer

Dear X,

My name is Nicole Humphrey and I am a student from the School of Public Affairs and Administration at the University of Kansas currently completing a research project on relationship building in the public sector.

To explore this topic, I am interviewing several public servants on their experiences at work. Participants in this study will complete an interview lasting approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour where they discuss their experiences building connections at work. Interviews will be audio recorded. However, all information gained from the interview will be confidential, so names will not be associated in any way with the information collected or the research findings from this study.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you would like to participate in the study or have questions regarding the study, please contact the investigator with the information listed at the end of this document.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Nicole Humphrey
School of Public Affairs & Administration
University of Kansas
N.Humphrey@ku.edu
(785) 840-7551

<p>Connections in the Public Sector</p> <hr/> <p>The purpose of this study is to explore how coworker relationships influence the work of public servants.</p> <p>We are seeking voluntary research participants willing to be interviewed about their experiences building connections in their role as a public servant.</p> <p>Volunteers will participate in a single-session interview. If interested please contact the principal investigator, Nicole Humphrey.</p> <hr/> <p>Nicole M. Humphrey School of Public Affairs and Administration University of Kansas n.humphrey@ku.edu</p>	<table border="1"><tr><td data-bbox="841 1272 1042 1533"></td><td data-bbox="1042 1272 1312 1533"></td></tr><tr><td data-bbox="841 1533 1042 1808"></td><td data-bbox="1042 1533 1312 1808"></td></tr></table>				
					
					

Appendix C - Interview Protocol

Investigator: Nicole M. Humphrey
Faculty Advisor: Dr. Shannon Portillo

Standard Interview Questions

Do you need to engage in relationship-building with your colleagues at your job?

- Describe what you do to build relationships? (i.e. practices, actions, or behaviors)
- Would you consider the relationships you have with your colleagues beneficial to you?
 - In what ways?

Do you need to engage in emotion management—which means to manage your emotions as well as taming the emotions of others—with your colleagues?

- What kind of emotions are required to handle interactions with your colleagues?
- Do you feel like you have to suppress your authentic emotions when interacting with your colleagues?
- Do you help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work?

Tell me a story of a time that you needed to provide emotional support to one of your colleagues.

- Did your colleague approach you for support? Or did you offer support?
- How would you describe your interactions in this situation?
- How would you describe your colleague's response to your actions?

Tell me a story of a time that you felt emotionally exhausted from work.

- Who were you interacting with? Co-worker? Supervisor? Client?
- How did you cope with the emotional exhaustion?
- Do you find yourself being emotionally exhausted a lot from work?

Do you trust your colleagues?

- Why do you think you trust or do not trust your colleagues?
- Are there certain colleagues you feel that you trust more than others? Why do you think you are closer with these colleagues?
- Do you feel that your judgement is trusted and relied upon at work?

Do you think employees in your department work as a team?

- Why do you think your department does/does not work as a team?
 - If you think your department works as a team, how do you contribute as a team member?

Do you feel connected to your colleagues? On a professional level? On a personal level?

- Why do you feel/not feel connected to your colleagues?
- Do you think this influences your work? How so?

What year were you born?

How long have you been working in your current position?

How do you identify in terms of your race?

How do you identify in terms of your gender?

Appendix D – Meta-Analysis Articles

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