A Proposed Nomenclature and Framework of Emotional Labor

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Emotional labor is an important phenomenon of study in the field of industrial and organizational psychology as it is known to affect a myriad of organizationally-relevant outcomes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment. However, researchers examining the process of emotional labor have yet to agree upon a single, common framework and nomenclature. This has resulted in inconsistent terminology usage and the generation of piecemeal findings, precluding us from obtaining a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the phenomenon at hand. By considering the existing literature on emotion regulation, reconciling discrepant terminology usage, and integrating existing findings, a general framework is proposed wherein both past and future findings may be mapped upon. The development of this framework would potentially allow us to obtain a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of emotional labor, as well as to better inform practitioners with regards to the intricate processes involved in emotional labor; thereby bearing implications for both research and practice in this area.

Keywords: emotional labor, emotion regulation, surface acting, deep acting

A Proposed Nomenclature and Framework of Emotional Labor

Emotions are part and parcel of many job-related tasks and duties: a service staff displaying a constant smile despite experiencing anger and irritation towards a complaining customer; a bill collector displaying anger and aggravation towards an otherwise unrelenting debtor. As Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller, and Rotundo (2004) puts it, "in numerous occupational roles...employees are continually faced with emotionally charged encounters requiring specific emotional displays" (p. 700). However, it was only up till the recent two decades that researchers started to examine the role of emotions in jobs (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Glomb et al., 2004). Hochschild (1983) provided the earliest known definition of emotional labor, explaining it as a process of managing one's own feelings to publicly exhibit facial and bodily displays during service transactions. Although strides have been made in the field since then, researchers generally still do not agree upon a single consensual framework, resulting in the generation of a broad array of perspectives and terminologies that, though seemingly distinct, are to a large extent overlapping in nature. As a result, empirical studies generated from these varied perspectives have produced findings that are largely piecemeal and sometimes even confusing in nature, precluding us from mapping these findings onto a single consensual framework and obtaining a clear and holistic understanding of emotional labor.

There had been several attempts at constructing a general framework of emotional labor. Notably, two of which were Grandey's (2000) general framework and Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, and Wax's (2012) discordance-congruence model. Grandey's (2000) framework,

which was revised in Grandey and Melloy (2017), is composed of three broad components; namely, situational cues, emotional regulation process, and long-term consequences. Whilst this framework is helpful in allowing us to better understand the antecedents and consequences of emotional labor, it does not fully capture the dynamicity of emotion regulation, leaving out important processes such as emotional dissonance and automatic emotional regulation (which will be discussed in the subsequent sections of this paper). Additionally, the nomenclature used is less commonly adopted by other researchers in the field, such as by using the term interaction expectations instead of the more commonly-used term of emotional job demands.

Additionally, while many researchers in the field classify both emotional display demands made upon an employee as stipulated by a job in-question and emotional responses made by employees in response to these demands as part of the process of emotional labor (e.g., Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999), Grandey's (2000) framework classified the former as an antecedent (labelling it as situational cues) and the latter (emotion regulation) as a consequent factor that is then responsible for predicting organizationally-relevant outcomes such as job performance and job satisfaction. Specifying such a unidirectional causal path potentially slights the dynamicity involved between these two facets of emotional labor in collectively predicting organizationally-relevant outcomes. Furthermore, Grandey's (2000) framework does not make a clear delineation between emotional labor, involving the dynamic interplay between job emotional display demands and emotional responses made by employees in response to such demands, and emotion regulation, pertaining to how employees cope with such demands, with both emotional labor and emotion regulation being treated as effectively synonymous in the framework.

Mesmer-Magnus et al.'s (2012) model was constructed in a similar fashion to Grandey's (2000) model, with the general structure being of input factors feeding into a process variable which, consequently, affects certain organizationally-relevant outcomes. A major difference between Mesmer-Magnus et al.'s (2012) model and Grandey's (2000) is that the former focuses more heavily on congruency between emotions publicly displayed and emotions privately felt in predicting organizationally-relevant outcomes. While Mesmer-Magnus et al.'s (2012) framework adopted terminologies that are more commonly used by researchers in the field, it too does not fully capture the dynamicity involved in the process of emotion regulation, with key components such as emotional dissonance and automatic emotional regulation missing in their framework.

As seen in our short review, even between the two most notable frameworks of emotional labor, marked discrepancies exist with regards to terminology usage and construct-to-construct relationship conceptualizations. Despite such efforts at establishing a consensual, general framework of emotional labor, researchers are still continually introducing a plethora of new terms and constructs, each with their own set of merits and demerits. To obtain a clearer understanding of emotional labor and to advance the progress of the field, a broad framework that adopts the use of more typical terminologies and incorporates the strengths and gist of existing frameworks is much needed. Such a framework would then serve to better guide both future research and practices. In this paper, a broad framework aiming to do just that will be proposed. Within the proposed framework (Figure 1 below), the process of emotional labor will be expounded upon in terms of inter-relationships between emotional job demands, emotional responses, and employee emotion regulation processes, which then impacts organizationally-relevant outcomes.

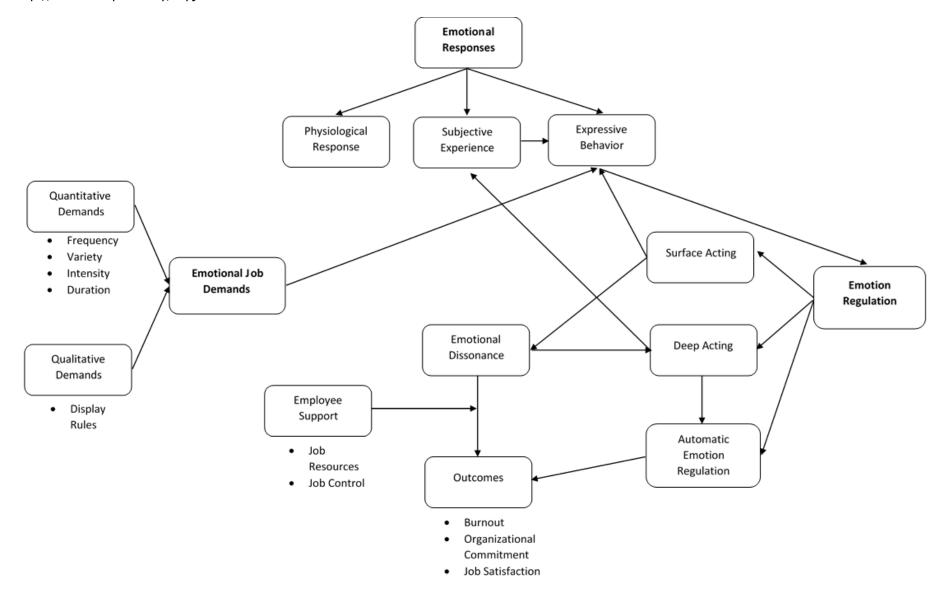


Figure 1. Proposed framework of emotional labor

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor has been defined in many ways. Hoschschild (1983), who provided the earliest known definition of emotional labor, defined it broadly as the management of emotions for a wage. Subsequently, researchers such as Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) made finer distinctions to the term, explicitly distinguishing emotional labor pertaining to job demands from emotional labor pertaining to employee responses, giving rise to the terms of *job-focused* emotional labor and *employee-focused* emotional labor respectively. Though many subscribed to such a distinction, different terms were still generated to reflect such a distinction. For instance, Näring et al. (2012) labelled such job-focused emotional labor as emotional job demands and such employee-focused emotional labor as simply emotional labor. Other researchers, such as Zapf et al. (1999), discouraged the use of the term altogether, stating that the word "labor" should not be used when "individual behavior and intrapsychic concepts are involved" (p. 373); instead, the authors proposed the usage of the term *emotional work*. Yet others have seemingly used both terms of *emotional labor* and *emotional work* interchangeably (e.g., Näring, Vlerick, & Van de Ven, 2012).

Because emotional labor clearly encompasses a dynamic interplay between person and situation, the distinction made between emotional labor pertaining to job demands from emotional labor pertaining to employee responses is, arguably, useful. Such a conceptualization also potentially allows us to understand such an interplay from the perspective of the well-established person-environment fit literature (cf. Edwards, Cable, Williamson, Lambert, & Shipp, 2006). However, to prevent further lax usage of the term emotional labor and to better encapsulate the fundamental, original notion of emotional labor being a broad process of managing one's emotions for work rather than referring to any specific facet or sub-processes involved, it is proposed that the term *emotional job demands* be used to refer to any demands made upon an employee in terms of emotional expression and the term *emotion regulation* be used to refer to the processes the employee in question undergoes to express the desired emotion as stipulated by the job. Before we discuss these two facets in greater detail, a brief discussion on the type of emotional responses involved in emotional labor is called for.

Emotional Responses

Interestingly, despite referencing specific types of emotional responses (e.g., subjective feeling and expressive behavior), existing literatures on emotional labor typically do not explicate what these responses are, what they entail, and where they fit in the overall process of emotional labor. According to Gross (2008), emotions arise from a process whereby an individual affords attention to a situation or stimulus and conducts cognitive appraisal upon it, resulting in the generation of emotional responses. These responses can be differentiated in terms of subjective experience, physiological response, and expressive behavior (Bradley & Lang, 2000; Gross, 2002; Gross & Levenson, 1993). Physiological responses can be assessed in terms of biological parameters such as heart rate. Expressive behavior pertains to publicly observable displays of emotion, which ranges from facial expression to bodily behaviors. Lastly, subjective experience refers to the self-reportable experiencing of an emotion (i.e., subjective feeling of an emotion).

As Gross (2002) puts it, "emotions call forth a coordinated set of behavioral, experiential, and physiological response tendencies that together influence how we respond to perceived challenges and opportunities" (p. 281). It is these responses, rather than more upstream processes of emotions emergence such as cognitive appraisal, that are of primary focus in the emotional labor literature as they are often proposed to be the most proximal predictors of

organizationally-relevant outcomes in the process of emotional labor; in particular, research on emotional labor is primarily centered around the emotional response components of subjective experience and expressive behavior (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey & Melloy, 2017; Näring, Vlerick, & Ven, 2012).

Emotional Job Demands

As defined earlier on, emotional job demands in the proposed framework of this paper pertains to emotional display requirements made upon an employee as required by a job. Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) posited that such demands consist of two components; namely, emotional work demands (frequency, variety, intensity, and duration) and display rules (requiring the display of positive or negative emotions). Using the term "emotional work demands" to refer specifically to the quantitative aspect of emotional job demands while using the term "display rules" to refer to the qualitative aspect could induce some level of confusion, especially when the terms "work" and "job" can be deemed to be semantically synonymous. On the other hand, Grandey (2000), in her general framework, placed "display rules" under a category which she termed "interaction expectations" (p. 101). This same category also houses the same factors of "frequency", "duration", and "variety" that Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) grouped under emotional work demands. Amidst the confusing usage of terms and categorical labels, is a clear distinction between the qualitative aspect of emotional display demands and the quantitative aspect of emotional display demands. Accordingly, I suggest the use of simpler and clearer category names; qualitative emotional demands and quantitative emotional demands.

Display rules would be housed under *qualitative emotional demands*, since it pertains to the type of emotions being called for by the job. The type of emotion required can be described in terms of specific, discrete emotions (Grandey, 2000), or more broadly in terms of valence (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). On the other hand, the other factors mentioned (i.e., frequency, variety, intensity, and duration) would be housed under *quantitative emotional demands* since they do not directly relate to the valence or specific type of emotion, but rather, are various quantitative measures of the required emotions instead. These category names succinctly capture the essence of the factors they respectively house and allow for the possibility of additional factors to be identified in future research and categorized systematically under a clear, parsimonious framework.

Emotion Regulation

Emotion regulation focuses on how employees would modulate their emotional responses to meet certain emotional display demands made upon them by their respective jobs (Zapf et al., 1999). In other words, emotion regulation in the context of emotional labor occurs in response to emotional job demands. To meet such demands (e.g., display rules), employees can either focus solely on acting out the required emotional displays, or they can go a step further and modulate how they subjectively feel to elicit the required expressive behaviors (Zapf et al., 1999). The former is known as surface acting, which entails a discrepancy between publicly displayed emotion and privately felt emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). The latter is known as deep acting, where one "attempts to actually experience or feel the emotions that one wishes to display" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 93). As such, in the case of deep acting, expressive behaviors are indirectly elicited through the modulation of one's subjective emotional experience, as opposed to being directly elicited as in the case of surface acting (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). It is worth noting that emotional displays arising from deep acting are often perceived to be more genuine by others as compared to those arising from surface acting (Groth, Hennig-Thurau, & Walsh, 2009).

As surface acting involves a discrepancy between privately felt emotions and publicly displayed emotions, it induces a state of discomfort which is known as emotional dissonance (Mesmer-Magnus et al., 2012). Such a state of discordance has been associated with detrimental outcomes such as stress (Grandey, 2003), reduced job satisfaction (Lewig & Dollard, 2003), and even burnout (Mesmer-Magnus et al., 2012). Since congruence between subjective feeling and expressive behavior is present in the case of deep acting, it is described as a state of emotional congruence (Mesmer-Magnus et al., 2012); hence, it is typically not associated with negative outcomes that are associated with surface acting (Grandey, 2003).

Intriguingly, only a handful of literatures in this area have attempted to explain how surface acting and deep acting are actually carried out. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) noted that surface acting is achieved by a sheer simulation of expressive behaviors typically associated with the emotion one desires to display, while deep acting can be achieved either by "exhorting feeling" or "trained imagination" (p. 93). The reasoning that deep acting can be achieved through exhorting the desired feeling is somewhat circular as it merely restates the premise of deep acting without providing any additional information pertaining to its underlying mechanisms and/or processes. Trained imagination, on the other hand, provides an example of how deep acting can be achieved but in itself does not readily explicate the underlying mechanisms as well.

Under Gross's (2008) framework of emotions, both surface acting and deep acting can be classified as response modulation strategies as they involve direct attempts to modulate certain types of emotional responses. Response modulation, in turn, is part of a family of emotion regulation strategies (Gross, 2008). Accordingly, the consideration of the general emotion regulation literature may be helpful towards the elucidation of the underlying mechanisms and processes of surface acting and deep acting.

Referencing the modal model of emotion which posits that emotion is a stepwise process of situation, attention, appraisal, and response, Gross (2008) propounded that emotion regulation can occur at multiple junctures in the process of emotion. As mentioned earlier on, researchers interested in studying emotional labor, with their preoccupancy in the modulation of subjective feeling and expressive behavior, have been focusing solely on the modulation of emotional responses which occurs late in the process of emotions. Deep acting, however, may not necessarily operate only at the late stage of response. Beal, Trougakos, Weiss, and Green (2006) posited that deep acting can be achieved through either reappraisal or attentional deployment. Reappraisal targets the appraisal stage of the process of emotion, while attentional deployment targets the attention stage; both stages are upstream to that of the stage of response. However, Beal et al. (2006) did not detail exactly how these regulation strategies would aid the individual in modulating his or her subjective experience specifically to meet expressive behavioral requirements. The following paragraphs present the author of this paper's take on the issue.

At the earliest point in the process of emotion, an individual could engage in either situation selection or situation modification (Gross, 2008). This might relate to job selection or at least an active attempt to change certain ascribed tasks or roles within an organization. Assuming the individual is committed to a job and its accompanying tasks, the individual could then engage in attentional deployment, cognitive change, or response modulation. Gross (2008) explained that the most well-studied cognitive change strategy is reappraisal, which involves "changing a situation's meaning in such a way that there is a change in the person's emotional response to that situation" (p. 503). This could potentially be the emotion regulation strategy involved in deep acting. Although this would be in line with Beal et al.'s (2006) proposition, it may not bode well with the definition of deep acting itself - more on this later. The emotion

regulation strategy of response modulation, on the other hand, involves exercising cognitive control to directly influence physiological, experiential, or behavioral response (Gross, 2008). When applied specifically to behavioral responses, it is effectively synonymous to surface acting.

It is less clear how attentional deployment would relate to emotional labor. It could be surmised that distraction strategies (cf. Gross, 2008) would serve as a type of coping strategy with regards to emotional demands made upon by a job (in terms of stress and strain), although it would not directly aid the employee in inducing those expressive behaviors required by his or her job. It is also presently unclear if a direct modulation of subjective feeling would be possible without first influencing any of the upstream processes. As definitions of deep acting have been largely brief and descriptive in nature without explicating much of its underlying mechanisms and processes, it remains nebulous if a change in subjective feeling as stipulated by the definition strictly pertains to direct response modulation, or would it also encompass those initiated by upstream processes (e.g., reappraisal).

Regardless, such a view presupposes that the emotions necessitated by a particular job are bound to be in conflict with the employee's privately felt emotions, such that the employee will always be engaging in some form of active emotion regulation. It does not account for the possibility of effortless automatic emotion regulation. Mauss, Bunge, and Gross (2007) described automatic emotion regulation as a non-conscious goal-driven change to one's emotion. Individuals engaging in automatic emotion regulation do not subjectively experience (i.e., are not consciously aware of) the process of emotional response modulation as the process occurs automatically and effortlessly (Mauss et al., 2007). As such, what the individual consciously experiences is a seamless match between emotion felt and emotion expressed, with the emotion displayed being congruent with his or her job's emotional demand.

A plausible pathway from emotional dissonance to automatic emotion regulation exists. Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) stated that employees experiencing emotional dissonance from surface acting can temper it by regulating his or her subjective feelings, altering it till the extent that it is congruent with his or her expressive behavior (in which they termed active deep acting). Over time, this process can become routinized and automatized such that the individual would then be said to be engaging in automatic emotion regulation (Mauss et al., 2007), which some researchers term as passive deep acting (e.g., Zapf, 2002). Such a notion is consistent with other research on dissonance showing that dissonance is a powerful motivator for long-lasting internalized change (e.g., Rhodewalt, & Zanna, 1979). There also exist some researchers that posit that certain employees may be able to engage in automatic emotion regulation right from the get-go (e.g., Ashford & Humphrey, 1993). In general, it could be said that negative outcomes are associated with emotional dissonance while successful automatic emotion regulation brings about more positive outcomes (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Unfortunately, this dynamic process is hardly (if ever) accounted for in existing frameworks and models of emotional labor.

In addition, moderators of the negative relationship between emotional dissonance and organizationally-relevant outcomes have been identified but are yet rarely incorporated into existing frameworks and models of emotional labor. For instance, Abraham (2000) found that job control moderates the deleterious effects of emotional dissonance on job satisfaction and organizational commitment (this was, in turn, contingent on self-efficacy levels of the employee). Job resources, operationalized as emotional support from colleagues and supervisors, is yet another moderating factor that has been identified (de Jonge, Le Blanc, Peeters, & Noordam, 2008). Accounting for the existence of such moderators, a general term of "employee support" is specified in the proposed framework of this paper, housing such factors

that help to buffer the negative effects of emotional dissonance on organizationally-relevant outcomes.

Proposed Framework

Collectively, the inter-relationships between the components of emotional job demands, emotional responses, and employee emotion regulation processes as discussed in the previous section characterizes the broad process of emotional labor. Their inter-relations are depicted in Figure 1 and will be discussed in greater detail within this section. Firstly, as suggested by existing literature, emotional job demand is composed of two distinct types; qualitative and quantitative (see Figure 2 below). Qualitative emotional job demands pertain to the type of emotional display as required by a given job. As previously mentioned, such display demands can be described in terms of specific, discrete emotions (Grandey, 2000), or more broadly in terms of valence (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). It may also be possible to characterize such demands in other dimensions of emotion. For instance, if relevant to the researcher's purpose and aim, he or she could also characterize such display rules on the activation dimension (*see* Barrett & Russell, 1998). Qualitative emotional demands, on the other hand, encompasses factors such as frequency, variety, intensity, and duration. Both qualitative and quantitative emotional demands are extraneous to the employees and are ascribed by the jobs that they are incumbents of.

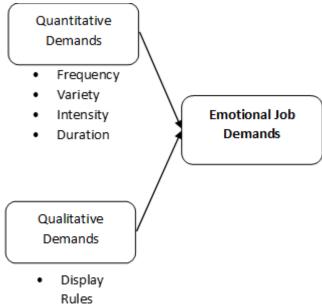


Figure 2. Emotional job demands

Emotion regulation, on the other hand, focuses on the employee's management of their emotional responses. The process is described in relation to the three types of emotional responses; namely, subjective experience (or feeling), physiological response, and expressive behavior (*see* Figure 3 below). The main processes involved are, surface acting, deep acting, emotional dissonance, and automatic emotion regulation (*see* Figure 4 below). In the overall framework, a path leading from emotional job demands to the expressive behavior component of emotional responses, to emotion regulation exists. This path represents how emotional job

imposes certain expressive behavioral requirements upon an employee, to which the employee in-question engages in emotion regulation in response to such emotional display requirements.

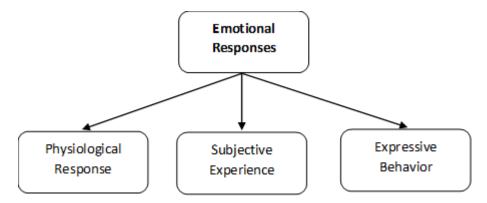


Figure 3. Emotional responses

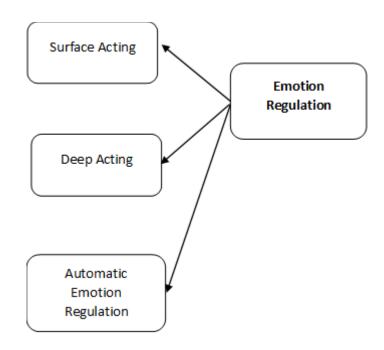


Figure 4. Emotion regulation in the context of emotional labor

As depicted in Figure 4 above, employees can either engage in surface acting, engage in deep acting, or directly engage in automatic emotion regulation from the get-go. For automatic emotion regulation, outcomes are generally positive (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Surface acting involves an individual effortfully modulating his or her expressive behavior to meet the emotional display requirements as imposed by his or her job. Surface acting, however, induces emotional dissonance due to the existence of a discrepancy between subjective feeling and expressive behavior, and this is usually associated with negative outcomes (e.g., Lewig & Dollard, 2003). However, an employee can engage in deep acting to attenuate discomfort experienced. In deep acting, the employee focuses on changing his or her subjective feeling to elicit the required expressive behavior. Over time, the repeated process of experiencing

emotional dissonance and subsequent alleviation through the modulation of subjective feeling facilitates the individual in developing automatic emotion regulation. As such, although emotional dissonance is generally deemed to be deleterious, this framework acknowledges research demonstrating the positive utility of it, in that it can serve as a driving force for the development of automatic emotion regulation.

The current literature does not clarify if it is possible for employees to repeatedly engage in deep acting over an extended period of time without ever achieving automatic emotion regulation (i.e., whether it is possible for automaticity to never set in). What is known, is that rather than being associated with positive or negative outcomes, deep acting is associated with a lack of negative outcomes (e.g., Grandey, 2003). As such, no direct path between deep acting and the outcomes component of the framework was specified, although future iterations of this framework could specify such a path should new evidences be uncovered. This presently proposed framework posits that overtime, the process will become increasingly effortless and that automaticity will eventually kick in, resulting in automatic emotion regulation. However, future studies may wish to investigate this further.

Figure 5 below summarizes the abovementioned relationships among the major components of emotion regulation, emotional responses, and organizationally-relevant outcomes. It may be apparent to the reader that a plethora of paths exist, and it is seemingly unclear as to what determines which path leading from emotion regulation to the outcomes component of the framework an employee would take. I propose that this is where individual differences come into play. Some individual difference variables that have been shown to impact how an individual who regulate his or her emotion in response to situational demands include personality (Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009) and emotional intelligence – specifically, the emotion regulation ability facet of emotional intelligence (Brackett, Palomera, Mojsa-Kaja, Reyes, & Salovey, 2010).

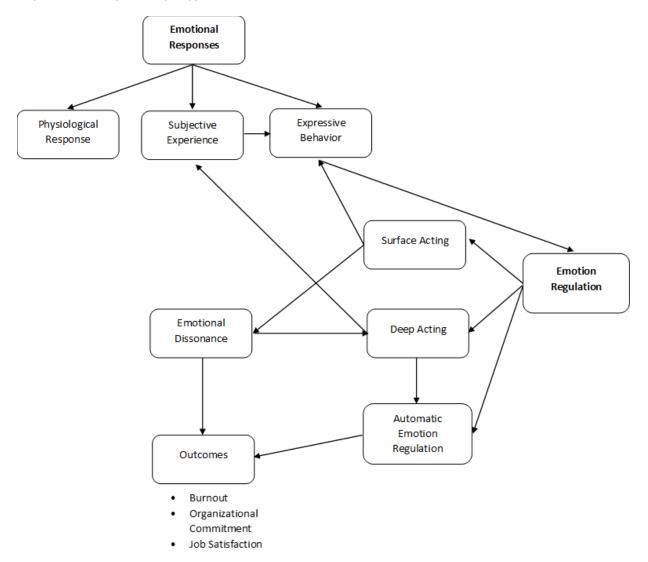


Figure 5. Interplay between emotion regulation, emotional responses, and organizationally-relevant outcomes

Emotion regulation itself is a facet of emotional intelligence, which pertains to the regulation of emotion to best respond to environmental stimuli (Mayer & Salovey, 1995). In fact, it is one of the four abilities measures in the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) (Brackett et al., 2010). Hence, unsurprisingly, emotional intelligence has been found to moderate the detrimental effects of emotional labor on outcomes such as burnout and somatic complaints, with individuals possessing higher levels of emotional intelligence experiencing lower levels of burnout and somatic complaints (Mikolajczak, Menil, & Luminet, 2007). There exists, however, a paucity of studies examining how these aforementioned individual differences variables would affect the employees' choice of and eventual success in various emotion regulation strategies. As such, more studies should delve deeper into the underlying mechanisms of these individual differences in the context of job-related emotion regulation, and endeavor to identify other individual differences variables involved to further shed light on the matter.

Aside from individual differences variables, situational factors can also influence an individual's ability to regulate his or her emotions to emotion display demands of a given job. Drawing upon the notion of general resource and momentary resource allocation, Sonnentag and Frese (2012) posited that individuals are less likely to be able to regulate their emotions to meet such emotion display demands in a given episode when they are already experiencing negative emotions, because such an affective state would deplete one's regulatory resources . This, however, assumes that the negative affectivity is incongruent with the expressive behavioral requirements of the task at hand (i.e., display of negative affectivity is uncalled for). Nevertheless, regulatory resource depletion is an area of research worth investigating in the context of emotional labor.

Incidentally, this leads us to another individual difference variable that is worth considering – dispositional affect. An individual with high dispositional negativity would, in a probabilistic sense, experience more negative affectivity across time and situations (Shackman et al., 2016). Considering the preceding argument, these individuals, then, would be less able to regulate their emotions to those as required by their job in a given work episode (e.g., a period of interaction with a client) as they would more than likely be expanding regulatory resources to deal with their own negative affect. From another perspective, congruency between an individual's dispositional affect and a job's general affective display requirements would greatly reduce the likelihood of one having to engage in emotional response modulation at any given work episode. In turn, this greatly reduces the likelihood of one experiencing emotional dissonance and, consequently, its associated negative outcomes. Regardless, dispositional affect is potentially another individual difference variable that may affect the likelihood of an employee's success in regulating his or her emotions to be in line with those as required by his or her job.

Noticeably, no direct path from automatic emotion regulation to any type of emotional response was specified. This is because automatic emotion regulation is posited to be a state of congruence (between felt and displayed emotions as required by the job). As previously mentioned, individuals engaging in automatic emotion regulation achieve such a state of congruence effortlessly and seamlessly, without the subjective experience of the modulation process and without the involvement of volitional control over any type of emotional responses. Hence, these individuals would effectively be already subjectively experiencing and publicly displaying emotions that are compatible with those as required by the job. This state is similar to what Mesmer-Magnus et al. (2012) termed as emotional consonance.

The relationship between emotional dissonance and organizationally-relevant outcomes is posited to be moderated by a component labelled employee support (*see* Figure 6 below). As previously discussed, past research have found job resources to be able to moderate the detrimental effects of emotional dissonance on organizationally-relevant outcomes (de Jonge et al., 2008). Job resources, as defined and operationalized by the authors, pertains to emotional support dispensed by colleagues and supervisors (de Jonge et al., 2008). Job control is also another moderating variable that was identified (Abraham, 2000). Hence, affording employees greater autonomy over their jobs would likely reduce the experience of deleterious outcomes associated with emotional dissonance. Although it is also possible that the affordance of greater job control could result in the employee simply not paying any heed to emotional requirements (i.e., effectively removing emotional labor entirely from the picture). Unfortunately, research in this area is also scarce. More efforts should be put into identifying more moderating variables as it allows for the formulation of interventions to curb the deleterious effects of emotional dissonance.

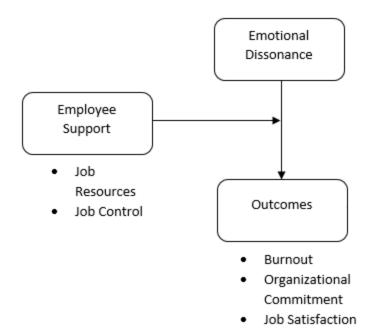


Figure 6. Moderation of the relationship between emotional dissonance and organizationally-relevant outcomes

Last but not least, at the end of the process lies the component labelled "outcomes" which has already been mentioned while explicating other components of the framework. Two paths directly feed into the outcome component – emotional dissonance and automatic emotion regulation. As previously discussed, emotional dissonance relates to negative outcomes (such as burnout) whereas automatic emotion regulation relates to positive outcomes (such as job satisfaction). Several outcome variables have been studied in the context of emotional labor, such as burnout (e.g., Heuven & Bakker, 2003), organizational commitment (e.g., Yang & Chang, 2008), and job satisfaction (e.g., Lewig & Dollard, 2003). However, the bulk of these research painted grim pictures of emotional labor and did not afford due attention to the more positive aspect of emotional labor (i.e., positive outcomes associated with automatic emotion regulation) which Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) underscored.

A recent meta-analysis conducted by Mesmer-Magnus et al. (2012) found that individuals in a state of congruence between emotions felt and emotions displayed (as required by their jobs) generally experienced increased levels of job satisfaction and exhibited lower levels of work withdrawal. On the other hand, emotional dissonance, which the bulk of the literature in this field has focused on, has been found to be positively related to emotional exhaustion (Lewig & Dollard, 2003) and negatively related to job satisfaction (Zapf et al., 1999). Accordingly, it should be noted that although both emotional dissonance and automatic emotion regulation may contribute toward common outcome variables, they affect these outcome variables differently. Reiterating a point previously made, engaging in automatic emotion regulation generally leads to positive outcomes, while experiencing emotional dissonance generally leads to negative outcomes, although emotional dissonance itself could be instrumental in leading employees toward the development of automatic emotion regulation.

Discussion

As alluded thus far, variables identified and listed under each category/component depicted within the framework are non-exhaustive. As more research are being done, it is

expected for these lists to undergo an iterative process of expansion and pruning. Likewise, the exact pathways among these components of the framework could also be modified to accommodate new findings from the field. While it does capture the bulk of our current understanding of the phenomenon, no claims are made that this framework is the undisputed dogma of emotional labor. The main aim of proposing this present framework is to establish a nomological network that maps the relationships among the relevant construct that best reflects our current understanding of the phenomenon at hand, in hopes of setting up a common ground for future research in this area. As such, this framework presents a critical step towards a generalized, unifying framework and nomenclature of emotional labor which would serve to guide future research in the field in a systematic fashion and to prevent further fragmentation of the field.

This framework is also potentially useful for practitioners interested in formulating interventions. There are four potential target points for intervention. The first of which, is the component of emotional job demands. Practitioners targeting this point would identify what the types of emotion display required by a job are and modify these demands as deemed appropriate. These practitioners would work directly with the organization in the process of job design to modify and reduce these demands (e.g., reduce frequency, or intensity of emotion display required). Granted, the practitioner would also have to ensure that such modifications do not unduly compromise the interest of the organization such that it impedes overall effectiveness and performance outcomes (i.e., a fine balance has to be struck between magnitude of demands made upon the employee and outcomes of overall task effectiveness and task performance).

The second of which, is the component of emotion regulation. Practitioners targeting this point could formulate interventions that best aid employees in engaging in deep acting (and eventually, automatic emotion regulation). An example of such an intervention would be workshops that train employees in the skill of "trained imagination" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p.93). However, it is presently unclear if the continual practice of trained imagination would definitely lead the development of automaticity and, eventually, automatic emotion regulation. Before researchers are able to ascertain conclusively on how we can best facilitate the development of automatic emotion regulation, the best bet that we have now is to help individuals to engage in deep acting which would, at least, allow them to avoid experiencing emotional dissonance and its associated deleterious outcomes.

The third of which, would be to formulate interventions based on moderating variables identified under the component of employee support to attenuate the deleterious relationship between emotional dissonance and negative work outcomes. These interventions (e.g., fostering a culture of emotional support) would play a supportive role to the employees, in hopes of negating the detrimental effects of emotional dissonance. Job control, another factor listed within the category of employee support, could be directly addressed as well (i.e., afford the employee with more autonomy); alternatively, if actual job control is difficult to modulate due to practical restrictions, it may be worth trying to, at least, instill a greater sense of perceived job control amongst employees. Although this would prevent (or at least attenuate) negative outcomes associated with emotional dissonance, a potential downfall is that it is unclear how this would aid employees in meeting emotional display requirements stipulated by their job.

Both the second and third potential target points for interventions are especially relevant to practitioners involved in administering employee assistance programs (EAPs). One of the purposes of EAPs is to aid employees in coping with emotional issues that may impact their work performance (Masi, 1986). EAPs are typically oriented towards helping employees to cope

better as opposed to directly modifying certain aspects of their jobs, roles or duties. As such, EAPs typically consist of counselling sessions (Cooper, Dewe, & O'Driscoll, 2003). Staffs administering EAPs may find these points useful in allowing them to select appropriate therapies to better aid the employees' in coping with the emotion display requirements as stipulated their respective jobs.

The last of which is less of an intervention and more of an employee selection suggestion. Since there are known individual differences in terms of how likely one would be successful in regulating his or her emotion to meet certain display demands of a job, practitioners could select potential job incumbents based on individual difference variables such as emotional intelligence. This would reduce the likelihood that the potential incumbent would succumb to emotional dissonance (and, consequently, suffer from its associated negative outcomes) on the job. It would also be helpful for organizations to articulate such emotional demands as best as they can to job applicants so that they would be better able to gauge how likely they will be successful in manage such demands. As such, practitioners are encouraged to take this into account when conducting job analyses and writing up job descriptions.

A possible future direction in this field would be to examine the role of physiological response in the process of emotional labor. Research in the field of emotional labor has focused exclusively on the components of subjective feeling and expressive behavior, while leaving the component of physiological response practically untouched. It is perhaps possible to modulate one's expressive behavior by means of modifying one's physiological responses should the three types of emotional responses be truly interrelated.

Porges, Doussard-Roosevelt, and Maiti's (1994) exposition details how the vagal tone could play a role in the process of emotion regulation. Park and Thayer (2014) reported that individuals with higher levels of heart rate variability (an indicator of vagal tone) were more likely to produce maladaptive cognitive responses to emotional stimuli. Although presently, the general view of vagal tone in the role of emotion regulation is that of an individual difference variable, future studies could examine how directly modulating one's physiological parameters would play out in the process of emotion regulation. For example, certain breathing patterns have been shown to be able to modulate one's heart rate (Hirsch & Bishop, 1981). Accordingly, future research could examine if breathing exercises/trainings could aid employees in meeting certain emotion display requirements. Biofeedback training, which trains an individual in controlling his or her physiological responses with real-time feedback of his or her physiological parameters, can also be explored. At present, biofeedback training is employed as a therapy in reducing anxiety levels (Moore, 2000; Rice, Blanchard, & Purcell, 1993).

As presented thus far, there exist both practical and academic utility of this proposed framework. Organizing constructs pertaining to emotional labor onto a single nomological network provides utility above and beyond that of organizing them in the general components of input, process, and output with a single unidirectional effect specified across the three components. The use of existing terminologies that best reflect our current understanding of the relevant constructs is a crucial step towards the formulation (and hopefully adoption) of a consensual framework for the field. As such, future research should try to converge upon a single nomenclature and refrain from introducing new constructs or terminologies which do not add incremental explanatory value. There is still much to behold in the field of emotional labor and I firmly believe that the adoption of a single consensual framework and nomenclature of emotional labor would go a long way towards the advancement of the field.

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