

Emotional Labor in Korean Local Government: Testing the Consequences of Situational Factors and Emotional Dissonance¹

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Abstract

Strong foundations for the study of emotional labor in public administration have been laid in recent years. A number of studies have operationalized emotional labor scales which have measured factors including emotion work, personal efficacy, type of acting, and positive/negative display rules. Still, less is known about how public employees are affected by the frequency, attentiveness and variety of emotional display, and emotional dissonance. The present study tests the consequences of these factors on job stress, burnout, and job satisfaction through the analysis of survey responses from local government employees in South Korea. The results reveal attentiveness, variety, and dissonance to impact the dependent variables in different ways, which suggests that future studies of emotional labor in public administration should consider these factors.

Key words: Emotional labor; job satisfaction; job stress; burnout

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**Emotional Labor in Korean Local Government: Testing the Consequences of
Situational Factors and Emotional Dissonance**

Emotional labor is a topic which has received considerable attention from researchers since Arlie Hochschild's (1983) early work on the concept. While much of the research has centered on the private service sector, there is also research on emotional labor in the provision of public services (Ogbonna & Harris, 2004; Robson & Bailey, 2009; Smith, 1992), and recent years have seen the emergence of studies with an explicit focus on emotional labor from the perspective of public administration (Guy and Newman, 2004; Guy, Newman & Mastracci, 2008; Hsieh, 2012; Hsieh & Guy, 2009; Hsieh, Jin & Guy, 2012; Hsieh, Yang & Fu, 2011; Jin & Guy, 2009; Mastracci, Newman & Guy, 2006; Meier, Mastracci & Wilson, 2006). Emotional labor scales have been applied to a range of public service providers, including child protection workers, corrections officials, and 911 call takers (Guy et al., 2008), a social service nonprofit (Hsieh & Guy, 2009), and workers handling complaints in the Florida Division of Consumer Services (Jin & Guy, 2009), as well as combinations of public service workers (Hsieh, 2012). In much of this literature, emotional labor has been examined from the perspective that it is an employee behavior which involves the engagement of emotions or acting (Guy et al., 2008; Hsieh & Guy, 2009; Jin & Guy, 2009). Despite contributing significantly to the understanding of emotional labor, not just in public administration, but also more generally, these studies are able to tell us less about the effects of emotional labor as an emotional state (i.e., emotional dissonance) or situational factors (i.e., frequency, attentiveness, and variety of emotional labor). However, these factors have been investigated from other disciplinary perspectives (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997; Picardo, López-Fernández & Hervás, 2013; Yanchus, Eby, Lance & Drollinger, 2010).

The present study seeks to contribute to the literature on emotional labor in public administration through investigating the effects of frequency, attentiveness, and variety, along with emotional dissonance. Thus, rather than focusing on the behavior of public employees, we aim to address factors which have largely been excluded from public administration studies of emotional labor. A second, more general aim of this study is to discuss emotional labor in the South Korean (hereafter Korean) context, in order to contribute to and help refine the wider understanding of emotional labor in the public sector. These aims are pursued through the analysis of a survey of local government employees at city hall and ward offices in Bucheon, in Gyeonggi province, just outside of Seoul. The survey took the form of a self-report questionnaire regarding government employees' contact with the public and the way employees felt about their work. More specifically, this study uses structural equation modeling to test the relationships between four factors of emotional labor (frequency, attentiveness, variety, and dissonance) and job satisfaction, job stress, and burnout.

Theoretical Background

Emotional Labor and Related Concepts

Since Hochschild's early work on the subject, emotional labor has been viewed in a broad sense as employee control of displayed emotions in order to meet organizational requirements (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Guy et al., 2008; Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Emotional labor has been used to examine an array of organizations and professions across academic disciplines ranging from sociology and psychology to business, and in the last decade, public administration.

The idea of emotional labor in public administration may initially have seemed paradoxical from the perspective of Weberian bureaucracy. However, even if the emotions

displayed are neutral, then employees are still required to exert control of their feelings (Parsons, 1951). Moreover, it has also been pointed out how in reality it is difficult to achieve impersonal detachment for employees who may be able to see the impact of their decisions on the people they deal with (Lipsky, 2010). While some street-level bureaucrats may engage in emotional labor in order to provide a more effective service (Gray, 2009), others may be required to engage in emotional labor as part of public sector reforms or work intensification (Ogbonna & Harris, 2004; Robson & Bailey, 2009).

It is perhaps unsurprising that as emotional labor has been utilized and developed across a range of disciplines, the term has been conceptualized in various ways. A key difference concerns whether emotional labor is considered to be the behavior required to control emotions or act, an emotional state arising from differences in the emotions felt by employees and those which they are required to express (i.e., emotional dissonance), or situational factors such as frequency, intensity, duration, and variety.

Behavior has been a key theme in the emotional labor literature since Hochschild (1983) found that employees responded to display rules through two main types of acting: surface and deep acting. Surface acting takes place when an employee attempts to emphasize their emotions, or display emotions that they do not feel. In contrast, deep acting takes place when an employee attempts to change the way that they actually feel. For example, by trying to enjoy the personal interactions required by their job. Subsequent studies have continued to explore emotional labor from the perspective of employee behavior, particularly in the form of surface and deep acting (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Dahling & Perez, 2010; Erickson & Grove, 2007). Hsieh et al. (2011) state that viewing emotional labor as consisting of surface and deep acting helps to provide conceptual clarity as it separates emotional labor from emotional states and emotional demands. Yet, there are also strong arguments for

measuring emotional labor through emotional dissonance and situational factors, as will be discussed below.

In early studies, emotional dissonance was considered to be an emotional state which employees experienced as a consequence of emotional labor (Adelmann, 1995). However, Morris and Feldman (1996) made the case that emotional dissonance is actually part of emotional labor, on the basis that more effort is required when the employee does not actually feel how the organization requires them to. Thus, emotional labor could be identified when employees experienced the state of emotional dissonance. A number of studies followed suit and included emotional dissonance within their measurement of emotional labor (e.g., Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997).

In addition, there is research which has sought to emphasize the importance of situational factors (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997; Picardo et al., 2013; Yanchus et al., 2010). Based upon their definition of emotional labor as “the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions” (1996, p. 987), Morris and Feldman proposed that the concept is composed of frequency, attentiveness, variety, and emotional dissonance. Claiming that frequency of emotional display had been the most examined component of emotional labor, they argued that it was not enough by itself to capture the effort, planning, or control required, and that to fully understand the concept there was a need to also examine attentiveness to display rules (i.e., the duration and intensity of emotional display), and the variety of emotions to be expressed (i.e., the need to switch between different types of emotions according to context), as these also required employees to monitor and adjust their displayed emotions. As discussed above, they argued for the inclusion of emotional dissonance as differences between genuine and organizationally required emotions require greater control from the employee.

Morris and Feldman (1997) subsequently operationalized frequency, duration (previously part of attentiveness), and dissonance. Despite the criticisms of Kruml and Geddes (2000), who utilized a two dimensional model of emotional labor, based on emotive effort and emotional dissonance, Morris and Feldman's work, and particularly their 1996 model, continues to be influential. For example, other studies have continued to include and build upon their dimensions, including frequency, intensity and variety of emotional display, duration of interaction, and surface and deep acting (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003), and frequency, intensity, variety, and surface and deep acting (Picardo et al., 2013; Yanchus et al., 2010).

In public administration, those studies which have operationalized emotional labor scales have conceptualized emotional labor as behavior. This has meant focusing on emotion work (i.e., the actual performance of emotional labor, for example providing comfort to people in crisis, and guiding people through sensitive/emotional issues), along with personal efficacy at emotive skills, and false face acting/emotional suppression (i.e., the extent to which employees may be required to suppress their own emotions) (Guy et al., 2008; Hsieh & Guy, 2009; Hsieh et al., 2012; Jin & Guy, 2009). More recently, studies have investigated how public service motivation affects the dimensions of surface and deep acting (Hsieh et al., 2011), as well as the impact of display rules requiring the expression of positive emotions, or the suppression of negative emotions on burnout (Hsieh, 2012). These studies, when considered together, have significantly advanced the understanding of emotional labor in public administration, not only through beginning to consider which employees may be better at performing emotional labor, but also through better understanding the links to outcomes including stress, burnout, worker pride, and client satisfaction. Nevertheless, as they focus on emotion work, personal efficacy, surface/deep acting, or effects of positive and negative

display rules, it is more difficult to ascertain the impact of how often the emotional labor is performed, along with the levels of attentiveness and variety required.

The importance of frequency, attentiveness, and variety in other sectors (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Picardo et al., 2013; Yanchus et al., 2010), suggests that further investigation of these situational factors may also be beneficial in the field of public administration.

Frequency was a central part of Hochschild's (1983) thesis, as she explained that frequent emotional displays may place a heavy burden on employees leading to alienation and exhaustion, and consequently, frequency has been at the center of a number of studies on emotional labor (Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997; Zapf, 2002). Confirmatory factor analysis in studies of nurses, as well as a convenience sample of Canadian employees has shown intensity and duration to be part of the emotional labor construct (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Picardo et al., 2013). Variety has been similarly confirmed as part of the emotional labor construct in a number of contexts (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Picardo et al., 2013; Yanchus et al., 2010), and emotional dissonance has received considerable attention as an emotional labor component (Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997).

There is also emerging interest in these components from within the field of public administration: an exploratory study of Korean local government employees found frequency, attentiveness, variety, and dissonance to belong to the emotional labor construct (S.G. Kim, 2009). This should not be a surprise given that civil servants may be required to have frequent meetings with the public and as there is an emphasis on excellent customer service (Kim, 2000; P.S. Kim, 2009), which suggests a need for attentiveness to display rules.

Similarly, local civil servants may be required to vary the emotions that they use. Although they are generally expected to display positive emotions when dealing with the public, the exact nature of their response may vary depending upon the situation, and they could also be required to display negative emotions (i.e., appear tough) if a client is being pushy or

aggressive. Public employees have also been found to experience emotional dissonance when there are differences between organizationally required and felt emotions (Yoo, Choi, Song & Lee, 2011). Based upon the findings presented in earlier studies, we expect to confirm that a four factor model of emotional labor based upon frequency, attentiveness, variety, and dissonance can be applied in the context of Korean public administration.

The Consequences of Emotional Labor

The extant literature has also identified the consequences of frequency, attentiveness, variety, and dissonance. This section will focus on three much discussed consequences: job stress, burnout, and job satisfaction.

Job stress has received a considerable degree of attention in the wider emotional labor literature (Adelmann, 1995; Grandey, Fisk & Steiner, 2005; Jin & Guy, 2009; Pugliesi, 1999). This emphasis is understandable, as high levels of job stress have long been considered to have negative consequences for individuals and organizations. Indeed, even definitions of job stress refer to the negative consequences, for example the US National Institute for Occupational Health defines job stress as “the harmful physical and emotional responses that occur when the requirements of the job do not match the capabilities, resources or needs of the worker” (1999, p. 6). While studies have found emotional dissonance to be an antecedent of job stress (Karimi, Leggat, Donohue, Farrell & Couper, 2014; Tewksbury & Higgins, 2006), S.G. Kim (2009) also reported the impact of frequency, attentiveness, and variety. We expect to find that all four components of the emotional labor construct lead to job stress.

Burnout shares some common characteristics with job stress, but they are actually different concepts. Indeed, burnout can be identified by prolonged exhaustion, cynicism or inefficiency as a response to chronic emotional and interpersonal stressors on the job (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001), and as such may be a consequence of long-term stress.

This relationship has been explored by Korean studies of emotional labor, which have found job stress to be an antecedent of emotional exhaustion (S.G. Kim, 2009; Lee & Kim, 2011). The links to increased turnover intention and reduced levels of performance (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998) mean that it is also important to identify which components of the emotional labor construct may lead to burnout. A number of studies have found emotional dissonance to increase emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997), and S.G. Kim (2009) also found frequency to have a significant impact. We expect to find that job stress, emotional dissonance, and frequency all increase burnout.

The link between emotional labor factors and job satisfaction is significant from an organizational perspective, because job satisfaction is associated with reduced absenteeism and turnover (Spector, 1997). Although much of the early international literature pointed to a negative relationship with emotional labor, Morris and Feldman (1997) made the case that the negative aspects of emotional labor had been over-emphasized, due to their finding that only dissonance reduced job satisfaction. Lewig and Dollard (2003) also found emotional dissonance to be the main explanatory factor for job satisfaction. However, it is important to note that job stress and burnout have been found to impact negatively on job satisfaction (Pugliesi, 1999; Shin, 2011), and so the components of emotional labor may indirectly impact job satisfaction. We expect to find that emotional dissonance reduces job satisfaction, but also that frequency, attentiveness, and variety reduce job satisfaction indirectly through their relationships with job stress and burnout.

It is important to note however that not all employees experience emotional labor in the same way. In particular, studies have suggested that greater emotional labor demands are placed on women (Guy & Newman, 2004), and that employees in lower status positions, or even professionals whose emotional labor is monitored by their superiors, will face more

emotional labor demands or emotional dissonance (Leidner, 1999; Sloan, 2004). To the extent to which age and experience are discussed, research tends to suggest that younger and less experienced employees are less likely to be able to effectively manage their emotions or engage in deep acting (Dahling & Perez, 2010; Erickson & Grove, 2007; Hochschild, 1983). Regarding mode of delivery, although face-to-face contact with the public requires greater emphasis on body language and facial expression, as well as relatively longer interactions compared to voice-to-voice contact via the telephone, research has found similar levels of emotional labor for both modes of delivery (Kinman, 2009).

Research Design

Case Selection and Sample

The decision to focus on a Korean case was due to the need for the emotional labor literature to engage with diverse international perspectives, particularly in the field of public administration. To date, theory building about emotional labor in public administration in the English speaking world has taken place largely without consideration for other international contexts. This raises a number of questions, such as, are there cultural differences in emotional labor requirements and the way that it is performed, and do the consequences of emotional labor differ due to national context? We therefore take the perspective that a Korean study can contribute to an improved understanding of emotional labor in public administration, and ultimately, feed into the improved performance of public organizations.

The characteristics of Korean culture and society differ significantly from in the West. Korea has traditionally been a Confucian society which, along with respect for elders and those in more senior positions, has emphasized love, harmony, kindness and benevolence, and Confucianism continues to impact Korean government (Kee, 2008; Park, 1997).

Similarly, Korea has been characterized as being a hierarchical society where people have group loyalties, strong uncertainty avoidance, and are driven to be busy and work hard (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010). The emotional culture in Korea may be regarded as institutionally oriented (as opposed to impulsively oriented) as usually emotions must fit with institutional standards (Gordon, 1989). In particular, Korean culture discourages open displays of emotion, and has a term with positive connotations (*mupyojeong*) to refer to an “expressionless” face (Chan & Chen, 2011: 287). These cultural characteristics raise questions as to whether emotional labor in the Korean context will have similar consequences to in the West.

The city of Bucheon was selected as the site of the survey as it has a busy local government, which regularly processes a significant number of civil applications; for example, property and vehicle registrations and building permits. On average, administrators processed 11,788 civil applications each working day in 2010 (Bucheon City Government, 2011). More generally, despite the successes of Korean e-government, the majority of applications are still processed in person, meaning that there is significant contact between officials and the public (Moon, 2009).

Respondents were selected through a convenience sample after the Department of General Affairs gave permission to hand out questionnaires and identified sites for distribution. In terms of demographics, there were more male (58.5%) than female respondents (41.1%), reflecting the employment of greater numbers of men by Bucheon City Government, where only 35% of employees are female (Bucheon City Government, 2011). The sample also contained a high proportion of older employees, with approximately two thirds of respondents being aged 40 or over. More specifically, employees reported their age as follows; 20s (4.9%), 30s (28.5%), 40s (42.4%), and 50 or over (23.8%). Again, this reflects wider employment demographics in Korean public administration. In particular, the

extensive preparation required to pass the government entrance exam, and mandatory military service for men help to explain the low proportion of respondents in their 20s. The great majority of Koreans now complete university degrees, and therefore the 15.4% of respondents without them are more likely to be older employees. The age of respondents is also consistent with their length of service, with 14.1% of employees serving for 0-5 years, 26.8% for 6-15 years, and 57.6% for 16 years or more. Nevertheless, the majority of employees occupied low level positions. Korean government positions range from level 1 to 9 (highest to lowest), and only 14.8% reported that they were team leaders or higher (level 6 or above). More responses were obtained from employees who are not required to have face-to-face contact with the public (59.3%). This does not denote a lack of contact with the public however, as these employees may be required to communicate with the public via telephone. Indeed, as the role of local government in Korea is focused on implementation, and in particular, dealing with citizen requests and complaints (Kim, 2012), almost all employees, with the exception of those in planning departments are required to engage in face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public, although contact time is reduced for those at team leader level or above.

Defining and Measuring the Variables

Drawing on Morris and Feldman (1996), the survey was based upon the four emotional labor factors of frequency, attentiveness, variety, and emotional dissonance. Statements regarding the possible consequences of job satisfaction, job stress, and burnout were also included. In total, responses to 22 statements were utilized, 12 of which measure the components of emotional labor when dealing with the public, while 10 measure the consequences. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement according to a 5-point

Likert scale (1=very slightly or not at all, 5 = extremely). The variables were defined as follows:

Frequency is concerned with how often an employee is required to display socially appropriate emotions. This variable is used to probe how much of their time employees spend and how regularly they must manage their feelings in order to get the job done. A sample item is “I frequently hide my emotions when dealing with the public.”

Attentiveness assesses the level of attention which employees give to displaying suitable emotions. This variable includes both duration and intensity of emotional display (Morris & Feldman, 1996). A sample item is “I attempt to appear kind and to serve the public with a smile even in a long meeting.”

Variety probes the extent to which employees vary the emotions which they use. Employees may feel it necessary to change the emotions they are displaying within a particular transaction or between transactions. A sample item is “I change my emotion from positive to negative on a case by case basis.”

Dissonance measures the conflict between the emotions which an employee feels and those that they are required to display. Managing emotions at this time may require greater skill and effort. A sample item is “There is a big difference between my real and displayed emotions.”

Job satisfaction is a variable used to measure the extent to which the employee feels content with and fulfilled by their work, and to assess whether this is influenced, either positively or negatively, by any of the components of emotional labor. A sample item is “My work is satisfying.”

Job stress is a scale used to assess the degree to which employees feel pressure or tension when working. The extent to which employees feel overworked or irritated at work is included in this variable. A sample item is “I feel frustrated by my work.”

Burnout represents the extent to which employees report feeling emotionally exhausted. More specifically, it measures whether they have less energy due to the emotional requirements of serving the public. A sample item is “I feel mentally fatigued at the end of each working day.”

Research Model

Based on the components and consequences of emotional labor, discussed above, the present study designed a research model, as illustrated in figure 1. The model attempts to map the relationships between each of the emotional labor factors and the potential consequences, as well as the effects of job stress on burnout, and job stress and burnout on job satisfaction.

Figure 1 to feature here

Data Collection

Paper and pencil questionnaire forms were distributed in March 2012 to 500 mostly non-managerial level administrative employees of Bucheon City Government. The questionnaires were accompanied by a cover letter which explained the study objectives, requested participation, and guaranteed anonymity. The forms were completed during regular working hours, which helped to achieve a high response rate of 467 employees (93.4%).

Results

In order to test the model, confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to check the extent to which each of the components are consistent with our understanding of the emotional labor construct. Confirmatory factor analysis was used due to the existence of an a priori factor structure (Armstrong 1967). The results, displayed in table 1, suggest a good fit for the four

factor model of emotional labor. To check convergent validity, Averaged Variance Extracted (AVE) was tested, and for all components was 0.5 or greater, which is usually considered to be adequate. All four factors met the criteria of Cronbach's alpha values of .70 or higher, as suggested by Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998), and therefore demonstrated internal consistency.

Table 1 to feature here

Due to the strength of the relationship between job stress and burnout we tested the Pearson correlation between each of the variables. The results, presented in table 2 reveal that the inter-correlation between each of the dependent variables is below 0.8, the point at which Berry and Feldman (1985) identified as indicating that collinearity is very likely to exist. Tolerance and variation inflation factor (VIF) were also tested in order to more accurately diagnose collinearity. The results for both tolerance (frequency: .860, attentiveness: .575, variety: .964, emotional dissonance: .547, job stress: .477, burnout: .518) and VIF (frequency: 1.163, attentiveness: 1.739, variety: 1.037, emotional dissonance: 1.827, job stress: 2.096, burnout: 1.932) suggest that collinearity was not an issue.

Table 2 to feature here

Next, weighted regression analysis was conducted in order to test the relationship between the components of emotional labor and job stress, burnout, and job satisfaction. The effects of job stress on burnout, and job stress and burnout on job satisfaction were also tested. As displayed in table 3, the coefficient of determination (R²) was much higher for burnout (0.76) than job stress (0.19) or job satisfaction (0.24). However, only particular variables had a

statistically significant effect – attentiveness, variety, and emotional dissonance on job stress, emotional dissonance and job stress on burnout, and variety and burnout on job satisfaction. The relationship between frequency and all three potential consequences had a high p-value, meaning that it is less likely that frequency had an effect on job stress, burnout, or job satisfaction. Similarly, other relationships had high p-values, which indicated that the likelihood of burnout being a consequence of attentiveness or variety was reduced, as was the likelihood of job satisfaction being a consequence of attentiveness, emotional dissonance, or job stress.

Table 3 to feature here

After removing those factors with less explanatory power, the model fit was tested. As highlighted in table 4, the absolute, incremental and parsimonious fit measures used in the path analysis all indicate an acceptable-to-good fit for model 2, which has a similar level of fit to model 1. A range of measures was used due to the ongoing debate concerning which indices to report. Dealing with the absolute fit measures first, the relative chi-square, Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI), Adjusted GFI and Root Mean Square Residual are all at acceptable levels (Hooper, Coughlan & Mullen, 2008). As such, the model, which suggests that job stress, burnout and job satisfaction are consequences of attentiveness, variety and emotional dissonance, is a good fit. When it comes to incremental fit measures, the Normal, Incremental, and Comparative Fit Indices are all below recommended upper limits (Bollen, 1989; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Due to the saturation level of the model, parsimonious fit measures were also utilized. While these are more difficult to interpret they again appear to be within generally acceptable levels; Parsimonious GFI is 0.69, while the Root Mean

Squared Error of Approximation is .08, which is regarded as indicating good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Table 4 to feature here

After checking the fit of the second model, we again tested the regression weight. The results, which are displayed in table 5, are all statistically significant, and once again reveal the coefficient of determination to be much higher for burnout than for job stress and job satisfaction. In particular, the relationship between job stress and burnout was very strong, suggesting that those who felt stressed at work are likely to feel burned out. However, the model also estimated a strong relationship between emotional dissonance and burnout, suggesting that those employees who are required to display emotions which are different than how they actually feel are more likely to experience burnout. Perhaps unsurprisingly, burnout was negatively correlated with job satisfaction. On a more positive note however, variety was found to have a positive relationship with job satisfaction. In other words, those employees who were able to express a range of emotions and to vary the emotions that they actually felt gained more satisfaction from their job.

Table 5 to feature here

Table 6, below, reveals the total effect of each of the components of emotional labor on job stress, burnout and job satisfaction. In addition to the direct effects noted above, emotional dissonance, variety and attentiveness were found to have an indirect effect on burnout due to the relationship between job stress and burnout. Moreover, job stress, emotional dissonance, variety and attentiveness were also found to have a small indirect (and negative) effect on job

satisfaction, due to the relationship between job stress and burnout. In the case of variety, these results suggest that its effects are not straightforward.

Table 6 to feature here

Discussion

After testing the model and confirming the factors, the findings reveal that attentiveness, variety, and emotional dissonance, while all statistically significant, have different outcomes. On the other hand, the results for frequency lacked explanatory power. These findings are important, because they suggest the consequences vary depending on the level of attentiveness, variety and emotional dissonance, and that there is value in investigating these factors which have largely been excluded from public administration studies of emotional labor. The result for frequency is interesting given the initial emphasis on this factor, as well as more recent findings within the context of Korean public administration (S.G. Kim, 2009). However, it is consistent with research which has tended to place more emphasis on other factors, and particularly emotional dissonance (Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Attentiveness was found to directly increase job stress and indirectly increase burnout, and had a small, indirect, and negative effect on job satisfaction, due to the mediating effects of job stress and burnout. As such, increased duration and intensity of emotional labor can be seen to have negative consequences for employees. This finding is consistent with previous research from other sectors (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Mann & Cowburn, 2005), and therefore reinforces the need to investigate attentiveness in future studies of emotional labor in public administration.

While exerting emotional labor in a variety of ways has a mostly positive effect on

job satisfaction, it also has a negative effect, although this is somewhat smaller. Variety also has a direct effect on job stress, meaning that variety has both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, this may suggest a division between those employees who prefer to perform a variety of emotional labor and take satisfaction from performing their duties in this way, and those who find it burdensome to switch between displaying different emotions. However, it may also be that it depends on the type of work that they are doing. As the majority of respondents work at lower levels, they may come to see variety as desirable because it symbolizes a break with routine (Humphrey, Pollack & Hawver, 2008). Yet, if variety is required because employees are required to deal with pushy customers and complex problems, then it is not desirable. In other words, the right amount of variety means that the work is not mundane but not too challenging. There are overlaps here with the way that skill or task variety has long been seen as making work more meaningful or satisfying (Hackman & Oldham, 1980).

Emotional dissonance was found to lead to more consistently negative outcomes. In particular, dissonance was found to be linked to increased job stress and feelings of burnout, as well as to indirectly reduce job satisfaction via the relationship with job stress. While these findings are consistent with earlier research (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Guy et al., 2008; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997), they are interesting given that the majority of respondents were 40 years old or more and had more than 16 years experience, and should therefore be less likely to experience emotional dissonance or burnout (Dahling & Perez, 2010; Erickson & Grove, 2007; Hochschild, 1983). Still, despite their age and experience, the majority of respondents were relatively low level employees. Thus our findings are similar to those of previous studies, which have suggested that low level employees are likely to be required to perform more emotional labor (Leidner, 1999; Sloan, 2004).

It is difficult to ascertain the exact impact of Korean culture on the results. A high level of uncertainty avoidance, which means that people are driven to be busy and work hard, may help to explain why frequency of emotional labor does not have any significant negative impact. However, it does not help to explain why the other categories, and attentiveness in particular, do have a relationship with stress. Emotional culture may be more useful as an explanation here. In particular, as the Korean emotional culture is more institutionally oriented, meaning that employees are required to regulate emotions in order to comply with institutional norms, it is not surprising that employees may feel stressed or burned out, even if expectations differ from the “service with a smile” culture prevalent in countries such as Canada and the United States (Grandey, et al., 2005).

Conclusions

This study has found emotional labor in the Korean public sector to have both positive and negative consequences, however, these consequences vary according to the factors. Dealing with the positives first, we found the variety of emotional labor performed to have a significant positive effect on job satisfaction. However, on the negative side, we also found emotional dissonance and job stress to be related to burnout. Moreover, attentiveness, variety and emotional dissonance were likely to increase job stress, and to indirectly increase burnout. We were unable to confirm that frequency impacts upon job stress, burnout or job satisfaction, suggesting that the level of attentiveness, variety of emotions expressed, and dissonance are more likely to have an effect on employees.

These results are important, because they indicate that there are benefits to further investigation of attentiveness, variety and emotional dissonance in studies of emotional labor in public administration. The inclusion of these factors in future studies could contribute to improved understanding of the occurrence of both positive and negative consequences, and

thereby complement behavioral perspectives of emotional labor. The results also add to knowledge about emotional labor in other national contexts, in the sense that they reveal that Korean public sector employees also feel satisfied, stressed, or burned out due to performing emotional labor, despite the very different institutional context compared to that in the West.

The findings also suggest that there may be practical benefits associated with increased consideration for attentiveness, variety and emotional dissonance. In terms of attentiveness, the relaxing of emotional display rules has the potential to reduce the intensity of the emotional labor performed, in the sense that employees could be encouraged to act more naturally. The positive effects of variety could be harnessed through offering employees opportunities to deal with a range of customer inquiries, including those which are expected to be met with both positive and negative emotions. Again, there may be benefits to relaxing display rules to try to minimize the stress and burnout stemming from the requirements to perform a variety of emotional labor. When it comes to reducing dissonance, a combination of approaches may be effective. One suggestion is for employee training programs to incorporate substantive content on dealing with emotional dissonance. There may also be benefits to recruiting employees who are better at performing emotional labor (Hsieh & Guy, 2009), as these employees are less likely to feel emotional dissonance and therefore less likely to become stressed or burned out.

Organizational change takes time, however, and requires the support of internal and external stakeholders (Sanger, 2008). As such, it is easier to make suggestions than to implement them. In particular, all of these initiatives require more recognition that employees engage in emotional labor (Hsieh & Guy, 2009). Moreover, there may be resistance from management over the relaxing of display rules due to the ways in which emotional labor is often more noticeable by its absence and expressing the right emotion is so tightly bound up with ideas of what constitutes a professional service.

There are also some limitations to the present study however. In particular, we have reported the results of a convenience sample of local government employees within one city in Korea. As such, the extent to which these results can be generalized may be questioned. A further limitation regarding the scope of this study is that it did not include emotional labor performed in the course of intra-organizational interaction between co-workers and supervisors, and thus the implications and recommendations are limited to employee encounters with the public. Nevertheless, the findings presented in this study, in particular regarding the attentiveness and variety of emotional labor, suggest that, at the very least, increased attention should be paid to emotional dissonance and the situational factors of emotional labor in public administration research. This study can therefore contribute to an improved understanding of the factors and consequences of emotional labor in public administration.

Studies of emotional labor in public administration are still relatively few in number. As such, research is likely to continue into the nature and consequences of emotional labor. Future studies should attempt to more clearly understand the relationships between emotional labor and its consequences by considering both attentiveness and variety along with emotional dissonance. In particular, by better understanding the effects of these situational factors and emotional dissonance, we may be able to reduce job stress and burnout and to increase job satisfaction. This is something which would have clear benefits for both employees and organizations in the public sector.

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Table 1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis

	<i>Factor loading</i>	<i>AVE</i>	<i>Cronbach's alpha</i>
<i>Frequency</i>		0.57	0.79
1. I often adopt certain emotions when interacting with citizens	0.81		
2. I often express specific emotions required by my job	0.80		
3. I frequently hide my emotions when dealing with the public	0.66		
<i>Attentiveness</i>		0.64	0.80
4. I have to spend a lot of time with each citizen I work with	0.61		
5. I attempt to appear kind and to serve the public with a smile even in a long meeting	0.85		
6. I show some strong emotions when dealing with citizens	0.82		
<i>Variety</i>		0.5	0.63
7. I express different emotions	0.65		
8. I display many different emotions when interacting with others	0.74		
9. I change my emotions from positive to negative on a case by case basis	0.45		
<i>Emotional dissonance</i>		0.7	0.84
10. Most of the time, the way I act and speak with citizens does not match how I feel	0.64		
11. There is a big difference between my real and displayed emotions	0.87		
12. I fake my emotions when dealing with citizens	0.88		
<i>Job stress</i>		0.75	0.85
1. I feel overloaded by my work	0.84		
2. I feel under pressure when facing citizens	0.92		
3. I feel frustrated by my work	0.67		
<i>Burnout</i>		0.63	0.82
1. I feel emotionally exhausted	0.72		
2. I feel mentally fatigued at the end of each working day	0.83		
3. I feel like my work situation is hopeless	0.78		
<i>Job satisfaction</i>		0.55	0.74
1. My work is satisfying	0.80		
2. I am satisfied by my working conditions	0.83		
3. I am satisfied with the salary I receive	0.41		
4. I am satisfied with the nature of my work	0.57		

Note. MLE = maximum likelihood estimation.

Table 2. Pearson Correlations

	FRE	ATT	VAR	EMD	JST	BUR
ATT	.336*	1				
VAR	.134*	.136*	1			
EMD	.285*	.604*	.062	1		
JST	.263*	.454*	.083	.525*	1	
BUR	.231*	.425*	.130*	.458*	.676*	1
JSA	-.058	-.179*	.188*	-.203*	-.425*	-.269*

Note. FRE = Frequency, ATT = Attentiveness, VAR = Variety, EMD = Emotional dissonance, JST = Job stress, BUR = Burnout, JSA = Job satisfaction.

* $p < 0.01$.

Table 3. Regression Weight (Model 1)

			<i>Beta</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
Job stress	←	Frequency	0.06	0.30	0.19
	←	Attentiveness	0.20	0.01**	
	←	Variety	0.22	0.06*	
	←	Emotional dissonance	0.19	0.01**	
Burnout	←	Frequency	0.03	0.55	0.76
	←	Attentiveness	0.1	0.12	
	←	Variety	0.1	0.29	
	←	Emotional dissonance	0.21	0.00***	
Job satisfaction	←	Job stress	0.78	0.00***	0.24
	←	Frequency	0.04	0.42	
	←	Attentiveness	-0.04	0.61	
	←	Variety	0.57	0.00***	
	←	Emotional dissonance	0.03	0.35	
	←	Job stress	0.08	0.5	
	←	Burnout	-0.41	0.00***	

*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 4. Model Fit

<i>Model fit</i>		<i>Saturated</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
Absolute for measures	X ² /df	< 3	3.12	3.03
	GFI	>0.9	0.90	0.90
	AGFI	>0.9	0.86	0.86
	RMR	p < 0.08	0.054	0.056
Incremental fit measures	NFI	>0.9	0.88	0.88
	IFI	>0.9	0.91	0.91
	CFI	>0.9	0.91	0.91
Parsimonious fit measures	PGFI	>0.5	0.67	0.69
	RMSEA	p < 0.08	0.07	0.07

Note. Model 2 estimates were calculated after the deletion of eight hypotheses.

Table 5. Regression Weight (Model 2)

			<i>Beta</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> ²
Job stress	←	Attentiveness	0.23	0.00**	0.2
	←	Variety	0.25	0.03*	
	←	Emotional dissonance	0.18	0.01*	
Burnout	←	Emotional dissonance	0.28	0.00**	0.76
	←	Job stress	0.8	0.00**	
Job satisfaction	←	Variety	0.56	0.00**	0.23
	←	Burnout	-0.34	0.00**	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 6. Total Effect

	<i>Job stress</i>	<i>Burnout</i>		<i>Job satisfaction</i>		<i>Total</i>
	Direct effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	
Frequency						
Attentiveness	0.23		0.18		-0.06	-0.06
Variety	0.25		0.2	0.56	-0.07	0.5
Emotional dissonance	0.18	0.28	0.14		-0.14	-0.14
Job stress		0.80			-0.27	-0.27
Burnout				-0.34		-0.34

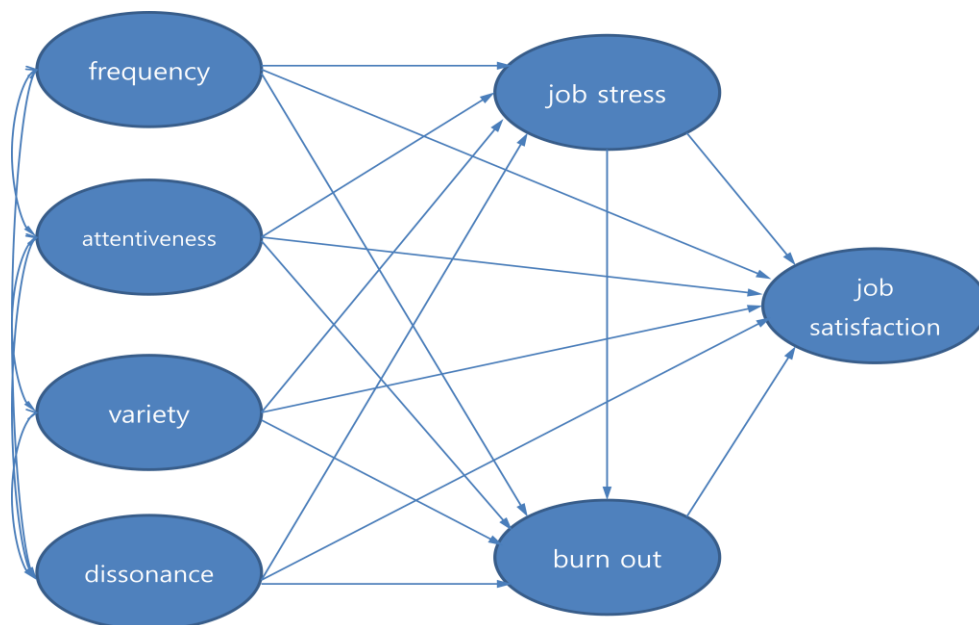


Figure 1. Research Model