

Research Article | Araştırma Makalesi

Which type of emotional labor leads to burnout?*

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Abstract

Many studies have been conducted on the antecedents, consequences, conceptual framework, and measurement of emotional labor, examined and studied in organizational psychology research for many years. The studies conducted on the consequences of emotional labor focus on the effect of emotional labor on organizational performance and employees' attitudes and behaviors toward work. For this reason, in this study, the effect of emotional labor types on burnout was examined. Participation consisted of service sector employees (N = 306). According to the findings, it has been determined that surface acting has a role in increasing employee burnout, while deep acting and naturally felt emotions reduce burnout. The findings show that examining and evaluating emotional labor according to types rather than generalizing the concept of emotional labor as a whole will serve more comprehensive and healthy inferences. Based on the findings, the destructive effects of emotional labor on employees occur predominantly in the context of surface acting. However, it seems that emotions expressed sincerely and naturally, rather than being destructive, can even indirectly contribute to the individual's psychological well-being.

Keywords: Emotional Labor, Surface Acting, Deep Acting, Burnout JEL Codes: M1, M12, M19

Hangi tür duygusal emek tükenmişliğe yol açar?

Öz

Uzun yıllardır örgütsel psikoloji araştırmalarında incelenen duygusal emeğin öncülleri, sonuçları, kavramsal çerçevesi ve ölçümü üzerine çok sayıda çalışma yapılmıştır. Duygusal emeğin sonuçları üzerine yapılan çalışmalar, duygusal emeğin örgütsel performansa ve çalışanların işe yönelik tutumlarına ve davranışlarına etkisi üzerinde gerçekleşmektedir. Duygusal emek sergilemenin çalışanların işe yönelik tutum ve davranışlarını inceleyen çok sayıda çalışma bulunmakla birlikte hangi duygusal emek türünün (yüzeysel rol, derinden rol ve doğal duygu sergilenmesi) çalışanların işe yönelik tutumuna nasıl etki yarattığı konusunda birbirinden farklı bulgular elde edilmiştir. Bu sebeple bu çalışmada duygusal emek türlerinin tükenmişliğe etkisi incelenmiştir. Katılımcılar hizmet sektörü çalışanlarından (N = 306) oluşmaktadır. Elde edilen bulgulara göre yüzeysel rol yapmanın çalışan tükenmişliğini artırıcı bir rolü olduğu, derinden rol yapmanın ve doğal duygu sergilemenin ise tükenmişliği azaltıcı etkisi olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Elde edilen bulgular duygusal emek kavramını bir bütün olarak genellemektense duygusal emek türlerine göre inceleme ve değerlendirme yapmanın daha kapsayıcı ve sağlıklı çıkarımlara hizmet edeceğini göstermektedir. Bulgulara dayanarak duygusal emeğin çalışanlar açısından yıkıcı etkilerinin ağırlıklı olarak yüzeysel rol bağlamında ortaya çıktığını söylemek mümkündür. Ancak samimi ve doğal bir şekilde sergilenen duyguların yıkıcı olmaktan çok bireyin psikolojik iyi oluşuna bile dolaylı katkı sunabileceği görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Duygusal Emek, Yüzeysel Rol, Derinden Rol, Tükenmişlik JEL Codes: M1, M12, M19

Introduction

Emotions play indispensable roles in human existence. Individuals exposed to many stimulants in daily life experience various emotions in line with these stimulants. All kinds of life experiences enable people to experience different emotions. Whatever the reason, emotions distinguish human beings from other living creatures. Emotions, studied extensively in psychology, are also examined from different contexts and perspectives in working life. With the introduction of the concept of emotional labor by Hochschild (1983) 40 years ago, a striking perspective was developed regarding examining emotions in working life. Accordingly, the concept of emotional labor, which emphasizes that the employees display their emotions in a context appropriate to the

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organization's policies and customer expectations and, as a result, directly or indirectly obtain financial output (Hochschild, 1983), has attracted significant attention from researchers (Diefendorff et al., 2005; Zou & Dahling, 2017). After Hochschild (1983) introduced the concept, emotional labor began to be examined from many different perspectives and dimensions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). The concept of emotional labor should be examined in depth in terms of its reflections on employees, organizations, and customers (Brotheridge, 2006; Lazányi, 2011; Martínez-Iñigo et al., 2007). Although emotional labor plays a critical role in the sustainability of organizations, the issue of emotional labor needs to be examined intensively in terms of its potential undesirable consequences. People experience many diverse emotions, from happiness to sadness, in daily life, depending on the responsibilities of daily life, family problems, life issues, expectations of working life, and many similar factors (Özsoy, 2020). In this regard, controlling employees' emotions, regulating them, and keeping them in line with organizational expectations requires a complex cognitive effort. These cognitive efforts may lead to devastating effects on employees' well-being in the long term. One of the main reasons is that it is tough for people to act rationally and control their emotions in any situation consistently.

Emotional labor refers to employees' behavior in accordance with customer expectations and organizational policies through verbal and non-verbal channels such as gestures, facial expressions, body movements, tone of voice, and way of speaking in order to ensure customer satisfaction, especially in the service sector (Grandey, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Özsoy, 2020). Based on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective, Hochschild (1983) metaphorically linked employees' relationships with customers to being in front of a stage. The main point here is that just as an actor must sometimes express intense sadness, laugh, and smile to fulfill the role expected of him on stage, employees should exhibit similar behaviors to ensure customer satisfaction (Özsoy, 2020). Of course, since the behaviors exhibited here have a direct or indirect material equivalent (Hochschild, 1983), and thus this concept is called emotional labor, not emotion management or emotion regulation.

Emotional labor is just more than superficially adapting the employee's behavior to customer expectations. It refers to a more complex and multidimensional structure (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). Sometimes, employees may not feel well and can manipulate their behavior superficially to ensure customer satisfaction (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Parkinson & Totterdell, 1999) or to handle social relations. Sometimes, they may exhibit intense empathy and act more deeply, as if they are living that moment (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Lu et al., 2019). In some cases, the employee can demonstrate the human relations customers expect from service purchases by simply being himself or herself (Diefendorff et al., 2005). In this respect, the concept of emotional labor is multidimensional and complex. The impact of each dimension on employees may also vary.

Many studies examined the impact of emotional labor on employees' well-being (Holman et al., 2008; Karimi et al., 2014; Zou & Dahling, 2017). Burnout is among the most frequently examined topics (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Celiker et al., 2019; Montgomery et al., 2006; Shankar & Kumar, 2014). However, the concept of emotional labor is examined in various dimensions (Diefendorff et al., 2005). Therefore, their effects on employees may vary depending on the relevant dimensions. Previous studies have similarly shown the varying effects of the dimensions of emotional labor on employees' attitudes toward work (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Xu et al., 2020).

Suppose emotional labor is considered only as employees regulating their emotions according to organizational and customer expectations. In that case, this phenomenon can potentially negatively affect employees' mental and psychological health in the long term. However, the fact that emotional labor is not just a superficial emotion regulation behavior and that the deep acting and naturally felt emotional dimensions especially might provide employees with positive outcomes rather than adverse effects constitutes the starting point of this study. In this regard, this study was built on the expectation that emotional labor types may affect employees differently. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the effect of emotional labor on burnout through three dimensions. Thus, it aims to investigate more comprehensively which dimension or dimensions of emotional labor adversely impact employees' work-related attitudes. Also, unlike most of the previous studies, the Copenhagen Burnout Inventory was preferred in this study to measure burnout. This might also lead to some different results compared to previous research.

Before establishing research hypotheses, previous empirical findings should have been included in detail. However, in this study, hypotheses were constructed in line with the conceptual and theoretical background regarding the variables. The main reason for this is that there have been many studies on the subject; each study has been conducted in different cultures, samples, and branches of jobs, and most importantly, in the meta-analyses (Celiker et al., 2019; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011), it is already among the findings obtained in previous studies is that the existing research findings are varied. There are also differences in the findings of previous studies examining emotional labor and burnout (Akdu & Akdu, 2016; Çaldağ, 2010; Karakaş, 2017; Kaya & Özhan, 2012; Oral & Köse, 2011; Üngören et al., 2010; Yıldırım & Erul, 2013; Yıldız, 2021; Yücebalkan & Karasakal, 2016). In this regard, building hypotheses based on previous empirical findings has become challenging. For this reason, while constructing the

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background of the hypotheses, the conceptual and theoretical background was prioritized over previous empirical findings.

Emotional labor is a complex concept, and although various dimensions have been suggested, the number of studies on three basic dimensions (i.e., surface acting, deep acting, and naturally felt emotions) is more common. Surface acting refers to superficially differentiating the emotions they reflect according to the job context, organizational policies, and customer expectations, even though employees experience different emotions in their inner world (Grandley, 2000). By regulating gestures, facial expressions, and tone of voice, the employee superficially reflects their behavior to the other party without actually experiencing those emotions in their inner part (Hochschild, 1983; Özsoy, 2020). It is not likely that individuals regulate their emotions in this direction for a short time for various reasons that will bring about adverse effects in a short time. However, as it is known, the individuals usually stay in working life for a long time. They cannot always be happy and peaceful due to various life experiences. In this regard, intense surface acting, especially in the service sector, may cause the individual to run out of resources in the long run and experience burnout regarding work, customers, and personal-related issues. Therefore, the first hypothesis is stated below based on all these possible factors.

Hypothesis 1: Surface acting is positively related to (a) client-related burnout, (b) work-related burnout, and (c) personnel burnout.

In terms of deep acting, employees attempt to make the other party feel as if they are experiencing those emotions from within while experiencing emotions specific to the context they are in (organizational policies, customer expectations, emotional states of customers, etc.) (Austin et al., 2008; Hochschild, 1983; Özsoy, 2020; Lu et al., 2019). Here, the person is expected to show more cognitive effort than surface acting. For employees to exhibit deep acting, they must engage in cognitive actions such as empathizing as if they were living that moment and trying to experience a happy moment. In deep acting, employees treat customers more sincerely (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). As a result, it is likely to receive similar sincere reactions from the other party. In other words, the employee takes on the role here and conveys the feeling and energy required by that context to the customers (Diefendorff et al., 2005). In this respect, it would be assertive to see deep acting as a situation that threatens the employee's well-being. Because here, the employee is not acting fake or superficially, as in surface acting. The employee internalizes and experiences the moment as if he were living it (Özsoy, 2020). The result of this is expected to serve the renewal of the employee's resources rather than depletion. Because the individual does not have to be unhappy while exhibiting this acting, thus the second hypothesis is stated below based on all these possible factors.

Hypothesis 2: Deep acting is negatively related to (a) client-related burnout, (b) work-related burnout, and (c) personnel burnout.

Regarding the expression of naturally felt emotions dimension of emotional labor, the person fulfills the requirements of expressions of emotions by acting naturally rather than manipulating the situation (Diefendorff et al., 2005). Thus, there is no role-playing situation here. Employees directly exhibit the behaviors they should display to customers (Grandey, 2000). For this behavior to be exhibited, the employee must be more satisfied with the work environment and himself or herself. This emotional expression does not develop due to acting. In particular, unlike the surface-acting dimension, this behavior can be expected to reduce burnout rather than increase it. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that the expression of naturally felt emotions negatively affects the psychological well-being of employees in the long term. In this regard, the expression of naturally felt emotions dimension is expected to have a burnout-reducing effect. Depending on these explanations, the final hypothesis of the research was determined as follows.

Hypothesis 3: Expression of naturally felt emotions is negatively related to (a) client-related burnout, (b) work-related burnout, and (c) personnel burnout.

1. Method

1.1. Procedure and Participants

The research collected data from individuals working in the service sector. The survey form was delivered to the participants online. The survey link was delivered to participants through various social and personal communication networks. A total of 359 employees participated in the research, and after removing the questionnaires that were answered sloppy through control questions, 306 questionnaire forms were subjected to relevant analysis. An information form regarding participation in the survey was provided to the participants before starting the survey. Participation was made voluntarily. The research's compliance with ethical principles was approved within the Sakarya University Rectorate Ethics Committee approval framework, dated 07.04.2023, and numbered E-6192333-00.99-236259.

Participants. A total of 306 employees participated in the research. 65.4% were women, 45.4% were married, the sample had a mean age of 32.2 (Mdn = 30.00, SD = 8.17, range = 17-60). 49.0% of the participants have a bachelor's degree, 16.0% have an associate degree, and 22.5% have a high school degree. 52.9% of the participants are mid-level employees, and 57.8% are white-collar employees. 31% have a managerial role, 24.5% are junior managers, 45.8% are middle managers, and 16.7% are senior

1.2. Scales

managers.

Emotional Labor: The Turkish version of the Emotional Labor Scale (Basim & Beğenirbaş, 2012) developed by Diefendorff et al. (2005) was used. The scale consists of three sub-factors and 13 items: surface acting (6 items), deep acting (4 items), and naturally felt emotions (3 items). Participants answered the items in the range of (1 = I strongly disagree, to 5 = I strongly agree).

Burnout: The Turkish version (Deliorman Bakoğlu et al., 2009) of the Copenhagen Burnout Inventory developed by Kristensen et al. (2005) was used. The scale consists of three sub-factors. These are personal burnout (6 items), work-related burnout (7 items), and client-related burnout (6 items). Participants answered items in the response category (1 = Never to 5 = Always).

1.3. Findings

Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation) and internal consistency values (α) are shared in Table 1. Correlation analysis findings are shared in Table 2, and multiple regression analysis findings are shared in Table 3.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Internal Consistency Findings

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	α
Emotional labor (Total) (ELT)	2.95	0.64	71
Surface acting (SA)	2.57	1.04	76
Deep acting (DA)	2.98	1.28	91
Naturally felt emotions (NFE)	3.68	1.01	81
Burnout (Total) (BT)	3.03	0.85	95
Client related burnout (CRB)	3.08	0.88	81
Work-related burnout (WRB)	3.03	0.92	87
Personal burnout	2.96	0.97	93

Note: N = 306, α = Cronbach's Alpha

It was determined that the reliability values of the scales were generally relatively high (min. α value was calculated as 0.71). Participants' emotional labor and burnout levels were at average levels.

Table 2: Correlation Analysis Findings

Variables	Emotional Labor			Burnout			Demographics			
	ELT	SA	DA	NFE	BT	CRB	WRB	PB	Α	WE
Emotional Labor (Total) (ELT)	-									
Surface acting (SA)	.63***	-								
Deep acting (DA)	.78***	.10	-							
Naturally felt emotions (NFE)	.13*	51***	.24***	-						
Burnout (Total) (BT)	03	.32***	18**	42***	-					
Client related burnout (CRB)	.00	.33***	17**	39***	.90***	-				
Work-related burnout (WRB)	06	.28***	19**	41***	.96***	.81	-			
Personnel burnout (PB)	01	.27***	13*	35***	.92***	.70	.84	-		
Age (A)	03	22***	.08	.23***	21***	18**	19**	22***	-	
Work experience (WE)	.06	20**	.17**	.28***	26***	21***	21***	28***	.88***	-
Working experience with the supervisor (WES)	07	23***	.04	.19**	.15*	10	13*	.19**	.50***	.52***

Note: N = 306, *P<0.050, **P<0.010, ***P<0.001

A positive relationship was obtained between surface acting and all dimensions of burnout. However, a negative relationship was found between deep acting, naturally felt emotions and burnout. It has been determined that as age, average working time in work life, and average working time with the current supervisor increase, there is a decrease in surface acting and an increase in naturally felt emotions. Also, there is a positive relationship between deep acting and work experience (see Table 2).

Table 3: Multiple Regression Analysis Findings

Independent Variables					Depe	ndent V	ariables					
	В	urnout To	tal		CRB			WRB			PB	
	в	t	Total R ²	в	t	R²	в	t	R²	в	t	R ²
Emotional Labor (Total) (ELT)												
Surface acting (SA)	.14**	2.83		.18*	3.49		.11*	2.01		.14*	2.40	
Deep acting (DA)	08*	-2.27	.19	09*	-2.35	.18	09*	-2.35	.18	07	-1.56	.13
Naturally felt emotions (NFE)	25***	-4.65		22***	-3.87		29***	-4.97		24***	-3.78	

Note: N = 306, CRB = Client related burnout, WRB = Work related burnout, PB = Personnel burnout, N=306, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.00



It is seen that surface acting positively predicts total score burnout, client-related and work-related burnout, and personal burnout. In other words, surface acting plays a role in increasing burnout in general. In other words, surface acting positively and significantly predicts both burnout (β = .14; p<0.05) and CRB (β =.18; p<0.05), WRB (β =.11; p<0.05) and PB (β =.14; p<0.05). On the other hand, deep acting [burnout (β = -.08; p<0.05) and CRB (β =-.09; p<0.05), and WRB (β =-.09; p<0.05)] and naturally felt emotions [burnout (β = -.25; p<0.05) and CRB (β =-.22; p<0.05), WRB (β =-.29; p<0.05) and PB (β =-.24; p<0.05)]. dimensions negatively predict the total score of burnout and its other dimensions. The only exception is that deep acting does not predict personal burnout significantly (β =-.07; p>0.05).

Discussion

A positive relationship between surface acting and burnout (including all dimensions) was found, and H1 was supported. A negative relationship between deep acting and burnout was obtained, and H2 was supported. A negative relationship was found between naturally felt emotions and burnout (including all dimensions), and H3 was also supported. In the regression analysis findings, it is seen that surface acting is a predictor (at low strength) of the total burnout score and other burnout dimensions. This means that surface acting plays a role in increasing employees' burnout levels. On the other hand, deep acting predicted other burnout components except personal burnout in a negative direction (low strength). Naturally, felt emotions predicted all dimensions of burnout stronger than deep acting. Therefore, as expected, while surface acting had an adverse effect on employees' burnout, deep acting, and especially naturally felt emotions, were found to have roles in reducing burnout. As emphasized in the research structure, surface acting is the component of emotional labor that might lead to the most damaging consequences (for employees) since, in the long run, surface acting is incompatible with human nature.

Among the sub-dimensions of emotional labor, only surface acting was found to have an increasing effect on burnout. This was an expected situation in the research because surface acting is a behavior that can be damaging to exhibit sustainably in the long term. People working in the service sector sometimes work part-time, for a short time, or for a lifelong. Constant surface acting implemented by employees or the expectation of such behaviors by organizations can lead to damaging consequences because human beings may only be good at manipulating their emotions for short periods. However, it has been challenging to maintain this for many years. There may be many reasons for this difficulty. Life dissatisfaction, personality traits, problematic customer behaviors, and negative experiences that do not go well in the person's life can be listed as the potential reasons for this difficulty. This being the case, in the long run, institutional expectations (especially for superficial emotions and smiles) can cause wear and tear on the individual and depletion of resources. This finding regarding surface acting also overlaps with previous studies. Because one of the dimensions that leads to the most damaging results regarding burnout has been predominantly surface-acting in previous studies (Bryan et al., 2022; Kim, 2020; Näring et al., 2006; Theodosius et al., 2021). One of the issues that organizations should emphasize is balancing surface-acting expectations. In the service industry, customers have a reasonable expectation of positive and warm interactions with employees. However, managers must provide suitable working conditions for employees to exhibit deep acting. Because, as can be seen, surface-acting triggers burnout. An increase in the level of burnout may lead to a decrease in idealism in employees and cause work to become more meaningless (Özsoy & Ardıç, 2020) and many more undesirable outcomes.

Deep acting, on the other hand, did not have a negative effect on burnout. On the contrary, its role in reducing burnout was even observed. In deep acting, unlike surface acting, the employee performs the role required and expected by the job not superficially but by internalizing the moment and empathizing more deeply. As a result, the person may feel good since experiencing the necessary emotions more deeply can create a mood as if the employee feels that way. As a result, the person can feel positive and happy. In addition, the employees can feel good by being perceived as sincere in their interactions with customers and receiving sincere feedback. The findings partially supported these assumptions empirically. However, findings from previous studies differ (Kim, 2008; Yin et al., 2019)

Naturally, felt emotions were not expected to have a burnout-increasing effect, as it was a situation where the person reflected the required emotion to the other person without making any extra effort. It should be noted here that emotional labor does not always mean that the employee smiles and behaves positively. In some cases, employees may need to act appropriately and be emotional, compassionate, or sad towards customers or people they interact with as part of their duties. In this respect, the employee should not always be perceived as spontaneously happy and smiling while expressing naturally felt emotions. For example, in an emergency, it is also emotional labor for the medical staff to display the appropriate emotion (not smiling, at least) in their interaction with the family of a person who has had an accident (Özsoy, 2020). However, regardless of the context, in naturally felt emotions, the person acts as himself or herself, that is, naturally and sincerely, which is expected to reduce rather than increase burnout. This expectation found empirical support in this study and also in some previous research (Kim, 2008; Walsh, 2019).



The study's limitations are that only 306 participants participated, and we did not focus on a specific service sector. Increasing the number of samples in subsequent studies is essential for generalizing the findings. One of the critical limitations of the research is that variables such as personality traits, organizational practices and expectations, industry conditions, and supervisor and customer differences should be included in the scope of the research.

When examining the reflections of emotional labor on employees, the organization's context must be considered. In this context, leadership style is one of the most critical issues. For instance, personality traits mainly negatively affect employees' work outcomes (Özsoy, 2017; 2019; Volmer et al., 2016). Similarly, the reflections of emotional labor can be expected to lead to more negative results in organizations where managers have abusive leadership (Tepper, 2000) and destructive leadership styles (Serdar & Özsoy, 2019), which may negatively affect the mental health of employees in the long term. In addition, uncertainties remain regarding the antecedents of emotional labor. One of the most critical premises can be considered to be the personality characteristics of employees. The main reason for this is that personality traits are resistance to change (Özsoy et al., 2014). In this respect, it is recommended that more studies be conducted on which personality traits predict what types of emotional labor behaviors. Therefore, examining the effects of emotional labor on employees, including personality traits such as psychological resilience, self-efficacy, extraversion, introversion, and neuroticism, in the model can serve as a more comprehensive understanding of the role of individual differences in the effect of emotional labor on employees.

The main conclusion obtained in this study conducted with a limited sample is that only the surface-acting dimension of emotional labor can lead to destructive consequences. However, deep acting and especially naturally felt emotions do not threaten employee well-being; these two dimensions are even leading to positive outcomes. More empirical studies are needed on the abovementioned topics to make more comprehensive inferences.



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Author Contributions

The authors have declared their contributions to the article as follows: Keziban Kılıçarslan %70, Emrah Özsoy %30.

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There is no conflict of interest reported by the authors.

Ethics Statement

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