

EMOTIONAL LABOR FROM AN OCCUPATIONAL LENS

EMOTIONAL LABOR FROM AN OCCUPATIONAL LENS:
CONSEQUENCES, RESOURCES AND THE STATUS SHIELD AMONG
EMOTIONAL LABORERS

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ABSTRACT

The management and display of emotions has become a pervasive occupational role requirement for many workers in the service industry. Service workers' interactions with clients or customers exposes them to occupational requirements where they must effectively display certain emotions, while at the same time internally suppressing other felt emotions—a type of work activity referred to by Arlie Hochschild (1983) as *emotional labor*. Despite a vast literature on the subject, there remain a number of knowledge gaps regarding the *consequences of emotional labor*. My dissertation addresses this issue by merging occupational-level data with a national survey dataset of American workers to examine a variety of consequences of emotional labor using a multi-dimensional approach. I reveal that emotional labor poses the greatest threat to well-being in resource deprived work contexts, and that occupations that have little job control are mostly occupied by minority women. I also find that high control beliefs serve as an important psychological resource for men that can buffer the strain that leads to customer/client conflict in emotional labor intensive occupations.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	x
List of Appendices.....	xi
Acronyms.....	xii
Preface.....	xiii
Chapter 1 – Introduction.....	1
Conceptual Model.....	2
The Health Consequences of Emotional Labor.....	4
Race and Gender Contingencies.....	6
Research Objectives.....	6
Theoretical and Methodological Contributions.....	7
Emotional Labor Requirements.....	7
Moderating Resources.....	8
The Emotional Proletariat.....	10
Overview of the Dissertation.....	11
References.....	13
Chapter 2 – An Occupational Portrait of Emotional Labor Requirements and their Health Consequences for Workers.....	17
Introduction.....	18
Literature Review.....	20
Emotional Labor and Well-Being	20
Work Context Contingencies.....	21
The Gendered Nature and Consequences of Emotional Labor.....	24
Occupational Analyses of Emotional Labor.....	25
Method.....	28

Measures.....	28
Occupation-Level Controls.....	33
Plan of Analyses.....	34
Results.....	35
Emotional Labor Requirements and Worker Health.....	36
Discussion.....	38
Conclusion.....	42
Notes.....	46
References.....	47
Chapter 3 – Emotional Proletarians Is ‘Service with A Smile’ Racialized?.....	68
Introduction.....	68
Literature Review.....	69
Racializing Emotional Labor.....	69
The Emotional Proletariat.....	71
Shaping the Emotional Proletariat.....	72
Social Status Hierarchies.....	75
Method.....	76
Measures.....	77
Plan of Analyses.....	80
Results.....	80
Discussion.....	83
Conclusion.....	85
References.....	87
Chapter 4 – Exploring Gender Difference in Interpersonal Conflict among Emotional Laborers: Outsider Conflict, Control Beliefs and the Status Shield.....	97
Introduction.....	97
Literature Review.....	99
Interpersonal Conflict in Emotional Labor Occupations.....	99
Men and Women’s Status Shield.....	101

The Personal Sense of Control (Control Beliefs).....	102
Men, Women and The Personal Sense of Control (Control Beliefs).....	105
Stress-Buffering Hypothesis.....	105
Micro-Resistance Empowerment Hypothesis.....	106
Method.....	109
Measures.....	110
Plan of Analyses.....	113
Results.....	113
Discussion.....	114
Conclusion.....	119
References	121
Chapter 5 – Conclusion.....	134
An Occupational Lens.....	135
The Health Consequences of Emotional Labor.....	136
An Intersectional Analysis of the Emotional Proletariat.....	138
Examining Psychological Resources and Workplace Conflict among Men and Women.....	139
Summary.....	140
Limitations.....	141
Future Research	145

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1.....	61
Figure 2.2.....	62
Figure 2.3.....	63
Figure 4.1.....	133

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1.....	53
Table 2.2.....	54
Table 2.3.....	55
Table 2.4.....	56
Table 2.5.....	57
Table 2.6.....	58
Table 2.7.....	59
Table 2.8.....	60
Table 3.1.....	91
Table 3.2.....	92
Table 3.3.....	93
Table 3.4.....	94
Table 3.5.....	95
Table 4.1.....	129
Table 4.2.....	131
Table 4.3.....	132

LIST OF APPENDENCIES

Appendix A.....	64
Appendix B.....	65
Appendix C.....	66
Appendix D.....	96
Appendix E	150

ACRONYMS

WSH – Work, Stress and Health Study

O*NET – Occupational Information Network Database

ELR – Emotional Labor Requirements

SOC – Sense of Control

RGM – Racial group membership

PREFACE

All of the writing (including discussions and conclusions), theoretical development and concept formation was conducted by myself, for chapters (1, 3, 4 and 5). All analyses presented henceforth (in every chapter) were also conducted by myself, using two separate data sources: the Work, Stress and Health Study (WSH)—a nationally representative study of Americans in the paid labor force, conducted in 2005 (PI: Scott Schieman) and the Occupational Information Network Database (O*NET)—an online database containing occupational definitions and characteristics for a comprehensive set of occupations in the US.

Chapter 2 has been published in the journal, *Work and Occupations* [Singh, D., & Glavin, P. (2017). An occupational portrait of emotional labor requirements and their health consequences for workers. *Work and Occupations*, 44(4), 424-466. doi: 10.1177/0730888417726835]. I was the primary author, responsible for all major concept formation, theoretical development, data analyses and conclusion. Dr. Glavin was involved in the early stages of theoretical development, measurement construction and contributed to manuscript edits.

I am the sole author of all other chapters (1, 3, 4 and 5).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

....And to the degree that the individual maintains a show before others that he himself does not believe, he can come to experience a special kind of alienation from self and a special kind of wariness of others. (Goffman, 1959, p.229)

The service economy has played a key role in changing the nature of work over the past three decades. Arlie Hochschild (1983) famously examined the nature of service work roles along with the inception of the “*commodification of emotions*”. Unlike the manufacturing-based economy where workers focused on the production of tangible commodities, the emotional labor economy requires workers to produce ‘good service.’ Hochschild (1983) described this process as an emerging occupational requirement in the early 1980’s, and defined the intersection between emotions and the work role as ‘emotional labor.’ As a multidimensional concept, emotional labor describes the physical and psychological effort that is involved when workers are expected to generate an observable facial and body display to project the “correct” emotion as part of their occupation (i.e. ‘service with a smile’), in exchange for a wage. Hochschild (1983) identified this as the transmutation of emotions, where the private sphere (feelings) becomes a commodity and emotions are consumed by customers in a service interaction. While Hochschild’s (1983) work motivated a broad range of research on the topic, scholarship on the consequences associated with performing emotional labor remains incomplete. Very few studies have examined emotional labor requirements and its consequences across representative sets of workers and occupations. In addition, there are notable knowledge gaps regarding how race, gender and the broader job context of emotional labor occupations impacts workers.

While some occupations require a great deal of emotional labor, there are others that require less. These variations make for a broad range of experiences of emotional labor and the management of emotions. Yet, research has yet to document the occupational spread of emotional labor requirements across the American occupational

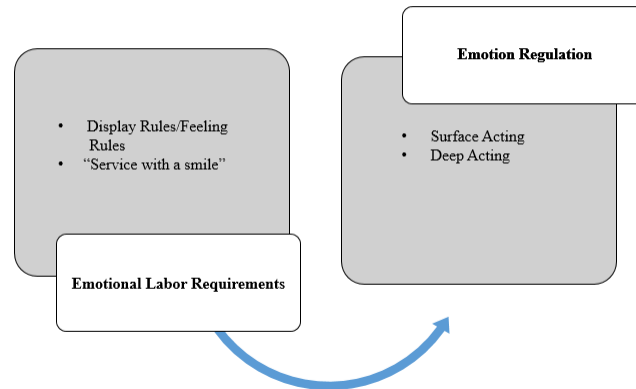
structure. In this dissertation, I develop an occupational-level measure of emotional labor requirements, using data from the occupational information network database (O*NET) that assess the emotional labor requirements for 886 occupations. I then merge this data with a nationally representative survey of American workers in order to examine whether there are negative implications for participants employed in occupations where managing emotions is a critical requirement of their job. Is ‘emotional labor’ an opportunity for satisfying work, or is it a source of stressful interpersonal demands that deplete an individual’s health and well-being? The answer to this question has never been simple. While service work can be emotionally taxing, everyday interpersonal exchanges are also gendered and racialized. This can pose a number of additional challenges for women and minority workers and perhaps even greater challenges for those who are marginalized by interlocking statuses (e.g. female minorities). However, the experiences of emotional laborers cannot be reasonably separated from the context in which they work. Resources, both psychological and job-related can potentially shape the relationship between emotional labor and its consequences. In the following sections, I briefly outline the focus of the research in this dissertation and the importance of considering these broader contingencies in an effort to provide new insights regarding emotional labor and its consequences.

Conceptual Model

There are a variety of focal lenses available to capture emotional labor. These perspectives have contributed to the widespread view that emotional labor and its processes are undesirable as an occupational requirement. However, the conflation of different components creates difficulty in determining what particular dimension of emotional labor produces negative consequences for workers. This remains a difficult task because there is inconsistent empirical evidence for these claims. A key distinction that is sometimes confused in the literature is the difference between emotion work and emotional labor. Emotion work is the sociological concept that is closely related to the social psychologist’s notion of emotion regulation (Pugliesi, 1999; Walden & Smith, 1997). Emotion regulation is comprised of two strategies: faking and suppressing

emotions—surface acting—and transforming internal feelings in order to match the outward expression—deep acting. Although these terms (emotional labor; emotion work; emotion regulation; etc.) are often used interchangeably, scholars stress that these concepts are analytically distinct and each produce very different research questions in relation to a worker's well-being (Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, 2013; Pugliesi, 1999; Wharton, 1999). For example, research that studies the consequences of emotional labor—defined as an occupational requirement— will concentrate heavily on the occupational level and employee health outcomes. However, this area of research is understudied (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, 2013).

Connected to these distinctions is the notion of “feeling rules”—a term Hochschild (1983) developed to capture social norms that dictate the expression of appropriate emotions in a particular situation. Feeling rules are an important component of emotional labor because it underscores the core distinction between emotional labor—the occupational demand—and emotion work—the internal psychological processes involved with managing one's emotions. Feeling rules are taken for granted social norms about how individuals should behave during day-to-day interactions. Achieving these “appropriate” displays of emotion ultimately require “emotion work.” However, the process that occurs when an individual engages in interaction have also been referred to by researchers as, “emotion management”, “emotion regulation” “impression management” etc. Interestingly, conceptual models of emotional labor make these distinctions clear and yet the result has been a lack of consensus over conceptual and operational definitions of these constructs. In this dissertation, I argue that this distinction is necessary for determining the consequences that performing emotional labor has on workers. The conceptual model below, outlines these distinctions.



The Health Consequences of Emotional Labor

In the United States, the service sector accounts for 80% of the country’s GDP, employing two thirds of the labor force (Hulsheger & Shewe, 2011). A growing body of research has revealed negative health consequences for emotional laborers (Hochschild, 1983; Hulsheger & Shewe, 2011; Kim, 2008; Pugliesi, 1999; Wharton, 1999).

Researchers have explored both personal and job-related mechanisms contributing to poor mental health for workers in emotional labor intensive jobs (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Most research in this area is based on the argument that intra-psychic “emotion regulation”—where an individual fakes or suppresses an emotion—leads some individuals to experience a “person-role” conflict with deleterious mental, and overall health consequences.

While the literature has generally framed emotional labor as an undesirable occupational ‘demand’ (Hochschild, 1983, Kim, 2008; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaelli & Sutton, 1989), there remain methodological issues and empirical inconsistencies that prevent stronger conclusions about its role as a work stressor (Wharton, 1993; 1999). Some scholars suggest, for example, that emotional labor is a construct comprised of multiple dimensions that may promote both positive and negative mental health consequences (Hill 1987; Zapf & Holz, 2006). However, identifying these dimensions remains difficult because dichotomous measures of emotional labor have dominated this

area of research. In addition, existing measures of emotional labor have homogenized occupations that may differ in relation to other job resources (i.e. job authority, job control) as well as both the type and degree to which they require emotional management (Wharton, 1993; 1999). Further, measures similar to these are seen in a large number of case studies of emotional labor occupations and scholars agree that this has made empirical results difficult to generalize (Johnson & Spector, 2007; Lopez, 2006; Wharton, 1999). Despite discussion and encouragement by scholars, the development of a continuous measure of emotional labor that assesses it across a spectrum remains rare or absent entirely in the context of occupational health and well-being (Wharton, 1993).

Counter to its common portrayal as a stressor, there are also empirical inconsistencies which have led some scholars to believe emotional labor can have a positive influence on well-being. Some research finds that performing emotional labor gives workers the opportunity to genuinely display positive emotions in such a way that improves rather than detracts from their well-being (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hill 1987; Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson, 1994; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Zapf & Holz, 2006). For example, research has demonstrated that in the absence of a disconnection between a felt and displayed emotion, occupational well-being (i.e. job satisfaction; mental health) is actually enhanced (Hulshege & Shewe, 2011; Johnson & Spector, 2007). Interestingly, these results are consistent with other research, which suggests that the psychosocial consequences of emotional labor may be contingent on job resources, such as the level of job control available to the worker (Wharton, 1993). For example, some scholars have found evidence that having access to job resources such as higher levels of job autonomy, produces higher levels of job satisfaction among those who perform emotional labor (Wharton, 1999). Taken together, these findings raise the possibility that workers who have control over aspects of their work and expressive behaviour may have more opportunity to control the type of emotion management strategy used; however, few studies have explicitly examined whether the consequences of emotional labor are contingent on the job resources afforded to workers across a wide range of occupations.

Race and Gender Contingencies

While researchers have expanded our knowledge on the health and well-being of emotional laborers, little is known about social status contingencies relating to one's social position within race, class and gender hierarchies. Early discussions about the psychological well-being of those performing emotional labor included concerns over a greater risk for women and minority status emotional laborers (Hochschild, 1983; Thoits, 1985). However, despite strong theoretical arguments, empirical evidence for this association remains inconsistent (Erickson & Ritter, 2001). In particular, some studies have shown that women actually report better health than expected and, survey research often reports no differences compared to men (Erickson & Ritter, 2011; Wharton, 1993). Yet intersectional scholars have long argued that “multiple jeopardy” –a position of extreme disadvantage due to one's social location at the bottom of two or more status hierarchies— channels minority women and men into low-level jobs that provide low wages and little job resources (i.e. autonomy) (Browne & Misra, 2003). Given what is known about the general prevalence of racialized stereotypes in the workplace and the structural disadvantages faced by minority workers/ job seekers, intersectional research analyzing negative outcomes across different social status groups is still very minimal. In addition, studies that do adopt an intersectional approach are often case studies with limited samples that make comparisons across occupations difficult (Harvey, 2005; Kang, 2003)

Research Objectives

The objective of this dissertation is to address both methodological and empirical gaps in emotional labor research. Despite the growth in theoretical development and empirical research, occupational level analyses of emotional labor is understudied (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, 2013). While case studies have expanded our knowledge on the different aspects of emotional labor, the reliance on binary measures of emotional labor have not been able to account for differences both within and between occupations. I address this gap in my research by developing a continuous measure of emotional labor requirements through the construction of a revised

version of an existing measure (Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller & Rotundo, 2004). The use of a continuous rather than discrete measure of emotional labor allows for the comparison of emotional labor requirements across a wide range of occupations, taking into account differences between occupations but also *within* occupations (i.e. job resources and job conditions). Doing so enables a broader and more widespread investigation of the health consequences of emotional labor. In addition, I investigate how these consequences and experiences vary for different social groups. I take on an integrated approach to studying how intersecting statuses such as race and gender may result in disproportionate consequences for minority groups who perform emotional labor. Using a national dataset that includes a wide range of emotional labor occupations provides an opportunity for my research to compare social groups—something that is not possible with case study research that focuses on homogenous groups.

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Emotional Labor Requirements

Despite clear and consistent intentions to examine the experiences of emotional laborers, there is a great deal of inconsistency in measuring it. Some methodological approaches draw from the theoretical literature, and include self-report questionnaires that measure the intra-psychic process of emotion regulation—the psychological strategies that individuals engage with to manage their emotions (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Pugliesi & Shook, 1997). While an individual-level emphasis on emotional labor provides a greater focus on the personal management of emotions (i.e. surface acting and deep acting), these measures lack consistency and are not usually applied to national population studies. An alternative approach has been to examine the extent that emotional labor is a *requirement of a worker's occupation* – a measurement strategy that is more in line with Hochschild's original conceptualization (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Diefendorff, Erickson, Grandey, & Dahling, 2011; Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller & Rotundo, 2004). Using occupational level data, Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller & Rotundo (2004) constructed an 'emotional labor demand' scale that captures emotional labor as an occupational requirement. The scale is based on occupation-level information from the Occupational

Information Network Database (O*NET)—an online database containing occupational information and characteristics from a comprehensive set of occupations in the U.S. The items included in the emotional labor scale include both generalized work activities and work context items that capture dimensions of emotional labor. The authors conducted exploratory factor analyses of 42 generalized work activities and 59 work context items from the O*NET to produce a six-item composite scale to represent the degree of emotional labor demands associated with an occupation. The items capture different dimensions of emotional labor, measuring both the frequency and importance of each to one's occupation. Adopting this measurement strategy, my dissertation extends the above mentioned scale to include items that capture emotional labor as an 'occupational requirement.' For example, the requirement for face-to-face interaction, interpersonal conflict, care work and concern for others, as well as emotional regulation—which represent common identifying features of emotional labor occupations.

Moderating Resources

An additional focus of this dissertation is the examination of salient factors that potentially shape the relationship between emotional labor and its consequences for workers. Little work has engaged with the work stress literature to focus on moderators of the relationship between emotional labor and well-being. For example, researchers argue that if an employee is given some degree of control at work, that control may enable them to avoid or reduce conflict with customers or clients (Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, 2013; Grandey & Melloy, 2017). Similarly, resource-based perspectives in emotional labor research highlight the importance of the work context, suggesting that regulating one's emotions would be less depleting in work contexts where more psychosocial resources are available (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). Resources such as workplace support and job autonomy are recognized as key buffering resources in work stress theories; yet these insights are rarely applied to emotional labor research. This is particularly surprising, given the emphasis on framing emotional labor as a work stressor. Job autonomy, for example, is a longstanding component in models of work stress and is considered a quintessential resource for buffering work stressors. Recent discussions in

emotional labor research, have highlighted the increasing importance of the work context as a key determinant of emotional labor outcomes (i.e. well-being, turnover, interpersonal conflict) (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). I address this omission by integrating theories of work stress and emotional labor to investigate whether a small number of psychosocial resources buffer the relationship between emotional labor requirements and well-being.

While autonomy and workplace support are recognized as key-buffering resources with regards to the broader work context, job resources may not fully determine whether emotional laborers experience negative consequences. Instead, there are also likely important dispositional factors, serving as psychological resources that influence the interpersonal experiences of emotional laborers (Xanthopoulou et. al, 2009). Among these potential resources is the sense of personal control, which may allow emotional laborers to better deal with stressful interactions, and help them to de-escalate potential conflict situations. The Stress Process Model identifies personal sense of control as a key buffering resource in the stress process (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013), and emotional labor research has demonstrated how similar dispositions can influence how individual workers respond to difficult interactions, including the emotional labor strategy they adopt (Karatepe, 2014; Xanthopoulou et. al, 2009). Serving as a psychological resource, it is the extent to which an individual believes that they have control over the important things in their life. Among individuals with an elevated personal sense of control, the threat of challenging interactions in emotional labor occupations may become neutralized by protecting one's cognitive and motivational resources required to deal with emotionally charged situations.

Women, in particular, are more susceptible to being the target of the displaced feelings of others. Hochschild (1983) described this increased threat as a result of a weaker 'status shield.' Along with ethnic minorities, women lack a perceived cloak of social protection from the judgements of others (Hochschild, 1983). In emotional labor occupations, this translates to a number of potential gender-based stressors for women. Compared to their male counterparts, women are expected to "do gender" in a way that is demoralizing (Pierce, 1996; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Women are tasked with

recreating gender appropriate feelings during service interactions, while men are not typically expected to display the same level of deference and emotional care (Poletta & Tufail, 2016). In the face of challenging interactions, managing one's emotions is stressful for high *and* low status workers; yet women often experience a greater penalty than men by having to engage in more intensive emotion management (Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Pierce, 1996). These social status differences indicate that the experiences of men and women in emotional labor occupations vary greatly. However, these insights also indicate that psychological buffering resources, like the personal sense of control, may be a particularly important resource for women. This is an issue that has not yet been explored in emotional labor research. In this dissertation, I seek to contribute to the emotional labor literature by investigating whether psychological resources buffer the relationship between emotional labor requirements and interpersonal conflict—and whether this varies for men and women.

The Emotional Proletariat

Macdonald and Sirriani (1996) developed the term 'the emotional proletariat' to describe workers employed in low-skill, low-paid service jobs. Research on the emotional proletariat is limited, however, it is primarily focused on interactive service work (i.e. the fast food industry). These jobs are routine, low-skilled and tightly controlled through interaction 'scripts and prompts' (Bolton, 2004; Leidner, 1999; Macdonald and Sirriani, 1996). In contrast to the 'empowered workers' (i.e. professional/technical services), the emotional proletariat lack autonomy and job security (Mandonald & Sirriani, 1996). One particular area of concern for researchers, is that there is an overrepresentation of minorities in these occupations. Scholars argue that minority emotional laborers would suffer the greatest negative consequences as they are most likely to experience a double shift—a concept developed by Louwanda Evans (2013) to describe the dual nature of minorities' emotion management. Minorities not only face the emotion management that is required of emotional labor occupations, they must also manage their emotions in response to racialized stereotypes that affect their social interactions (Evans, 2013; Wingfield, 2010). In this dissertation, I push these insights further by adopting an

intersectional analysis of the emotional proletariat. Seeking to contribute to this area of research, I combine three distinct areas of research to examine how gender and race intersect in shaping the emotional proletariat.

Overview of the Dissertation

I analyze two separate data sources in this dissertation: the 2005 *Work, Stress and Health* survey (WSH)—a nationally representative study of Americans in the paid labor force—and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) dataset, an online database containing occupational definitions and characteristics for a comprehensive set of occupations in the US. This dissertation includes the current introductory chapter and conclusion. Chapters 2 to 4 include one published journal article, along with two other independent publishable papers. Each of these chapters investigate different dimensions of the potential consequences of emotional labor.

The first paper (chapter 2) is a co-authored journal article that examines the health penalties associated with emotional labor. Drawing from the emotional labor literature and social psychological theory the chapter analyzes individual-level data from the WSH survey, merged with occupational-level data from the O*NET to test two hypotheses. First, the association between occupational emotional labor requirements and four worker outcomes is investigated: mental health, overall self-rated health, job satisfaction and blood pressure problems. Then, drawing from the emotional labor literature and social psychological theory the paper tests for any potential work-context contingencies to determine whether the health penalties associated with emotional labor intensive occupations are contingent on access to valued job resources. Next, in Chapter 3, I use the same dataset to test an intersectional hypothesis regarding emotional proletarians in the American labor market. This paper examines whether minority group members are more likely to be the emotional proletariat than non-minority white workers; and the ways in which gender and race intersect to shape these realities. Finally, Chapter 4 investigates the occurrence of interpersonal conflict in emotional labor intensive occupations. Drawing from theory and empirical research on stress, I examine whether the occurrence of conflict with customers/clients vary for women compared to men; and whether the

relationship between emotional labor requirements and interpersonal conflict is contingent on the personal sense of control (control beliefs)—the degree to which an individual feels they are in control of their life.

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CHAPTER 2

AN OCCUPATIONAL PORTRAIT OF EMOTIONAL LABOR REQUIREMENTS AND THEIR HEALTH CONSEQUENCES FOR WORKERS

ABSTRACT

Scholarship has revealed inconsistent evidence on the issue of whether emotional labor represents an occupational health risk. Drawing from emotion regulation theory, the conservation of resources model and the interactive service work literature, we examine the association between occupational emotional labor requirements and worker well-being. Analyses of a national sample of American workers merged with occupational information from the O*NET database reveal no evidence that these requirements are associated with psychological distress or high blood pressure; in contrast, emotional labor requirements are associated with a reduced likelihood of self-rated poor health. Consistent with the conservation of resources model, however, we find health penalties for individuals with emotional labor requirements in resource-deprived work contexts. Our findings suggest that for individuals with limited job autonomy and little access to civil interpersonal relationships with coworkers, emotional labor requirements may impede successful emotion regulation in ways that contribute to negative occupational outcomes and strain.

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An Occupational Portrait of Emotional Labor Requirements and their Health Consequences for Workers

With service work fundamental to the American economy, managing emotions and controlling their display are common occupational requirements for workers (Lopez, 2010; Troyer, Mueller & Osinsky, 2000). Arlie Hochschild's (1983) classic book *The Managed Heart* was the first to consider the consequences of this 'emotional labor' for workers' health. In response, a substantial literature examining the health of emotional laborers has developed over the last three decades (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). Nevertheless, there remain notable knowledge gaps regarding the social distribution and well-being of workers in emotional labor occupations. The majority of research to-date has focused on revealing the health outcomes associated with specific emotional labor acts reported by workers; yet, less is known about the consequences of *occupational requirements* dictating the extent that a worker manages and displays emotion. We seek to address this gap by merging occupation-level information on the typical emotional labor requirements for a comprehensive set of occupations in the US with survey data from a nationally representative study of workers. Using this combined individual-level and occupation-level dataset, we seek to 1) document variations in emotional labor requirements across the American occupational structure, 2) examine whether these requirements are unevenly distributed across workers, and 3) investigate their health consequences.

While there has been increasing scholarly interest in emotional labor, research examining its implications for worker well-being has produced inconsistent findings (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Grandey, Diefendorff, & Rupp, 2013). Research has typically framed emotional labor as a stressor linked to worker burnout and reduced job satisfaction (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1999). However, findings often diverge depending on the nature of the emotional labor examined (Hülshager & Schewe, 2011), and several studies have revealed evidence that emotional laborers may in certain cases experience higher job satisfaction (Wharton, 1993; Bhave & Glomb, 2013). These inconsistencies in emotional labor research may be the result of an over reliance on case

studies of specific occupations, or comparisons among small numbers of workers in occupations (Lopez, 2006; Mahoney, Buboltz, Buckner, & Doverspike, 2011). Additionally, individual-level measures of emotional labor are at risk of confounding it with personality traits or interpersonal skills that may obscure its underlying relationship with well-being (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). While we believe a direct assessment of emotional labor and its associated health outcomes is important, we suggest that an examination of *emotional labor requirements* attached to one's occupation may shed new light on the conditions and situations under which emotional labor has negative versus positive consequences for workers. To our knowledge, such an investigation is rare in the literature (see Bhave & Glomb, 2013 for an exception).

Informed by the conservation of resources model (Hobfoll, 1989) and the interactive service work literature (Leidner, 1993), we also explore whether the availability of two valued work resources—job autonomy and workplace support—influences the association between emotional labor requirements and worker well-being. While support and autonomy are considered key buffering resources by work stress theories (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007) as well as general theories of stress (Pearlin, 1989), the focus of the interactive service work literature on power—relative to both customers and management—highlights the special relevance of these two work characteristics for potentially reducing the stress and health challenges encountered by emotional laborers. We investigate these possibilities.

To test our focal hypotheses, we construct a measure of occupational emotional labor requirements originally developed by Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller, and Rotundo (2004) using the Occupational Information Network (O*NET)—a large American government database containing ratings on generalized work activities and work contexts for 886 occupations. The emotional labor requirement scale that we utilize allows us to chart the distribution and consequences of these requirements for workers across the wide American occupational structure, rather than a few selected occupations. We merge these occupation-level data with an individual-level dataset: the Work, Stress and Health study (WSH), which conducted interviews with 1800 American workers in 2005, and that

contains detailed information on their health and job conditions. In the following section, we briefly review existing research on emotional labor and its links to worker well-being.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Emotional Labor and Well-being

In an effort to capture the changing face of labor resulting from the growth of the service sector, Hochschild (1983) is best known for developing a conceptual model to account for the ways in which emotions intersect with the work role. Drawing from interviews and observations of flight attendants and bill collectors, Hochschild used the term ‘emotional labor’ to refer to the work that is required of an employee when they are expected to feel and display the ‘correct’ emotion as part of their occupation—which she suggested workers achieve through *deep acting* (modifying emotions) and *surface acting* (modifying the display of emotions), respectively. More specifically, emotional labor describes the type of work that occurs when emotions are *managed* to achieve the ‘display rules’ of the organization (Goffman, 1959; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983).

Following Hochschild’s (1983) seminal work on the subject, there has been a growth of research investigating whether emotional labor has negative health consequences for workers (Grandey et al., 2013; Troyer, Mueller & Osinsky, 2000; Wharton, 1999). Hochschild herself raised this prospect as part of her discussion of ‘emotional dissonance’ to denote a state of in-authenticity when individuals experience a disconnect between a felt and displayed emotion in the work role (Pugh, Groth, & Hennig-Thurau, 2011). A flight attendant, for example, who experiences anger toward an unruly passenger, but puts on a display of calm understanding may experience emotional dissonance. Hochschild suggested that this controlled display of emotions could lead to feelings of inauthenticity, frustration and anxiety.

Beyond Hochschild’s original concerns about the potential strain resulting from inauthentic emotional displays, emotion regulation theory (Gross, 1998) has been perhaps the most widely used framework for considering the links between emotional labor and well-being (Grandey, 2000). As a general model of how individuals experience and

manipulate emotion, the theory outlines two broad antecedent- and response-focused regulatory processes that individuals use to control the emotions they experience (i.e. antecedent-focused) and the manner in which they display them (response-focused) (Gross, 1998). Both forms of regulation may produce desirable individual or interpersonal outcomes if the feeling or emotional display fits with the display rules of a particular situation; however, prolonged acts of emotion regulation may tax an individual's energy reserves due to the cognitive effort associated with emotional arousal or the suppression of arousal. Thus, it follows that workers in occupations which require the management of emotion and emotional display may be particularly at risk from burnout and exhaustion resulting from repeated acts of emotion regulation (Grandey, 2000; Lazarus, 1999).

While the dominant view of emotional labor frames it as a source of chronic occupational stress, empirical evidence has been inconsistent. As part of a meta-analysis of emotional labor studies, Hülshager and Schewe (2011) found that surface level emotional displays were associated with reduced well-being and job satisfaction; however, other research has revealed evidence that emotional labor is an enjoyable and meaningful job condition for certain groups of service workers (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Wharton, 1993; Zapf & Holz, 2006). In a study of physicians for example, Larson and Yao (2005) find that deep acting facilitates communication and more genuine forms of empathy toward patients, leading to higher levels of professional satisfaction. Similarly, other scholars have shown that not only can deep acting serve as a buffer against negative moods (Judge, Wolf, & Hurst, 2009; Polletta & Tufail, 2016), but individuals who successfully engage in this emotion regulation strategy may experience feelings of personal accomplishment that can reduce emotional dissonance (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). These empirical inconsistencies point at the possibility that the consequences of emotional labor may depend on the type of emotion strategy utilized as well as the context from which it is performed (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). In the following section, we consider the potential role of the latter factor—work context—in shaping the emotional labor-health association.

Work Context Contingencies

We suggest that the mixed evidence linking emotional labor to reduced well-being might be partially a result of work context differences; that is, other salient workplace conditions that emotional laborers experience may play a critical role in shaping their efforts to successfully engage in emotion regulation and the extent that they derive satisfaction and meaning from these experiences. We argue that previous research that has focused on specific groups of emotional laborers may not offer the required analytical sensitivity to examine the impact of these conditions if they are homogenous across the sample. Our access to a nationally representative sample of emotional laborers therefore offers the opportunity to explore if the relationship between emotional labor requirements and well-being is moderated by work context, which we consider in terms of the extent that workers have access to key workplace resources for dealing with the management and display of emotion.

We draw from the conservation of resources (COR) model (Hobfoll, 1989) to consider how the presence (or absence) of valued work resources might shape the health consequences of emotion regulation. Stress, according to the model, results from a failure of individuals to acquire and retain valued personal, social and psychological resources (e.g. money, coworker respect or meaningful work). Motivated to protect these resources, individuals seek *resource investment*; for example, a worker may undertake training or pursue an additional university degree to reduce their chances of layoff. However, individuals with the fewest existing resources (e.g. training) are most likely to encounter resource loss—losses that weaken their ability to protect against losing additional resources. Through the lens of the COR model, Grandey and Gabriel (2015) suggest that emotion regulation represents a response by workers to deal with emotional labor requirements and retain valued resources, such as good job evaluations and positive interpersonal relations with customers or clients. Successful emotion regulation, they argue, should result in an increase in these resources, producing satisfaction in the worker, while unsuccessful emotion regulation may lead to frustration or alienation from coworkers and clients, creating a spiral of resource losses—either intrinsic or extrinsic—that make further emotion regulation more difficult and taxing.

What work contexts and conditions might facilitate successful emotion regulation and help emotional laborers to avoid resource loss spirals? The interactive service work literature, and its examination of the trilateral relationship between service workers, employers, and customers, highlights the potential relevance of *workplace autonomy* and *support* for emotional laborers (see special issue of *Work and Occupations* 2010 on interactive service work). In contrast to production workers who typically encounter a dyadic relationship with management, the experiences of service workers is complicated by their position in a ‘triangle of power’ that also includes the interests and potential leverage of customers (Lopez, 2010). A consequence of these intersecting relationships is that service workers may vary greatly in the extent that they have the necessary autonomy and support from management and coworkers to successfully manage service relationships (Gutek, et. al, 2000; Leidner, 1993; McCammon & Griffin, 2000; Troyer, Mueller & Osinsky, 2000; Wheatley, 2017). The discretion of telesales workers, for example, to meet customer demands for friendly and thorough service, may be restricted by management directives of efficiency or routinization (Troyer, Mueller & Osinsky, 2000), while in other service provider contexts the interests of workers and management may align in ways that assist rather than hinder workers’ interactions with customers. Lopez (2006), for example, develops the concept of ‘organized emotional care’ to describe the organizational-prescribed support and discretion given to caregiving staff in a nursing home that facilitated meaningful—but not draining—relationships with residents. Lopez observes that while these staff were granted a degree of autonomy in dealing with residents, they were also assisted by prescribed activities and work procedures designed to support positive interactions with residents that were limited in terms of their emotional demands.

Variations in the power dynamics of service work are further highlighted by Gutek and colleagues (2000), who distinguish ‘service encounters’ from ‘service relationships.’ While the former involve customer interactions that are heavily controlled by management and where there is little expectation for future interaction, workers who experience service relationships are better able to establish durable and more equal

relationships with their customers or clients (Hunter, 2001; Lopez, 2006). The discretion of a therapist, for example, to control the frequency and the nature of their sessions with clients may create a context that facilitates genuine and constructive social interactions, compared to those of a theme park attendant required to placate the irate—but ultimately transitory—demands of customers waiting in line for a ride. In the former example, sustained interaction and job discretion provides a context within which emotional labor requirements can be met, but also controlled so that taxing instances of emotion regulation are avoided or reduced.

The nuanced focus of the interactive service work literature on power—relative to both customers and management—therefore highlights the potential salience of *autonomy* and *support* as contextual factors that should influence the health of emotional laborers. Indeed, previous research is suggestive of these possibilities. Wharton (1993) and Troyer and colleagues (2000) find that job autonomy moderates the health outcomes experienced by emotional laborers, while organizational and coworker support have also been shown to reduce the impact of emotional labor on job dissatisfaction and feelings of anger (Duke, Goodman, Treadway, & Breland, 2009; McCance et al. 2013). Based on prior evidence and theory, we therefore explore whether the association between emotional labor requirements and health varies across work contexts that offer different levels of these resources.

The Gendered Nature and Consequences of Emotional Labor

Following Hochschild, the gendered nature of emotional labor has been well documented in the literature; as such, we consider the potential implications of gender for workers' exposure to and experiences with emotional labor requirements (Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Godwyn, 2006; Kang, 2003; Leidner, 1993). A large number of case studies have demonstrated how female-dominated occupations have embedded assumptions about gender that influence requirements for emotional skills and expressions (Kang 2010; Pierce, 1995; Wharton, 2009). More recently, other research has shown that these expectations extend beyond female “typed” jobs and are not always limited to occupations where women predominate (George, 2008; Lawson, 2000). In their

ethnographic study of debt settlement firms, Polletta and Tufail (2016) demonstrate that preconceived notions about gender roles can dictate how clients, coworkers and employers interpret suitable service/behaviour. Scholars have argued that, over time, these gendered expectations would likely lead to a disproportionate amount of women who experience emotional dissonance (Bulan, Erickson & Wharton, 1997).

Early discussions of emotional labor and well-being have emphasized that women often suffer the consequences of performing emotional labor to a greater degree than men (Hochschild, 1983). Case studies have demonstrated that “surface acting”—faking and suppressing one’s emotions—leads to poorer health outcomes among women (Johnson & Spector, 2007; Polletta & Tufail, 2016). Similarly, Grandey (2000) argues that women are more likely to suppress felt emotions at work than men, and that these types of emotion management strategies are linked to increased stress. Bulan, Erickson and Wharton (1997) argue that the relational aspect of service work is strongly related to women’s traditional roles as “care-takers”, and this suggests that the inauthentic expression of emotion (i.e. surface acting) at work can lead to negative outcomes for women. Despite these arguments, empirical evidence for gender differences concerning the consequences of emotional labor remains inconsistent (Wharton, 1999). Given these empirical inconsistencies, we investigate gender contingencies in the association between emotional labor requirements and health, but make no specific hypothesis on the nature of any potential contingency.

Occupational Analyses of Emotional Labor

Reflecting on past research, some have suggested that future work should concentrate on looking at differences in emotional labor both *within* and *between* occupations (Grandey et al., 2013); however, a concrete analysis of the distribution and consequences of these occupations across the American labor market has yet to be accomplished. We argue that the use of occupation-level data is necessary to address this omission, and an approach that is consistent with Hochschild’s original view of the construct. Occupation-level analyses are less frequently adopted by emotional labor scholars (for an exception, see Bhawe & Glomb, 2013), who have tended to rely on a

variety of individual-level approaches in the measurement of emotional labor. As a result, we therefore consider it pertinent to situate our chosen measurement strategy within these approaches.

While some emotional labor measures tap into emotional expression and behavioral displays that are most closely aligned with Hochschild's (1983) concept of surface acting (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Bono & Vey, 2007), others examine intrapsychic processes involving the management of how one feels (i.e. deep acting) (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Grandey, 2000). These approaches generally draw from workers' self-reports about the nature and frequency of specific emotional labor acts, or their perceptions about the extent that their employer requires these acts (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). An alternative approach examines the extent that emotional labor is a *requirement of a worker's occupation* by aggregating reports of emotional labor expectations across groups of workers who share the same occupation (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Diefendorff, Erickson, Grandey, & Dahling, 2011; Glomb et al., 2004). A common American data source used as part of this technique is the O*NET: an occupational dataset developed under the sponsorship of the US Department of Labor/Employment that contains, among other things, information about the emotional labor requirements of hundreds of occupations in the American labor market. While some have used this dataset to examine the associated occupational characteristics of emotional labor occupations (e.g. wages) (Glomb et al., 2004), a few researchers have connected the O*NET dataset to worker-level datasets that contain individual-specific job and personal information, and explored the connection between occupational requirements and these individual outcomes (Bhave & Glomb, 2013). In this paper, we follow a similar approach in order to investigate the health consequences of emotional labor requirements.

We argue that a key advantage of using occupation-level information about emotional labor requirements is that we are able to address a gap in the literature that has failed to investigate the occupational spread, social distribution and consequences of emotional labor using nationally representative samples of workers (Wharton, 1999). This is, in part, because as we have discussed, many studies of emotional labor have been case

studies of specific occupations (Lopez, 2006; Mahoney et al., 2011). While this research has deepened our understanding of workers' experiences in navigating emotional labor requirements, it has been unable to describe or compare the widespread consequences (e.g. job satisfaction and burnout rates) experienced by emotional laborers across the broader American labor market. In the current study, we first examine the spread and social distribution of emotional labor requirements across a nationally representative sample of American workers, along with the share of the employed labor force captured by emotional labor-intensive occupations. Documenting the spread and social distribution of emotional labor occupations is important, we believe, because it helps us to reveal those workers who are most impacted by this potential work demand, along with their typical employment and workplace conditions. We then examine associations between these requirements and four worker outcomes: mental health, overall self-rated health, blood pressure problems, and job satisfaction¹. Since we have access to workers' specific job conditions, we test for potential work-context contingencies in these associations. Guided by the interactive service work literature, we investigate whether supportive and autonomous workplace contexts moderate the relationship between emotional labor requirements and worker well-being. Despite the inconsistent empirical evidence of the subject, we draw from existing theory and Hochschild's original model of emotional labor to make the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Workers in occupations with higher emotional labor requirements should report lower levels of well-being and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2: The association between emotional labor requirements and worker health/satisfaction should be contingent on a worker's access to autonomous and supportive work contexts, such that emotional labor requirements will be more detrimental among workers in contexts offering less job autonomy and worker support.

METHOD

To test the hypotheses described above, we analyze two separate data sources: the *Work, Stress and Health* survey (WSH)—a nationally representative study of Americans in the paid labor force—and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) dataset, an online database containing occupational definitions and characteristics for a comprehensive set of occupations in the US. The WSH individual-level data involved telephone interviews with working adults in the 50 United States in 2005. To obtain the original sample, we used a list-assisted random digit dialing (RDD) selection drawn proportionally from all 50 states from GENESYS Sampling Systems. Eligible participants are 18 years of age or older and participating in the paid labor force. 71 percent of eligible individuals were successfully interviewed, yielding a sample of 1,800 adults.

We link the WSH individual-level dataset to the O*NET database, which contains ratings on generalized work activities and work contexts for 886 occupations, in accordance with the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) system. Collected as part of the O*NET Data Collection Program, these occupational ratings were acquired from a sample of workers in each occupation, along with additional ratings from occupation experts. Among the ratings are a number of descriptors that are indicative of emotional labor requirements for an occupation; we use the average of these sampled ratings to create an emotional labor requirements scale (discussed in more detail below). In order to connect this occupational information to the WSH dataset, we used open-ended information about WSH respondents' job title and their typical work activities, and coded these responses in accordance with the O*NET classification codes. The end result of this is a combined individual-level and occupation-level dataset that contains respondent specific outcomes (e.g. health, work conditions, demographic statuses etc.) along with information on the typical emotional labor requirements associated with each respondent's occupation.

Measures

Psychological Distress. To measure WSH respondents' psychological distress, we use a modified version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D, see Radloff, 1977; see also Kessler et al., 2002). This scale has been widely used as a measure of mental health since the 1970s, and has been validated across numerous community studies in and outside of the United States (Naughton & Wiklund, 1993). Respondents were asked eight items that tap into depressive and anxiety symptoms that comprise the underlying construct of distress (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). These items include: "In the last seven days, on how many days have you . . . felt sad; felt like you just couldn't get going; felt unable to shake the blues; felt like everything was an effort; had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing; worried a lot about little things; felt anxious or tense; had trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep." Responses are coded in days per week from 0 to 7. The distress scale is the mean response to the eight items (alpha reliability=.84).

Self-rated Poor Health. Respondents were asked: "At the present time, in general would you say your health is...? (1) "poor", (2) "fair", (3) "good", (4) "very good", (5) "excellent." This measure has been demonstrated to be a reliable, valid indicator of health, and correlates strongly with more objective measures, such as physician's health evaluations (Idler & Kasl, 1991). "Poor," and "fair" responses were collapsed into a single category to reflect 'poor self-rated health' (1) versus all other responses ("good", "very good" and "excellent") (0). This dichotomization strategy has been frequently adopted in previous health research (Idler & Benyamini, 1997; Power, Matthews & Manor, 1998; Shetterly et al., 1998).

High Blood Pressure. WSH respondents were asked: "Has a doctor or other health care provider ever told that you had high blood pressure?" Response categories are coded (1) "yes" (0) "no"².

Job Satisfaction. Respondents were asked: "How satisfied do you feel with your job? Would you say (1) not at all, (2) somewhat, (3) quite a bit, or (4) very much satisfied?" We collapsed the "quite a bit" and "very much" responses to create a single category that represents 'job satisfaction' (1) versus (0) all other responses ("not at all"

and “somewhat”). The use of a dichotomized single-item indicator of job satisfaction is common in the literature (see, for example: Allen & Velden, 2001; Böckerman & Ilmakunnas, 2008). We have adopted this strategy in our analyses to improve ease of interpretation. In additional analyses (not shown) our results were consistent across both binary/ordinal measurements and analytical techniques.

Emotional labor requirements. We use an adapted version of Glomb and colleagues’ (2004) measurement strategy of emotional labor requirements. The authors conducted exploratory factor analyses of 42 generalized work activities and 59 work context items from the O*NET to produce a six-item composite scale to represent the degree of emotional labor requirements associated with an occupation. We adapt this measure, since the version of the O*NET dataset that we draw from (version 18.0) excludes one of the items (“providing a service to others”) but includes one additional item (“self control”) we update our measure to include the additional item. The emotional labor requirement scale that we use therefore includes 6 items asked of workers and occupation experts: 1) “How important is assisting and caring for others to the performance of your current job?”; 2) “How important is self-control to the performance of your current job? (i.e. Job requires maintaining composure, keeping emotions in check, controlling anger, and avoiding aggressive behavior, even in very difficult situations.”; 3) “How important is performing for or working directly with the public to the performance of your current job?”; 4) “How important are interactions that require you to deal with external customers (as in retail sales) or the public in general (as in police work)?”; 5) “How often are conflict situations a part of your current job?”; 6) “How often is dealing with unpleasant, angry, or discourteous people a part of your current job?” The response categories for the first four items are: (1) “not important,” (2) “somewhat important,” (3) “important,” (4) “very important,” (5) “extremely important.” The response categories for the last two items are: (1) “never”, (2) “once a year or more but not every month” (3) “once a month or more but not every week”, (4) “once a week or more but not every day,” (5) “every day.” We standardized, summed, and then averaged the items to create a composite scale of emotional labor requirements, such that higher scores indicate higher

levels of emotional labor requirements (Cronbach alpha coefficient=.84). We also conducted a principle component factor analysis (Appendix A), utilizing an orthogonal rotation matrix, to ensure that all of the items loaded on a single underlying construct. These analyses revealed evidence of a single factor solution, with only a single factor having an eigenvalue greater than 1 (see Appendix A).

Respondents' Individual Workplace Conditions

Workplace autonomy. WSH respondents were asked: "In your current job, how often does someone else decide how you do your work?" Response categories are "never" (1), "rarely" (2), "sometimes" (3), and "frequently" (4).

Workplace support. We assess workplace support using two measures that tap into the degree that WSH respondents perceive 1) social support, and 2) interpersonal conflict from coworkers and supervisors within the workplace.

To assess social support, WSH respondents were asked a series of questions related to supportive experiences at work in the past 30 days. These items include: (1) "Someone listened to your ideas or opinions" (2) "Someone thanked you for the work you do" (3) "Someone gave you positive feedback, guidance, or advice" and (4) "Someone said or did something that made you feel pride in your work." Participants were asked to identify the sources of these indicators in the workplace, which include, supervisors, supervisees, customers/clients, coworkers, or anyone else in the workplace. We include all sources except customers/clients in this measure. Response choices are coded as (0) "never" (1) "rarely" (2) "sometimes" and (3) "frequently." Responses were summed to create an index of social support in the workplace (Cronbach alpha coefficient=.65). To assess interpersonal conflict between coworkers and supervisors, WSH respondents were asked a series of questions related to their experiences with interpersonal problems at work in the past 30 days. These items include: (1) "Someone at work blamed or criticized you for something that wasn't your fault" (2) "Someone at work treated you unfairly" (3) "Someone did not do the work needed to be done or did it in a sloppy incompetent way" (4) "Someone got annoyed or angry with you" (5) "Someone gossiped or talked about you behind your back" (6) "Someone teased or nagged you" (7) "Someone gave you

unclear directions about work you needed to do,” and (8) “Someone made too many demands on you.” Following the same coding strategy that was used to measure social support, responses were summed to create an index of interpersonal conflict at work (Cronbach alpha coefficient=.72).

Excessive Work Pressures. WSH respondents were asked: “How often do the demands of your job exceed those doable in an 8-hour workday?” Response categories are "never" (1), "rarely" (2), "sometimes" (3), and "frequently" (4).

Job Authority. We use four items to measure WSH respondent job authority: (1) “Do you influence or set the rate of pay received by others?” (2) “Do you have the authority to hire or fire others?” (3) “Do you supervise or manage anyone as part of your job?” And, if “yes” to the last question: (4) “Do any of those individuals supervise or manage others?” We coded “yes” responses as 1 and “no” responses as 0. We summed responses such that higher scores indicate more authority ($\alpha = .73$).

Work hours. WSH respondents were asked: “How many hours do you work in a typical week at your main job?” We use a continuous measure of work hours.

Public Sector. We created dummy variables to indicate whether WSH respondents are employed by either the government (1) or the private sector (0).

Number of Clients. WSH respondents were asked, “How many people are customers or clients with whom you have personal contact?” We use a continuous measure of number of clients.

Organization Size. WSH respondents were asked a series of questions related to the number of people with/for whom they work. Respondents were asked to report: (1) the number of supervisors the respondent has; (2) the number of people the respondent supervises directly and, (3) the number of coworkers the respondent has. We summed these items, and used dummy codes for “very small (< 10)” (0) vs “small (10-49)” (1), “medium (50-249)” (2) and “large (250<)” (3).

Respondent Demographics

Gender. We use dummy codes for men (0) and women (1).

Age. Age is coded in years.

Race. We contrast White (1) versus (0) All Other Races/Ethnicities. We coded Black, Hispanic, Asian and all other ethnicities to represent our omitted reference category.

Children in the household. This is coded as the presence of children under 18 living in the household (1) versus no children in the household (0).

Marital status. We use “never married” and “previously married” as the omitted reference category and contrast against “married” in regression analyses.

Personal income. Personal income is assessed with the question: “For the complete year of 2004 what was your total personal income, including income from all of your paid jobs, before taxes?”

Education. Education is coded as (1) for college degree holders versus non-degree holders (0).

We control for a variety of individual-level demographics. While these control measures are not part of our focal associations, we feel it is necessary to briefly comment on why they are included in the analysis. With regards to demographics, age, children, marital status, race and gender are included because they are important control measures found in emotional labor research (Wharton, 1993). For example, women (and visible minorities) may be more likely to occupy service positions that require interacting with the public (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton 1993; 1999) and these social statuses have also been linked to poorer mental and physical health (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). In addition, parents and married couples are expected to experience burnout due to the “second shift” of emotion management in the home (Hochschild, 1989; Wharton, 1993). Socio-economic status and its related measures – income and education – are often included as proxy indicators of job quality and job satisfaction. We control for these two measures because some occupations with higher emotional labor requirements (e.g. retail occupations) may also be linked to fewer financial rewards and motivational resources that are negatively associated with well-being (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015).

Occupation-Level Controls

At the occupation level, we control for the following labor market characteristics: the proportion of women in the labor force who are employed in an occupation; the proportion of unemployed men and women in an occupation; and the proportion of unionized workers for an occupation. These occupational characteristics come from labor market information accessed from the 2005 Current Population Survey (CPS), which is a monthly survey of over 50,000 households conducted by the United States Census Bureau. Data on occupation and employment are collected every March in a special supplemental survey. The third occupational characteristic (% unionized) was derived from the CPS by Hirsch and Macpherson (2006).

Plan of Analyses

After reporting descriptive statistics (Table 2.1), we present those occupations held by WSH respondents that have the highest and lowest emotional labor requirements, and their respective share of the 2005 employed labor force (Tables 2.2-2.3). In Table 2.4, we use ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to examine the social and work-related correlates of occupations with emotional labor requirements; this involves regressing emotional labor requirements as the dependent variable on a series of individual-level demographic statuses and work conditions, and occupational characteristics. Tables 2.5-2.8 test our focal hypotheses by 1) documenting the association between the emotional labor requirements of a worker's occupation and their health (model 1), and 2) examining whether this association is contingent on their access to autonomous and supportive work contexts (models 2 and 3). In Table 2.5 we examine the association between emotional labor requirements and respondents' mental health (hypothesis 1). In model 1, psychological distress is regressed on emotional labor requirements, individual-level work conditions and controls. Then, in models 2 and 3, in order to test our second hypothesis, we examine whether the association between emotional labor requirements and distress is contingent on respondents' access to valued work contexts, including autonomous and supportive work conditions (hypothesis 2). In order to do this, we created interaction terms between emotional labor requirements and job autonomy, workplace conflict and social support, and included these in models 2 and 3 respectively.

In Tables 2.6-2.8, using logistic regression, we examine whether emotional labor requirements are associated with WSH respondents' reports of poor health, high blood pressure, and job satisfaction (hypothesis 1). Each outcome is regressed as a separate binary dependent variable on emotional labor requirements, individual-level work conditions and controls (model 1). In models 2 and 3, we test whether the association between emotional labor requirements and the health outcome is contingent on respondents' job autonomy, workplace conflict and social support (hypothesis 2). In order to examine this, we created interaction terms between emotional labor requirements and job autonomy, workplace conflict and social support, and included these in models 2 and 3 respectively^a.

RESULTS

Table 2.1 reports descriptive statistics for all individual-level and occupation-level measures. In Table 2.2, based on O*NET occupational information, we present the fifteen occupations held by WSH respondents that are highest in emotional labor requirements. Consistent with Hochschild's (1983) classification of 'emotional labor' occupations, emotional labor requirements tend to be highest in protective service occupations (e.g. police services), healthcare occupations (e.g. healthcare social work, nursing), as well as customer service occupations (e.g. flight attendants, travel and ticketing agents). Other emotional labor-intensive occupations include bailiffs, radiologic technologists, and career counselors—occupations that often involve emotionally charged interactions with the public. In contrast, Table 2.3 reports the fifteen occupations held by WSH respondents that are lowest in emotional labor requirements. These include science and engineering occupations (e.g. biochemists and biophysicists), trade occupations, and maintenance and repair occupations, which all tend to be low in social interaction with customers or the public. A comparison of Tables 2.2 and 2.3 reveals further evidence of the dominance of the service sector in the American labor market—emotional labor intensive occupations captured a share of the 2005 employed labor force (2.73%) that was more than three times greater than the share captured by occupations low in emotional labor requirements (.78%).

In Table 2.4, we report associations between emotional labor requirements and WSH respondents' demographic statuses and work conditions. Model 1 of Table 2.4 reveals that the average emotional labor requirements for occupations held by women is higher than that of their male counterparts—adjusting for demographics and work conditions. Among these, college degree holders, those working in the public sector, and those with more authority and social support at work all hold occupations that are higher in emotional labor requirements. Interestingly, in comparison to the positive association between job authority and emotional labor requirements, the occupations of autonomous workers tend to have fewer emotional labor requirements. One interpretation of these divergent patterns is that while authority entails the management and coordination of other workers, autonomous workers may have greater latitude in terms of when they interact with others, and the nature of those interactions. Predictably, we find that WSH respondents who have contact with larger number of customers or clients tend to hold occupations with higher emotional labor requirements. More surprising, however, we find no evidence of an association between job pressures and emotional labor requirements.

In model 2 of Table 2.4, we include a series of occupation-level measures to examine the occupational composition of emotional labor-intensive occupations held by WSH respondents. Occupations that have a higher representation of women and greater union coverage have higher emotional labor requirements. Interestingly, occupations that have higher female unemployment are higher in emotional labor requirements; this pattern is reversed for occupations that have higher male unemployment, which tend to have lower emotional labor requirements.

Emotional labor Requirements and Worker Health

Our analyses now shift to an investigation of the individual-level health outcomes associated with the emotional labor requirements of WSH respondents' occupations. In Table 2.5 we examine the association between WSH respondents' emotional labor requirements and their psychological distress. We find no evidence that holding an occupation with higher emotional labor requirements is associated with psychological distress. In models 2 and 3, we investigate whether a relationship exists between

emotional labor requirements and distress at different levels of support and autonomy, respectively. In model 2, the interaction between emotional labor requirements and job autonomy is not significant, while in model 3 the interactions between emotional labor requirements and workplace social support and conflict are also not statistically significant. These results therefore provide no support for hypotheses 1 and 2 with regard to WSH respondents' psychological distress: emotional labor requirements are not associated with worker mental health, and access to autonomous or supportive work contexts does not moderate any potential association.

In model 1 of Table 2.6 we observe that emotional labor requirements are associated with reduced odds of reporting poor health—the opposite pattern predicted as part of hypothesis 1. A one-unit increase in emotional labor requirements is associated with a 23% decrease in the odds of reporting poor health. In model 2, the interaction between emotional labor requirements and job autonomy is statistically significant, indicating that the association between emotional labor requirements and reduced odds of reporting poor health exists only for workers with autonomous work conditions (see Figure 1). Finally, in model 3 we examine whether the association between emotional labor requirements and poor health is contingent on access to supportive work contexts. We find no evidence of a statistically significant interaction between emotional labor requirements and workplace social support (or interpersonal conflict). These results therefore provide only partial support for hypothesis 2.

In the third set of analyses in Table 2.7, we examine the relationship between emotional labor requirements and the odds of reporting high blood pressure. Models 1 and 2 reveal no evidence of an association, nor evidence of a job autonomy contingency. However, in model 3, the statistically significant interaction between emotional labor and interpersonal work conflict indicates that among individuals who experience higher degrees of interpersonal conflict with coworkers or supervisors, emotional labor requirements are associated with increased odds of reporting high blood pressure. In contrast, among individuals who report lower levels of interpersonal conflict at work, emotional labor requirements are associated with decreased odds of reporting high blood

pressure (see Figure 2). We find no statistically significant evidence that the association between emotional labor requirements and the odds of reporting high blood pressure is contingent on social support at work. Again, our results provide only partial support for hypothesis 2.

In our final set of analyses in Table 2.8, we find no evidence that emotional labor requirements are associated with the odds of reporting job satisfaction (model 1). However, in model 2 the significant interaction between emotional labor requirements and job autonomy indicates that among individuals with autonomous work conditions, emotional labor requirements are associated with an increased odds of reporting job satisfaction; among individuals with low job autonomy, emotional labor requirements are associated with reduced odds of reporting job satisfaction (see Figure 3). The results presented in Table 2.8 therefore provide some support for hypothesis 2: individuals in occupations with higher emotional labor requirements are more likely to report satisfying work—but only if they have access to autonomous work conditions. In job situations where individuals have little autonomy, higher emotional labor requirements are associated with a reduced likelihood of job satisfaction. Following these analyses, in model 3 we examine whether the association between emotional labor requirements and job satisfaction is contingent on interpersonal support and conflict at work. Results indicate no statistically significant interaction for either workplace support or conflict.

In additional analyses (not shown) we used ordinal logistic regression to model self-rated poor health and job satisfaction as ordinal dependent variables. These analyses produced similar patterns as the logistic regression analyses presented in this paper; for clarity and interpretation purposes, we decided to present these latter analyses. Finally, we tested for gender contingencies in all of our analyses; however, these analyses (not shown) did not reveal any statistically significant gender differences in our focal associations.

DISCUSSION

Hochschild's important work on emotional labor in the early 1980s did much to advance an agenda for future research to better understand the nature and consequences

of emotion work that is sold for a wage; yet there remains much that we do not know about this potential work demand. Indeed, as research has accumulated on the subject, it is evident that there is considerable heterogeneity in the experiences of emotional laborers and their access to workplace resources. Indeed, while the typical portrayal of emotional labor emphasizes its potential deleterious health consequences, numerous studies find that many service workers enjoy the nature and fruits of this labor. In this paper, we have argued that inconsistencies in research documenting the health consequences of emotional labor may be due to the overreliance on case study analyses of specific occupations. While case studies are critical to providing rich and contextual understandings of the experiences of emotional laborers, they inevitably impede cross-occupational comparisons. Our approach has been to adopt a consistent measure of occupational emotional labor requirements using the O*NET database, which we then connected to a large, nationally representative individual-level dataset of workers. In doing so, we have been able to reliably compare the emotional labor requirements of individuals across a range of occupations (varying in workplace conditions) in order to investigate whether the consequences of these requirements are moderated by work context.

Our operationalization of emotional labor at the occupational level represents an approach that is less commonly adopted in the literature, with most research focusing on individual self-reports of emotion regulation. However, we believe aggregating the reports of numerous workers within an occupation represents a more objective and less error-prone approach to assessing emotion labor requirements, and one that most closely aligns with Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization of emotional labor as a characteristic of one's occupation (Bhave & Glomb, 2009). Leveraging the O*NET dataset provided us with both a more objective indicator of occupational requirements, and also a proxy for the frequency an individual engages in emotion regulation—making it conceptually appropriate for our use with the COR model. Additionally, analyses of a continuous rather than discrete measure of emotional labor requirements offers a number of advantages, including greater fidelity for making cross-occupation comparisons with respect to the consequences of emotional labor, and also within-occupation comparisons

that allow us to examine the experiences of incumbents in the same occupation but who have different access to desirable work resources (i.e. autonomous and supportive work contexts). We see this second advantage as particularly useful, since we have drawn from the COR model to hypothesize that there are job-specific differences that may alter the consequences of emotional labor requirements; for example, in the case of emotional labor occupations in the airline industry, the emotion regulation experiences of a first-class flight attendant on a long-haul trip likely differ substantially from that of an economy class attendant on a short-haul flight with limited job discretion and fewer workplace supports.

Our first goal was to document the occupational spread of emotional labor requirements, and those workers and work conditions that are most strongly linked to these requirements. This information is important if organizational interventions or policies are to be designed to support the well-being of emotional laborers. Unsurprisingly, emotional labor intensive occupations held by WSH respondents constituted a considerably larger share of the employed force than occupations without such requirements—an indication of the service-based focus of the contemporary American economy. Interestingly, a comparison of the emotional labor intensive occupations held by WSH respondents in 2005 with Hochschild's original occupational list reveals remarkable continuity in the types of occupations that require the management and display of emotions. In a few cases, however, technology has made some 'people-based' occupations redundant, such as elevator operators. In addition to documenting the occupational structure of emotional labor jobs, we were interested in examining the typical occupants of these positions and their associated job conditions. In this regard, we found that women in the WSH study were more likely to be employed in jobs with high emotional labor requirements—a perhaps unsurprising finding. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that of the top fifteen emotional labor occupations held by WSH respondents, many of these occupations are male dominated (e.g. occupations in the protective services). Additionally, in contrast with the often-negative picture painted of workers in emotional labor occupations, WSH respondents with higher emotional

requirements tended to be college-educated and had more job authority. It appears, then, that many emotional labor-intensive occupations are held by workers with high levels of human capital. Of course, these patterns do not rule out the existence of undesirable emotional labor occupations; indeed, it may be the sharp divergence of ‘good’ and bad’ emotional labor occupations that have hampered previous attempts to reliably document the health consequences of emotional labor. To this end, in addition to examining the social distribution of emotional labor requirements, we sought to examine whether their health consequences may be contingent on workers’ access to valued work resources.

Surprisingly, we found little evidence that emotional labor requirements were associated with negative worker outcomes. The extent that an occupation required emotional labor was not associated with WSH respondents’ mental health, blood pressure problems, or their job satisfaction; indeed, the only statistically significant main association that we found with health was in the opposite direction predicted—emotional labor requirements were actually associated with better general health for WSH respondents. This finding calls into question whether emotional labor should always be approached and studied with the assumption that it is a challenging and stressful occupational requirement for workers. Indeed, some research argues that “naturally felt emotions” play an important part in emotional laborers’ interactions with customers, which may contribute to positive well-being (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005).

While we found no support for our first hypothesis, we did find some confirmation for hypothesis 2: consistent with the conservation of resources model (COR), our findings illustrate that there are health penalties for emotional laborers in resource-deprived work contexts. An insight of the COR model is its dynamic view of stress, whereby the harmful effects of a valued resource loss is exacerbated by the potential loss of further resources—a process captured by the notion of a *resource loss spiral*. This process may be particularly germane for describing the stress of unsuccessful emotion regulation. Workers who fail in their attempts to meet the emotional labor requirements of their job may lose valued resources such as positive interpersonal relationships with customers and clients, or favorable supervisor evaluations—resource

losses that may make future efforts at emotion regulation more difficult. Drawing from the interactive service work literature, we suggested that workplace autonomy and support represent two important contextual resources that might reduce the likelihood of unsuccessful emotion regulation. Workers with discretion over how they do their jobs might be better able to develop successful and satisfying relationships with customers or clients in such a way that enables them to retain valued resources that prevent against burnout; and, when difficult encounters with customers inevitably occur, these workers should have greater flexibility in navigating them, rather than relying on “scripted” interactions that would most likely lead to further customer discontent. The significant autonomy interactions revealed in analyses of self-rated health and job satisfaction are certainly suggestive of these possibilities. Only among WSH respondents who reported having little autonomy over work decisions, did we find that emotional labor requirements were associated with an increased likelihood of poor health and job dissatisfaction.

CONCLUSION

While providing workers with some freedom in how they navigate customer interactions and relationships may be effective for reducing strain and creating positive work experiences, others have highlighted the importance of actively supporting the efforts of emotional laborers (Lopez, 2006). Our analyses show mixed support for this prediction. While we did not find that workers’ perceptions of support from supervisors and coworkers influenced the association between emotional labor requirements and health, among WSH respondents who reported higher levels of interpersonal conflict with colleagues and supervisors, emotional labor requirements were associated with an increased likelihood of being diagnosed with high blood pressure. How might we reconcile these different patterns for social support and interpersonal conflict? While the inconsistent findings are somewhat puzzling, it is important to note that social support and interpersonal conflict in the workplace may not necessarily represent opposite ends of the same continuum. In additional analyses (not shown), we found a positive correlation between perceptions of social support and interpersonal conflict—a relationship that

could be explained by the fact that workers who have frequent interactions in their daily job are more likely to have the opportunity to experience supportive and conflictual encounters. With this in mind, we suggest that while conflict and support both tap into the relational context of work, they do so in unique ways, and it may be that the presence or absence of conflict, rather than supportive relations, is most salient for emotion regulation. Stressful and charged relations between coworkers and supervisors are likely to deplete the energy and ability of workers to successfully engage in emotion regulation when dealing with customers or clients. In a sense, then, it may be that it is the *absence* of energy-depleting coworker interactions that serves as a contextual resource for emotional laborers, rather than specific acts of support from coworkers. However, given that coworker conflict moderates the consequences of emotional labor for only one of the outcomes examined, we pose this explanation with some caution—more research probing how workplace relations shapes the consequences of emotion regulation is vital.

The contextual variations in the strain associated with emotional labor requirements highlights the need for further development of emotional labor research at the occupational level and the importance of this lens in contributing to an integrative approach in future research. Clearly, not all emotional labor occupations are created equal, and without sufficient resources for dealing with demanding customers, clients or members of the public, emotional laborers may suffer negative consequences. Indeed, in additional analyses (not shown) when we examined occupations that were highest in emotional labor requirements and that tended to have lower job autonomy—as reported by WSH respondents—the occupation of ‘flight attendant’ was number one in the list—one of the occupations originally examined by Hochschild. Picturing the typical activities of flight attendants who are required to maintain a pleasant demeanor in the face of unruly, demanding passengers while in the fairly rigid constraints of a flight cabin context, it is easy to see how unsuccessful emotion regulation and stress may arise. If we contrast this experience to an occupation that deals with similar levels of emotional and interpersonal demands, such as those of a police officer—but that offers workers discretion in how they respond to these demands—emotional labor requirements may

conversely be associated with more, rather than less, satisfying work. Our findings certainly appear supportive of these possibilities.

A number of limitations associated with this study deserve mention. First, as we previously discussed, the cross-sectional design of the WSH dataset that we analyze does not allow us to rule out the potential for selection bias and self-selection effects. It is possible that workers who have certain personality traits and other attributes conducive to good well-being may actively seek out occupations with high emotional labor requirements—creating the appearance of a causal association in which these demands foster good well-being. This is a difficult possibility to test—even with a repeat panel design—since such self-selection effects likely operate over extended time-periods. Longer and more frequent panel designs may be therefore necessary to adequately test for self-selection processes. Nonetheless, we believe that the job context contingencies that we find with regard to job satisfaction and self-rated health suggest more than simply the operation of a self-selection effect. Second, we focus on emotional labor at the occupational level and from this perspective emotional labor is conceptualized as a formal job requirement—similar to physical or cognitive requirements. Consistent with previous occupational measures, our measure emphasizes emotional labor as an objective requirement of any given occupation—i.e. the level emotional labor requirements for *all* flight attendants will be the same despite person specific differences (Bhave & Glomb, 2009). Due to this, we were unable to distinguish between surface acting and deep acting strategies among respondents in the WSH sample. Despite this limitation, we feel that an objective occupational measure of emotional labor has enabled us to capture important variances across different job contexts, where job resources can often dictate how one approaches emotion regulation strategies—something that has been demonstrated in the literature with job autonomy (Wharton, 1999; 1993).

While research has typically framed emotional labor in a negative light, inconsistent evidence has painted a complicated picture of the health risks associated with this occupational requirement. Our study contributes to the ongoing discussion about the health consequences associated with emotional labor by examining these consequences

across a wide range of occupations within a nationally representative sample of working Americans. Drawing from the conservation of resource (COR) model, we extend the emotional labor literature by examining how valued job resources can aid successful emotion regulation, resulting in better health outcomes for workers. Our results lead to a number of additional questions about the occupational work context, as we have shown that these resources extend beyond autonomy—the most commonly tested job resource. In future research, it may be worth investigating how the health outcomes of emotional laborers are contingent on a broader range of valued resources (i.e. income; job security; organizational values etc.).

^a Some researchers suggest there are challenges interpreting the coefficient of the interaction term in logit models (Mustillo, Lizardo, and McVeigh 2018). I therefore corroborated my results by calculating average marginal effects as part of a strategy outlined by Long and Mustillo (2018). Results from these analyses broadly support the patterns and conclusions reported in models 2 and 3 of Tables 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8.

NOTES

1. Our choice of health-outcome measures is guided by existing emotional labor research and the work stress literature. (Grandey, 2015; Tausig & Fenwick, 2011). The four outcomes that we examine are commonly used in emotional labor research where conceptual frameworks illustrate the pathway leading from perceived job stress in emotional labor occupations to job satisfaction, and ultimately psychological distress/burnout (Grandey 2000; Pugliesi 1999). Specifically, our measure of psychological distress is frequently examined as an indicator of mental health, and as an outcome of work stress (Tausig & Fenwick, 2011). We also assess self-rated poor health and high blood pressure as indicators of burnout and poor physical health, which are commonly hypothesized to be a result of the strain caused by emotion regulation (Grandey, 2015). Finally, job satisfaction has been established as a component of occupational health as it is often used as a pathway between work stressors and worker health, and a proxy for worker well-being more generally (Bono & Vey, 2005).

2. The measure of blood pressure (physician-assessed) is dependent on access to a health care facility, which likely varies by several demographic characteristics, including gender, race, and socioeconomic status. While the WSH dataset does not include information on respondents' access to a healthcare facility, we are able to control for socio-demographic characteristics that are correlated with healthcare access (race, education, income etc.). In additional analyses we also adjusted for financial hardship, which could arguably serve as a proxy for healthcare access. These analyses did not deviate in any meaningful way for predicting high blood pressure; we therefore omit financial hardship for the sake of model parsimony.

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TABLE 2.1. Means and Proportions for all Study Variables

	Mean/Proportion (N=1,566)	Std. Dev
<i>Individual-Level Measures</i>		
Psychological Distress	1.913	1.600
Job Satisfaction (1=“very” or “quite a bit”; 0=“not at all” or “somewhat”)	.689	-----
Poor Self-Rated Health (1=“poor” or “fair”; 0= “excellent,” “very good” or “good”)	.126	-----
Job Autonomy	2.503	.983
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	2.455	2.052
Workplace Social Support	3.149	1.123
Excessive Work Pressures	2.948	.990
Job Authority	.805	1.135
Work Hours	42.376	13.171
Government Sector (1= “government”, 0 = “private sector”)	.238	-----
Job Tenure (Years)	8.517	8.924
Women (1= “female”, 0 = “male”)	.597	-----
Age	42.968	13.174
White (1= “white”, 0 = “All Other Races/Ethnicities”)	.731	-----
Children in the Household	1.758	1.444
Married (1= “not married”, 0 = “married”)	.543	-----
College Degree (1= “degree holder”, 0= “non-degree holder”)	.340	-----
Personal Income	45247.860	112862.2
Number of Clients	82.933	141.948
Organization Size		
Small-scale (<10)	.584	-----
Small	.325	-----
Medium	.071	-----
Large	.020	-----
<i>Occupation-level Measures</i>		
Emotional Labor Requirements	.059	.758
% Women	53.504	30.270
% Women Unemployed	4.894	2.536
% Men Unemployed	4.147	1.934
% Unionized	14.201	16.062

TABLE 2.2. Occupations Held by WSH Respondents Highest in Emotional Labor Requirements

	Occupational Title	Emotional Labor Score	Percent of Labor force (2005) ^a
1	Police Patrol Officers and Sheriffs	1.97	.47%
2	Emergency Service Dispatchers	1.85	.21%
3	Flight Attendants	1.73	.06%
4	Healthcare Social Workers	1.60	.09%
5	Correctional Officers and Jailers	1.58	.32%
6	Emergency Medical Technicians and Paramedics	1.57	.15%
7	Bailiffs	1.56	.01%
8	Child, Family, and School Social Workers	1.54	.20%
9	Criminal Investigators and Special Agents	1.42	.08%
10	Education Administrators, Elementary and Secondary School	1.41	.16%
11	Reservation and Transportation Ticket Agents and Travel Clerks	1.38	.12%
12	Licensed Practical and Licensed Vocational Nurses	1.31	.54%
13	Radiologic Technologists	1.30	.14%
14	Educational, Guidance, School, and Vocational Counselors	1.30	.17%
15	Fish and Game Wardens	1.28	.01%

^a Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2006.

TABLE 2.3. Occupations Held by WSH Respondents Lowest in Emotional Labor Requirements

	Occupational Title	Emotional Labor Score	Percent of Labor force (2005) ^a
1	Biological Technicians	-2.12	.05%
2	Farmworkers and Laborers, Crop	-2.10	.17%
3	Biochemists and Biophysicists	-2.01	.01%
4	Coil Winders, Tapers, and Finishers	-1.97	.02%
5	Pressers, Textile, Garment, and Related Materials	-1.87	.06%
6	Medical Transcriptionists	-1.83	.06%
7	Multiple Machine Tool Setters, Operators and Tenders	-1.83	.07%
8	Cabinetmakers and Bench Carpenters	-1.76	.10%
9	Poets, Lyricists and Creative Writers	-1.71	.03%
10	Mail Clerks and Mail Machine Operators	-1.70	.11%
11	Shoe and Leather Workers and Repairers	-1.67	.01%
12	Sawing Machine Setters, Operators and Tenders	-1.66	.05%
13	Electrical and Electronics Installers and Repairers	-1.66	.02%
14	Actuaries	-1.65	.01%
15	Biomedical Engineers	-1.63	.01%

^a Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2006.

TABLE 2.4. OLS Regression of Emotional Labor Requirements on Respondent Work Conditions, Demographics and Occupation Composition (N=1,566)^a

	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>		
Job Autonomy	-.057***	-.037*
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	-.001	-.007
Workplace Social Support	.031*	.022
Excessive Work Pressures	.014	-.004
Job Authority	.102***	.132***
Work Hours	-.001	-.001
Public Sector	.207***	.041
Job Tenure (Years)	-.001	-.003
Number of Clients	.001***	.001***
Organization Size		
Small	.022	.007
Medium	.081	.033
Large	.244*	.162
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>		
Women	.314***	.053
Age	-.001	.000
White ^b	.015	.014
Children in the Household	-.003	-.013
Married ^c	.033	-.008
Personal Income	7.61e-08	6.41e-09
College Degree	.187***	-.028
<i>Occupation-level Measures</i>		
% Women	----	.010***
% Women Unemployed	----	.072***
% Men Unemployed	----	-.176***
% Unionized	----	.008***
Constant	-.284*	-.279*
R ²	0.122	0.296

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

^a Unstandardized regression coefficients.

^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.

^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

TABLE 2.5. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on Emotional Labor Requirements, Respondent Work Conditions and Demographics (N=1,566)^a

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Emotional Labor Requirements	-.025	-.005	-.180
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>			
Excessive Work Pressures	.190***	.184***	.125***
Job Authority	-.059	-.053	-.073*
Work Hours	.001	.001	-.001
Public Sector	-.014	-.020	.075
Job Tenure (Years)	-.008	-.008	-.011*
Number of Clients	-.000	-.000	.000
<i>Organization Size</i>			
Small	-.074	-.074	-.147
Medium	.055	.070	-.040
Large	.423	.397	.313
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>			
Women	.570***	.569***	.552***
Age	-.012***	-.012***	-.012***
White ^b	.106	.093	.088
Children in the Household	.103***	.103***	.131***
Married ^c	-.287***	-.277***	-.200*
Personal Income	2.39e-07	2.52e-07	1.95e-07
College Degree	-.431***	-.426***	-.359***
<i>Moderating Work Contexts</i>			
Job Autonomy	-----	-.085*	-----
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	-----	-----	.174***
Workplace Social Support	-----	-----	-.228***
<i>Interactions</i>			
Emotional Labor Requirements × Job Autonomy	-----	-.011	-----
Emotional Labor Requirements × Interpersonal Conflict	-----	-----	.000
Emotional Labor Requirements × Social Support	-----	-----	.053
Constant	1.709***	1.921***	2.220***
R ²	.096	.099	.162

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

^a unstandardized regression coefficients.

^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.

^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

TABLE 2.6. Logistic Regression of Self-Rated Poor Health on Emotional Labor Requirements, Respondent Work Conditions and Demographics (N=1,566)^a

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Emotional Labor Requirements	.760*	1.277	.711
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>			
Excessive Work Pressures	1.060	1.052	1.017
Job Authority	1.084	1.100	1.080
Work Hours	.993	.993	.991
Public Sector	1.158	1.160	1.233
Job Tenure (Years)	1.011	1.010	1.007
Number of Clients	1.000	1.000	1.001
<i>Organization Size</i>			
Small	.762	.750	.731
Medium	.921	.929	.859
Large	.626	.574	.542
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>			
Women	1.085	1.082	1.084
Age	1.008	1.01	1.008
White ^b	1.035	.989	1.028
Children in the Household	1.100	1.088	1.134*
Married ^c	.761	.777	.809
Personal Income	1.000	1.000	1.000
College Degree	.581**	.574**	.624*
<i>Moderating Work Contexts</i>			
Job Autonomy	-----	.838*	-----
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	-----	-----	1.144***
Workplace Social Support	-----	-----	.751***
<i>Interactions</i>			
Emotional Labor Requirements × Job Autonomy	-----	.803*	-----
Emotional Labor Requirements × Interpersonal Conflict	-----	-----	1.040
Emotional Labor Requirements × Social Support	-----	-----	.996
Constant	.147***	.218***	.278*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

^a Odds ratios presented.

^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.

^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

TABLE 2.7. Logistic Regression of High Blood Pressure on Emotional Labor Requirements, Respondent Work Conditions and Demographics (N=1,566)^a

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Emotional Labor Requirements	1.011	1.139	.976
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>			
Excessive Work Pressures	1.028	1.028	1.006
Job Authority	1.000	1.001	.991
Work Hours	1.011*	1.011*	1.011*
Public Sector	1.304	1.301	1.316
Job Tenure (Years)	.999	.999	.998
Number of Clients	1.000	1.000	1.000
Organization Size			
Small	.902	.900	.863
Medium	1.350	1.346	1.289
Large	.495	.490	.446
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>			
Women	.804	.802	.802
Age	1.057***	1.058***	1.059***
White ^b	.655***	.650***	.647***
Children in the Household	1.029	1.027	1.038
Married ^c	.965	.968	.982
Personal Income	1.000	1.000	1.000
College Degree	.745*	.744*	.775*
<i>Moderating Work Contexts</i>			
Job Autonomy	----	.990	----
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	----	----	1.072*
Workplace Social Support	----	----	.947
<i>Interactions</i>			
Emotional Labor Requirements × Job Autonomy	----	.954	----
Emotional Labor Requirements × Interpersonal Conflict	----	----	1.088*
Emotional Labor Requirements × Social Support	----	----	.944
Constant	.031***	.031***	.031***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

^a Odds ratios presented.

^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.

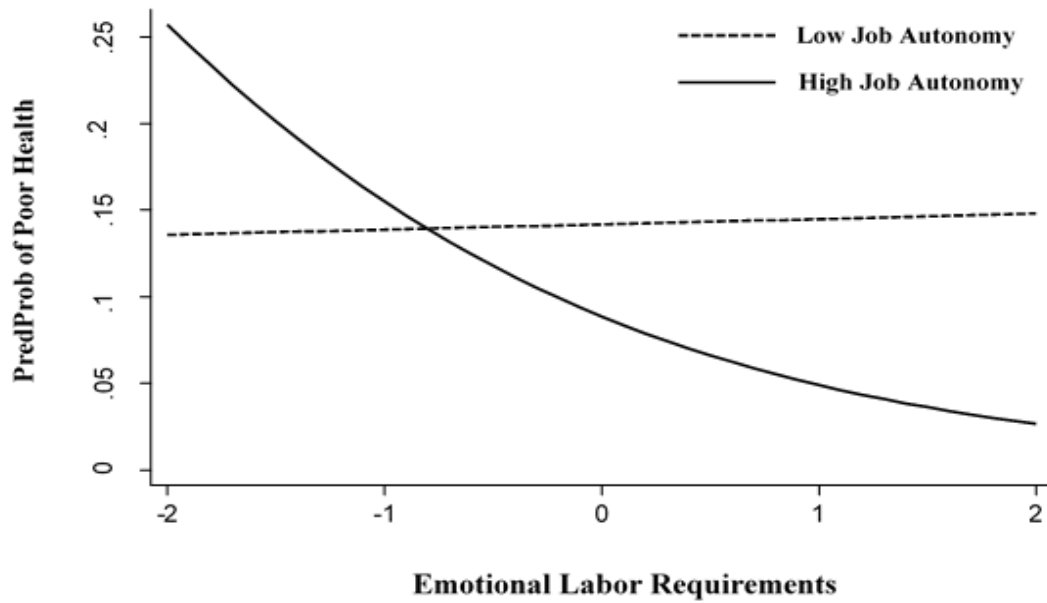
^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

TABLE 2.8. Logistic Regression of Job Satisfaction on Emotional Labor Requirements, Respondent Work Conditions and Demographics (N=1,566)^a

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Emotional Labor Requirements	.905	.525***	.633*
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>			
Excessive Work Pressures	.959	.975	1.056
Job Authority	1.244***	1.224***	1.281***
Work Hours	1.003	1.002	1.008
Public Sector	2.017***	2.109***	1.908***
Job Tenure (Years)	1.002	1.004	1.012
Number of Clients	1.001*	1.001*	1.001*
<i>Organization Size</i>			
Small	.973	.981	1.070
Medium	.986	.958	1.143
Large	.828	.931	1.236
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>			
Women	1.191	1.203	1.275
Age	1.008	1.007	1.013*
White ^b	1.311*	1.403*	1.360*
Children in the Household	1.039	1.048	.975
Married ^c	1.316*	1.267*	1.201
Personal Income	1.000	1.000	1.000
College Degree	.983	.971	.821
<i>Moderating Work Contexts</i>			
Job Autonomy	-----	1.309***	-----
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	-----	-----	.744***
Workplace Social Support	-----	-----	1.837***
<i>Interactions</i>			
Emotional Labor Requirements × Job Autonomy	-----	1.262***	-----
Emotional Labor Requirements × Interpersonal Conflict	-----	-----	1.025
Emotional Labor Requirements × Social Support	-----	-----	1.085
Constant	.656***	.340***	.116***

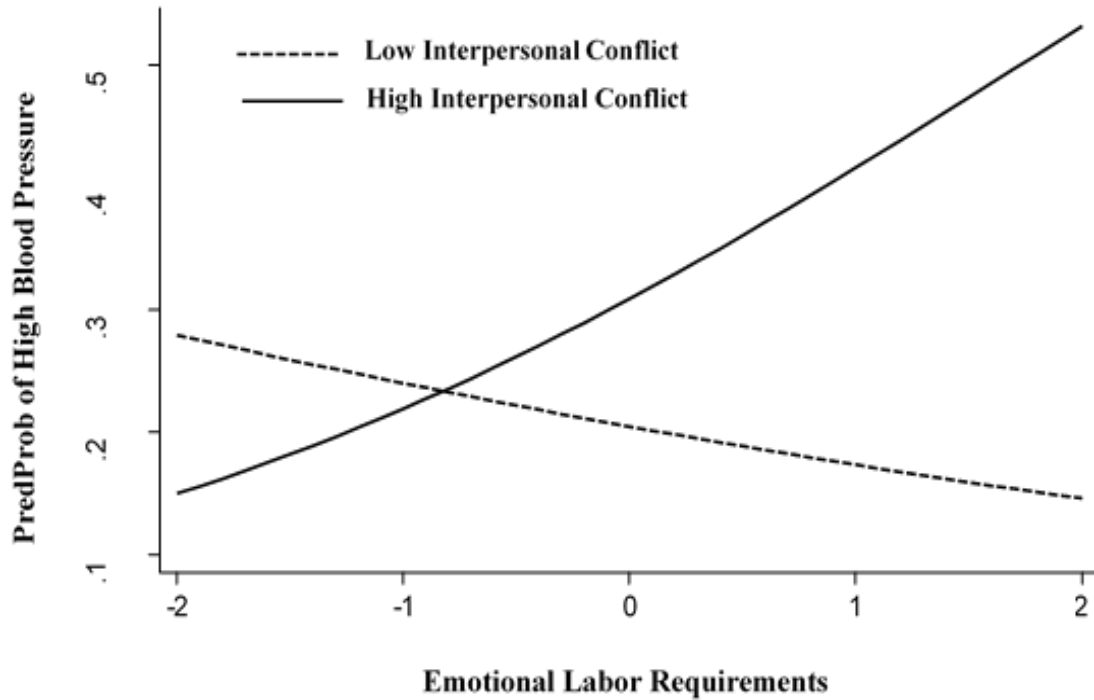
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).^a Odds ratios presented.^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

Figure 2.1. The Association between Emotional Labor Requirements and Predicted Probability of Self-Rated Poor Health at Different Levels of Job Autonomy



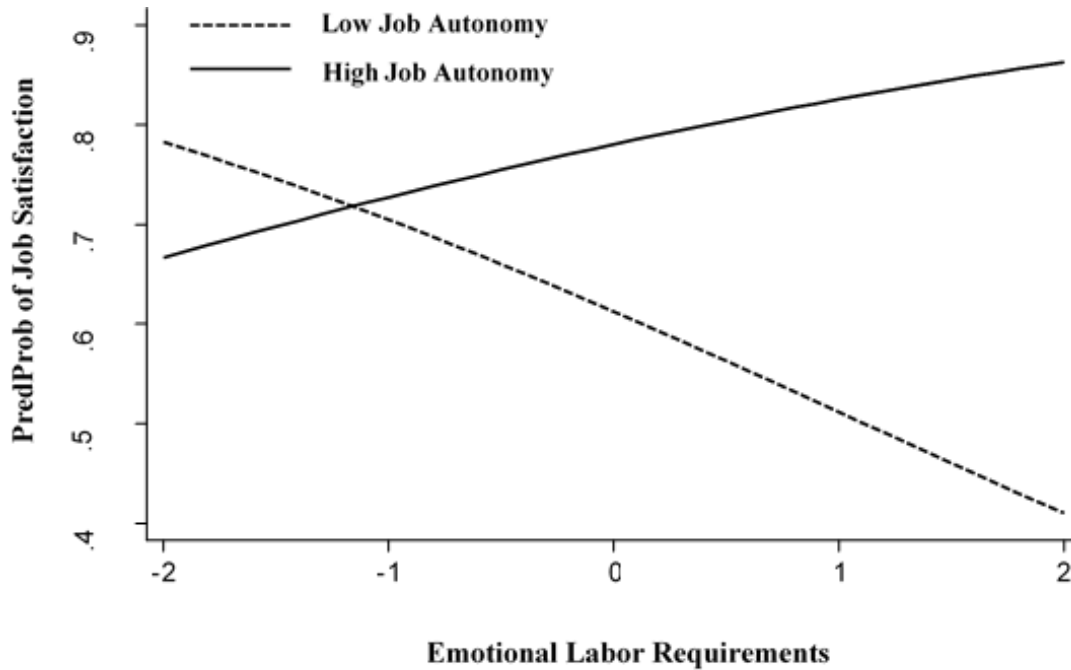
Note. Predicted probabilities shown above are derived from Model 2 of Table 2.6 for Self-rated poor health. All control variables are held constant at their respective means. For categorical/contrast codes, we solved the equation using the modal response. Low and high job autonomy represent “frequent” and “never” responses about the extent that someone else decides how respondents do their work, respectively.

Figure 2.2. The Association between Emotional Labor Requirements and Predicted Probability Of High Blood Pressure at Different Levels of Interpersonal Conflict



Note. Predicted probabilities shown above are derived from Model 3 of Table 2.7 for high blood pressure. All control variables are held constant at their respective means. For categorical/contrast codes, we solved the equation using the modal response. Low and high interpersonal conflict represent “frequent” and “never” responses about the extent that respondents experience interpersonal problems at work.

Figure 2.3. The Association between Emotional Labor Requirements and Predicted Probability of Job Satisfaction at Different Levels of Job Autonomy



Note. Predicted probabilities shown above are derived from Model 2 of Table 2.8 for ‘Job satisfaction.’ All control variables are held constant at their respective means. For categorical/contrast codes, we solved the equation using the modal response. Low and high job autonomy represent “frequent” and “never” responses about the extent that someone else decides how respondents do their work, respectively

Appendix A. Principle Component Factor Analysis (Orthogonal Rotation Matrix)
With Emotional Labor Requirement Items

	Factor
Emotional Labor Requirements Items	
Assisting and caring for others	.57
Working directly with the public	.75
Job requires self-control	.79
Interactions with external customers	.79
Frequency of conflict situations	.75
Dealing with angry/unpleasant people	.83

Appendix B. OLS Regression Effect Sizes for Emotional Labor Requirements Regressed on Respondent Work Conditions, Demographics and Occupation Composition (N=1,566) ^a

	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Workplace Conditions</i>		
Job Autonomy	.006	.003
Workplace Interpersonal Conflict	3.332e-06	.001
Workplace Social Support	.002	.0001
Excessive Work Pressures	.000	.000
Job Authority	.021	.041
Work Hours	.000	.000
Public Sector	.014	.001
Job Tenure (Years)	.000	.001
Number of Clients	.005	.008
Organization Size		
Small	.000	.000
Medium	.001	.000
Large	.002	.001
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>		
Women	.041	.001
Age	.000	3.070e-06
White ^b	.000	.000
Children in the Household	.000	.001
Married ^c	.000	.000
Personal Income	.000	1.248e-06
College Degree	.013	.000
<i>Occupation-level Measures</i>		
% Women	-----	.095
% Women Unemployed	-----	.015
% Men Unemployed	-----	.066
% Unionized	-----	.031

^a partial eta² presented.

 Appendix C. Hochschild's List of Occupations Requiring Emotional Labor, 1970

Occupation

Professionals, Technical and Kindred

Lawyers and Judges
 Librarians
 Personnel and Labor Relations
 Registered Nurses
 Therapists
 Dental Hygienists
 Therapy Assistants
 Clergymen and Religious Workers
 Social and Recreational Workers
 College and University Teachers
 Teachers, Except College and University
 Vocational and Educational Counselors
 Public Relations and Publicity Writers
 Radio and Television Announcers
 Physicians, Dentists, and Related Personnel

Clerical and Kindred Service Workers

Bank Tellers
 Cashiers
 Clerical Supervisors
 Bill Collectors
 Counter Clerks, Excluding Food
 Enumerators and Interviewers
 Insurance Adjustors and Examiners
 Library Attendants
 Postal Clerks
 Receptionists
 Secretaries
 Stenographers
 Teacher's Aides
 Telegraph Operators
 Telephone Operators
 Ticket Agents

Service Workers, Except Private Household

Bartenders
 Food Counter and Fountain Workers
 Waiters
 Health Service Workers
 Personal Service Workers
 Child Care Workers
 Elevator Operators
 Hairdressers and Cosmetologists
 Housekeepers (Excluding Private Household)

Appendix C. Continued.

School Monitors
Ushers, Recreation and Amusement
Welfare Service Aides
Protective Service Workers

Source: Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Appendix C, pp.234-41.

CHAPTER 3

EMOTIONAL PROLETARIANS IS ‘SERVICE WITH A SMILE’ RACIALIZED?

Emotional labor research has shown that feigning emotions can lead to negative consequences for workers in resource-deprived work contexts (Leidner, 1993; McCammon & Griffin, 2000; Wharton, 1993). These consequences may be particularly severe among the “emotional proletariat”—service jobs in which workers are expected to exercise emotional labor while in a subordinate position, with little formal power or control (Macdonald & Merrill, 2009; Payne, 2009). Research in this area is typically focused on low-wage service occupations that have been shown to be “gendered” and “raced” (Billingsly, 2016; Kang, 2010; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009; Mirchandani, 2003). While few in number, a series of important studies have examined how the issue of race is of greater concern in front-line service jobs because ‘deference’ is a key characteristic expected of workers (Kang, 2003, 2010; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; Wharton, 2009). The now popular mantra “*service with a smile*” poses unique challenges to ethnic minorities who experience ‘*racialized emotional labor*’—performing emotional labor while regulating one’s emotions in response to both overt and covert *racism and/or sexism* (Evans, 2013). Despite these important contributions, little is known about how these social statuses (gender and race) intersect and operate across a wide-range of occupational environments—indicative of social status differences—when emotional labor is a dominant requirement. In this paper, I address this gap by examining whether minority group members are more likely to be the emotional proletariat than non-minority white workers. I also examine how gender and race intersect in shaping the emotional proletarians in the American labor market.

Existing research reveals that minority emotional laborers are more likely to represent the ‘emotional proletariat’ in service occupations and are often subject to discriminatory experiences based on their racial and ethnic identity, with little to no job resources and control over how they can manage these situations (Macdonald & Merrill,

2009; Macdonald & Siriani, 1996; Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2012). Scholars argue that minority emotional laborers would suffer the greatest negative consequences as they are most likely to experience the double shift due to both racialized stereotypes that affect their social interactions and structural disadvantages that place them in low-wage occupations (Evans, 2013; Wingfield, 2010). However, there is yet to be a systematic investigation of these findings across different occupations and occupational contexts including whether race and ethnic identity determine employment in less autonomous service work where emotional labor requirements are high. Using a combined individual-level and occupational-level dataset, I draw on existing emotional labor research and expectations states theory to survey the distribution of racialized groups across emotional labor occupations. In the following section, I briefly review the emotional labor research on racialized minorities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

'Racializing' Emotional Labor

In her seminal work on emotional labor, Arlie Hochschild (1983) raised concerns about women and minority workers employed in interactive service jobs. In the *Managed Heart*, Hochschild (1983) developed the concept of 'emotional labor' – which refers to the management and display of emotions at work and more recently defined as “the service with a smile” expectation in service jobs (Grandey, 2015). Scholars raised concerns over the negative implications associated with performing emotional labor in instances where workers lack a 'status shield' – primarily referring to women and ethnic minorities (Hochschild, 1983). Scholars have argued that the occupational requirement to deliver 'service with a smile' would pose a complicated challenge to workers who must simultaneously navigate racial biases while performing their emotional labor requirements at work (Evans, 2013; Harlow, 2003; Kang, 2010; Wingfield, 2010). These challenges have since been taken up and studied by a number of critical race scholars (Evans, 2013; Harlow, 2003; Kang, 2010; Wingfield, 2010; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009).

Scholars argue that emotional labor research should expand to provide a more inclusive examination of the unique challenges and experiences of workers employed in these work environments (Evans, 2013; Mirchandani, 2003; Wingfield, 2010). Research on service occupations demonstrates that social interactions between workers and clients are ‘racialized’ which is often shown to be linked to customer incivility (Evans, 2013; Grandey, 209 Kang, 2010). Evans (2013) argues that the experiences of minorities is the result of ‘racialized emotional labor’—the requirement to perform emotional labor in addition to regulating one’s emotions in response to both *overt* and *covert* racism and/or sexism. Adopting a racialized approach/perspective to emotional labor is important because it highlights the mechanisms of social control embedded in service work that results in enforced conformity to social norms and organizational ‘feeling rules’. Prolonged exposure to ‘racialized emotional labor’ results in the ‘double shift’ – what Evans (2003) refers to as the simultaneous emotion regulation that is done in response to one’s group membership in addition to preexisting job requirements. Over time, continual exposure to instances of incivility may become a unique job stressor experienced by racial minority members.

Early discussions of race and emotional labor focused on “racialized feeling rules” (Harlow, 2003; Wingfield, 2010) – originating from Hochschild’s (1983) accounts of the ways in which social norms dictate how we display our emotions in the context of work and organizations. Despite its neutral appearance, Wingfield (2010) argues that organizational feeling rules are racialized because they are not based on ‘objective’ criteria and assumptions. Wingfield (2010) documents how black professionals experience difficulty following organizational feeling rules because they are faced with many instances of racism and dealing with stereotypes of the “angry black man/woman”. Relatedly, other race scholars suggest that these problems often manifest themselves in higher levels of customer incivility and conflict (Evans, 20013; Grandey & Kern, 2009; Lee, 2002). In contrast to non-minority workers, racialized group members have also been shown to experience *informal feeling rules* that are attached to stereotypes based on one’s racial identity (Kang, 2010; Harlow, 2003, Mirchandani, 2003). Scholars argue that

these socially constructed beliefs translate social exchanges into racialized interactions where minority workers are led to surface acting—faking and suppressing genuine emotional displays. Kang (2010) demonstrates how women in Korean immigrant owned nail salons deal with the expectation that they are naturally submissive and possess an innate sense of service. Meeting these expectations often require workers to suppress their emotions in order to avoid conflicts with customers that take the form of racialized verbal abuse (Kang, 2003). Higher levels of conflict and “microaggressions” from customers is believed to be a potential explanation for racial stress differences in health and well-being (Cortina, 2008; Grandey & Kern, 2009).

The Emotional Proletariat

As the leading form of labor in the United States, service work is now studied from many different perspectives. Among these perspectives, is the notion that there are two kinds of service jobs: a large number of low-skill, low-paid jobs and a small number of high-skill, high-income jobs (Macdonald & Sirriani, 1996). In their analysis of the service society, Macdonald and Sirriani (1996) developed the term ‘the emotional proletariat’ to describe workers employed in the lower end of the spectrum. Research on the emotional proletariat is primarily focused on interactive service work (i.e. the fast food industry), which can be defined as routine, low-skilled and tightly controlled through ‘scripts and prompts’ (Bolton, 2004; Leidner, 1999; Macdonald and Sirriani, 1996). In contrast to the ‘empowered workers’ (i.e. professional/technical services) on the high end of the spectrum, the emotional proletariat lack autonomy and job security (Mandonald & Sirriani, 1996). Bolton’s (2004) analysis of the service industry defines four categories of emotional labor occupations (see figure 1) based on task range and discretionary content (i.e. autonomy). Bolton defines ‘the emotional proletariat’ as workers who lack task variety and have little autonomy in their jobs.

		Discretionary Content	
		Low	High
Task Range	Low	A Standardized services	B Personal services
	High	C Specialized services	D Professional/technical services

Figure 1: Dimensions of Emotional Labor (adapted from Bolton, 2004; [Littler, 1982](#))

Early analyses of the emotional proletariat in the United States have shown that close to 30% of the workforce are employed in routine, low-skill service jobs (Dohm & Schniper, 2007; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). Among those working in the emotional proletariat, scholars have found that there are large discrepancies across groups. While women are employed in the emotional proletariat at much higher rates than men, white women are shown to produce the most variation across the life course—very young women (most likely students) participate in the emotional proletariat as well as older women (Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). In contrast, scholars report that women of color enter the emotional proletariat at young ages and often remain there (Bolton, 2004; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009; Macdonald & Sirriani, 1996). Status group differences in service work are common discussions among researchers, because the notion that emotional labor occupations are ‘gendered’ is well established in the literature. However, less is known and theorized about the intersection of race and gender in low-wage emotional labor occupations.

Shaping the Emotional Proletariat

Among scholars studying discrimination in service work, many would argue that intersectionality strongly defines ethnic and gender job-typing in the emotional proletariat (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Browne & Misra, 2004; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). Of particular importance is the evidence for “multiple jeopardy”—an intersectional theory that explains why female racial minorities are especially prevalent in these occupations (Browne & Misra, 2004; Galabuzi, 2004; Ransford, 1980). Now a prominent method of feminist analysis, intersectionality theorizes the complex and interlocking disadvantages that gender/race/class present to those on the lower end of the status hierarchy (Collins, 1991; Crenshaw, 1989). While intersectional analyses in emotional labor research is still emerging, some scholars have argued that low-skill men of color and in particular, *women of color*, are the most likely candidates to be employed in the emotional proletariat (Macdonald & Merrill, 2009; Macdonald & Sirriani, 1996). The reasons underlying this hypothesis is due to the intersection of more than one lower status identity marker (i.e. “female”, “ethnic minority” and “low-skill”). The degree to which an individual experiences disadvantage is linked to their social status position on more than one account – often measured by gender, race and class (Ransford, 1980).

Emotional labor researchers rarely adopt an occupational-level analyses of emotional labor. Despite this, some scholars have identified emotional proletariat occupations based on indicators of job requirements and skill (i.e. face-to-face or voice-to-voice interaction; autonomy; social intelligence etc.) (Macdonald & Merrill, 2009; Payne 2009). In their intersectional analysis of the 2006 Current Population Survey (CPS) data, Macdonald and Merrill (2009) report that a higher number of racial minorities are

employed in the emotional proletariat compared to non-minority groups, and this is especially true for minority women. (As shown below).

Percentage of total workers by sex and ethnicity that work in the emotional proletariat in the United States

	Men	Women
White	15.9%	41.8%
Black	21.0%	48.1%
Hispanic	18.8%	49.1%
Other	18.5%	39.4%

(Macdonald & Merill, 2009, p.119).

In their qualitative research on racial discrimination in America's labor market, Moss and Tilly (2001) argue that market forces have escalated skill requirements, leaving those who lack the resources to compete in today's society at an extreme disadvantage. They refer to this as "the skill problem" which poses a multitude of negative implications for the racialized working class—they are pushed into working in the emotional proletariat while simultaneously navigating racialized stereotypes about their 'fit' for these jobs from employers, customers and coworkers (Moss & Tilly, 2001). Similarly, Macdonald and Merill (2009) argue that the shift to a service-based economy is now placing customer's racial ethnic preferences as a high priority for employers. For example, Adler and Adler (2004) demonstrate how the racial and ethnic division of labor among luxury hotel workers are based on customers' preferences to interact with their own race at the front desk and front door (primarily white workers). Identified as 'semivisible workers', ethnic minorities (primarily immigrants of color) dominate jobs where there is limited contact with guests (i.e. room service runners, housekeeping runners etc.) (Adler & Adler, 2004). Macdonald and Merill (2009) argue that a number of factors contribute to what employers develop as the idealized "type" of worker who will fit the particular service job. One key factor that Macdonald and Merill (2009) identify is

that employers often determine customer preferences and actively recruit workers to fill these expectations—which have been shown to be based on ‘ethnic typifications’ (Adler & Adler, 2004).

Other research has demonstrated how “an immigrant niche” and “occupational closure” can occur in some low-wage occupations as a result of ethnic networks (Kang, 2010; Waldinger, 1996). As a contributing factor, ethnic solidarity can, in some cases, contribute to stereotypes that influence the perspectives of potential employers and customers—as is the case with Korean and Vietnamese nail salons for example (Kang, 2010; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). Research has also shown how racial and ethnic ‘typing’ are strong indicators of service expectations and quality of service that are sanctioned by both employers and customers (Kang, 2010; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). This has opened up a wide range of low-wage and low-skill jobs in the service industry that scholars argue are targeted to women of color and men of color (Bolton, 2004; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). As the emotional proletariat, these service workers often have *no control* or *autonomy* over the ‘feeling rules’ that guide their workplace interactions while also being in a subservient position to customers/clients (Evans, 2013; Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). This poses a number of problems for racial minorities working in the emotional proletariat, as they are likely to have to navigate instances of racial discrimination in contexts where there is little power and control over interactions.

Social Status Hierarchies

In order to understand the potential employment discrimination faced by minority emotional laborers and the emotional proletariat, I draw from expectation states theory as a potential explanation for the social processes that give rise to what other scholars have observed to be “racialized feeling rules.” As a social psychological model of group interaction and task performance, the theory focuses on the social processes that lead to differential ‘performance expectations’ based on social status hierarchies (Corell & Ridgeway, 2006). External social characteristics such as race, gender or occupations shape status beliefs that some group members are more *socially valuable* and *competent*

than others (i.e. men, whites, professionals) (Correll & Ridgeway, 2006; Ridgeway, 2006). Ridgeway (2006) argues that status processes are inherently linked to socioemotional behaviours among high and low status individuals. Salient status characteristics such as *gender* and *race* form the basis for cultural assumptions (i.e. stereotypes) about high and low status behaviours and emotional displays (Johnshon & Ridgeway, 1990; Ridgeway, 2006). While social inequality theories explain the societal barriers that obstruct minority access to valuable resources, expectation states theory offers a potential explanation for how the emotional proletariat is constructed through hiring practices, and customer expectations.

In the current study, I use a nationally representative sample of American workers to examine the racial composition of emotional labor occupations held by respondents. In particular, I examine the racial group differences in emotional labor occupations and further stratify the descriptive analysis by gender in order to report the typical occupations for each status group in the sample. Following these analyses, I further investigate the occupancy of minority workers in low status emotional labor occupations. To get at the emotional proletariat theoretically and analytically, in this paper I conceptualize the emotional proletariat as workers who occupy emotional labor intensive occupations with low autonomy (measured at the occupational-level). Drawing from the emotional proletariat literature I make the following intersectional hypotheses:

Hypothesis: Minority women will be overrepresented in lower-status emotional labor occupations compared to their white and male counterparts.

METHOD

To test the hypothesis described above, two separate data sources are analyzed: the Work, Stress and Health survey (WSH)—a nationally representative study of Americans in the paid labor force—and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) dataset, an online database containing occupational definitions and characteristics for a

comprehensive set of occupations in the US. The WSH individual-level data involved telephone interviews with working adults in the 50 United States in 2005. To obtain the original sample, a list-assisted random digit dialing (RDD) selection was drawn proportionally from all 50 states from GENESYS Sampling Systems. Eligible participants are 18 years of age or older and participating in the paid labor force. 71 percent of eligible individuals were successfully interviewed, yielding a sample of 1,800 adults.

The WSH individual-level dataset is linked to O*NET database, which contains ratings on generalized work activities and work contexts for 886 occupations, in accordance with the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) system. Collected as part of the O*NET Data Collection Program, these occupational ratings were acquired from a sample workers in each occupation, along with additional ratings from occupation experts. Among the ratings are a number of descriptors that are indicative of emotional labor requirements for an occupation; the average of these sampled ratings is used to create an emotional labor requirements scale (discussed in more detail below). In order to connect this occupational information to the WSH dataset, open-ended information is used about WSH respondents' job title and their typical work activities, and coded these responses in accordance with the O*NET classification codes; the end result of this is a combined individual-level and occupation-level dataset that contains respondent specific outcomes (e.g. health, work conditions, demographic statuses etc.) along with information on the typical emotional labor requirements associated with each respondents' occupation.

Measures

Emotional Labor Requirements. The O*NET occupational ratings are used to assess the emotional labor requirements associated with a WSH respondent's occupation. To do this, an adapted version of Glomb and colleagues' (2004) measurement strategy of emotional labor demands is used. The authors conducted exploratory factor analyses of 42 generalized work activities and 59 work context items from the O*NET to produce a six-item composite scale to represent the degree of emotional labor demands associated with an occupation. This measure is adapted, since the version of the O*NET dataset used

in this study (version 18.0) one of the items (“providing a service to others”) is excluded, but includes an additional item (“self control”). The emotional labor requirement scale that is used therefore includes 6 items asked of workers and occupation experts: 1) “How important is assisting and caring for others to the performance of your current job?”; 2) “How important is self-control to the performance of your current job? (i.e. Job requires maintaining composure, keeping emotions in check, controlling anger, and avoiding aggressive behavior, even in very difficult situations.”; 3) “How important is performing for or working directly with the public to the performance of your current job?”; 4) “How important are interactions that require you to deal with external customers (as in retail sales) or the public in general (as in police work)?”; 5) “How often are conflict situations a part of your current job?”; 6) “How often is dealing with unpleasant, angry, or discourteous people a part of your current job?” The response categories for the first three items are: (1) “not important,” (2) “somewhat important,” (3) “important,” (4) “very important,” (5) “extremely important.” The response categories for the last two items are: (1) “never”, (2) “once a year or more but not every month” (3) “once a month or more but not every week”, (4) “once a week or more but not every day,” (5) “every day.” Items are standardized, summed, and then averaged to create a composite scale of emotional labor demands, such that higher scores indicate higher levels emotional labor demands (Cronbach alpha coefficient=.84). Given the complexity of the O*NET data, and the changes across versions, exploratory factor analysis was conducted to examine whether the construct of emotional labor requirements could be operationally defined by the factor loadings of the chosen items (listed above). In the analysis, principle component factoring is conducted, utilizing an orthogonal rotation matrix, to ensure that all of the items loaded on a single underlying construct. These analyses revealed evidence of a single factor solution, with only a single factor having an eigenvalue greater than 1.

Occupational-level Autonomy. The O*NET occupational ratings are used to assess the occupational-level autonomy associated with a WSH respondent’s occupation. To do this, I construct an autonomy scale that includes 3 items asked of workers and occupation experts: 1) “To what extent is this job structured for the worker, rather than allowing the

worker to determine tasks, priorities, and goals?"; 2) "How much decision-making freedom, without supervision, does the job offer?"; 3) "Job requires developing one's own ways of doing things, guiding oneself with little or no supervision, and depending on oneself to get things done." The response categories for the first two items are: (1) "No freedom," (2) "Very little freedom," (3) "Limited freedom," (4) "Some freedom," (5) "A lot of freedom." The response categories for the third item are: (1) "not important," (2) "somewhat important," (3) "important," (4) "very important," (5) "extremely important." Items are standardized, summed, and then averaged to create a composite scale of autonomy, such that higher scores indicate higher levels of autonomy (Cronbach alpha coefficient=.79). Similar to the emotional labor requirements measure, exploratory factor analysis was conducted to investigate the underlying dimensions of the chosen O*NET items, and examine each item's correlation to the autonomy construct. A principle component factor analysis is also conducted, utilizing an orthogonal rotation matrix, to ensure that all of the items loaded on a single underlying construct. These analyses also revealed evidence of a single factor solution, with only a single factor having an eigenvalue greater than 1.

Racial Group Membership. White (1) is contrasted against all other categories (0). This dichotomous measure has been used in previous race focused analysis of emotional labor among service workers (Grandey, 2015; Sloan, 2016).

Gender. Dummy codes are used for men (0) and women (1).

Education. Education is coded as (1) some high school but did not graduate, (2) high school graduate or GED, (3) specialized vocational training or some college, (4) Associate's degree (2-year program), (5), college graduate (BA or BS), and (6) post graduate—advanced degree (MA, PhD).

Marital status. "married" is coded as the omitted reference category and contrasted against "never married" and "previously married" in regression analyses.

Children in the household. This is coded as the presence of children under 18 living in the household (1) versus no children in the household (0).

Age. Age is coded in years.

Plan of Analyses

After reporting descriptive statistics (Table 3.1), I present the occupations held by WSH respondents that are highest in emotional labor requirements and report the percentage of women, minorities and non-minorities employed in these occupations across the 2005 U.S labor force (Table 3.2). In Table 3.3, I examine descriptive patterns in emotional labor requirements by presenting mean emotional labor scores across racial group status and other socio-demographic characteristics. In order to examine whether my data support findings that minorities are concentrated in the emotional proletariat — occupations high in emotional labor requirements that significantly lack autonomy and control—I conduct two sets of analyses. First, in Tables 3.4-3.5, I present the % distribution of racial group status and gender across emotional labor occupations at different levels of occupational- level measured autonomy. I then conduct a chi square test to determine if there is a significant relationship among social status groups and emotional labor occupations grouped by different levels of autonomy. The emotional proletariat represent those occupations that are a combination of high emotional labor requirements and low occupational-level autonomy.

RESULTS

Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for all individual-level and occupation-level measures. In Table 3.2, based on O*NET occupational information, I present the top fifteen occupations held by WSH respondents that are highest in emotional labor requirements and the percentage of employed women and minorities in each occupation. Based on labor force data from the 2005 Current Population Survey (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005), emotional labor occupations that have a higher percentage of employed women are seen in healthcare and education—public sector jobs that are most notably female “typed” jobs. Consistent with longstanding occupations trends, less women are employed in jobs where men typically predominate (i.e. law enforcement and corrections). The percentage of Asian Americans working in emotional labor intensive occupations are highest in front-line customer service and educational counselling jobs. Similarly, a high percentage of African Americans work in front-line customer service,

but as well, in social work, nursing and law enforcement. Finally, Hispanic/Latino Americans have high rates of employment in law enforcement, social work and front-line service—a trend that is more reflective of African Americans.

In order to further examine the patterns in the average emotional labor requirements among WSH respondents more closely, in Table 3.3, I present the average emotional labor requirement scores for several key demographics. I find that there are no significant differences across racial groups—suggesting that minorities are equally likely to be employed in emotional labor intensive occupations compared to white workers. In addition, I also find that emotional labor requirements are higher among female WSH respondents and those with a college education, but find no significant differences across parental and marital status.

The Emotional Proletariat and Racial Group Membership

Occupational-level autonomy

In the next part of my analyses, I examine the racial and gender composition of emotional labor occupations across high and low levels of occupational-level autonomy. In Table 3.4, I present the cross-tabulation of racial group membership across high and low levels of emotional labor and autonomy among WSH respondents. The general pattern among WSH respondents show that a higher percentage (25%) of minorities work in occupations with higher emotional labor requirements and low autonomy (i.e. the emotional proletariat) as well as occupations with low emotional labor requirements and low autonomy (32%). In contrast, a large percentage (33%) of non-minority respondents are shown to occupy jobs with high emotional labor requirements and high autonomy. However, non-minorities are also shown to occupy jobs that are low in emotional labor requirements and low in autonomy (27%). The chi-square test of association, is statistically significant, indicating that racial group status differs across emotional labor requirements at different levels of occupational autonomy. An analysis of the adjusted residuals for Table 3.4 (Appendix A), indicates that despite the overall association, for occupations with low emotional labor requirements and high autonomy, the differences

observed for both subgroups (minority vs non-minority) are not significant. However, all other observed differences are statistically significant—the highlighted cells indicate these significant differences.

Next, in Table 3.5, I present the cross-tabulation of men and women across high and low levels of emotional labor and autonomy among for minority and non-minority WSH respondents. The general pattern among minority men shows that the highest percentage of employment (43%) is in jobs with low emotional labor requirements and low autonomy. In contrast, the largest percentage of minority women (29%) are shown to be employed in jobs with high emotional labor requirements and low autonomy (i.e. the emotional proletariat). Interestingly, minority women are also shown to be employed in high emotional labor/high autonomy jobs (28%) and low emotional labor/low autonomy jobs in similarly large numbers as well (27%). Again, the chi square test for Table 3.5 is highly statistically significant among minority respondents, indicating that minority men and women differ across emotional labor requirements at different levels of occupational autonomy. Adjusted residual analysis (Appendix A) for minorities show similar results to Table 3.4, indicating that all associations are statistically significant (highlighted) except for the low emotional labor requirements and high autonomy subgroup.

In the final set of analyses, I also present results for non-minority men and women (Table 3.5). Consistent with the previous set of analyses, the chi square test is also highly statistically significant. The general pattern among WSH respondents suggests that non-minority men typically hold occupations that are low in emotional labor requirements and low in autonomy. Higher percentages of men are also seen in occupations where there is high emotional labor requirements and high autonomy (28%). Similarly, non-minority women tend to hold occupations that are also high in emotional labor requirements and high in autonomy (37%). Among non-minority women, relatively similar numbers are seen across all other occupational subgroups. Finally, adjusted residual analysis for non-minority respondents (Appendix A), show results consistent with the previous analyses—all associations are statistically significant except for the low emotional labor

requirements and high autonomy subgroup. Again, significant associations are highlighted in Table 3.5.

DISCUSSION

Emotional labor scholars have begun to raise important questions regarding the complexity that racism and sexism imposes on the emotion regulation process. ‘Emotional overtime’ is an advancement in emotional labor research, yet there has been little investigation of racialized processes across a wide-range of emotional labor occupations. The emotional proletariat literature has provided important insights on the social stratification processes that lead minority workers into low-status service work with reduced autonomy and control—resulting in employment in disempowered service roles. However, there has been little investigation into these trends using a nationally representative sample, where differences in racial group membership can be compared and tested across a wide range of occupations and occupational contexts. In this paper, I have argued that a systematic examination of racialized social processes in emotional labor occupations is necessary, in order to observe the prevalence of minorities in the emotional proletariat, highlighting the potential consequences that exist based on racial group membership. My approach has been to examine the social distribution of workers across a broad range of emotional labor intensive occupations—using a measure of emotional labor requirements constructed from the O*NET database connected to a large nationally representative study of American workers (WSH). Using the combined individual and occupational-level data, I have examined the distribution of minority workers in occupations with low autonomy based on racial group membership.

The first part of my analyses surveys the distribution of occupations highest in emotional labor requirements across racialized categories. While I found that minorities in the WSH are no more likely to be employed in emotional labor intensive occupations than non-minorities, I did find similarities in employment patterns across minorities groups. Among the top 15 occupations highest in emotional labor requirements in the WSH, U.S. labor force data (2005) show that high percentages of Asian, African

American and Hispanic/Latino Americans are employed in front-line service occupations as well as social service occupations—with the greatest similarities seen among African Americans and Hispanic/Latino Americans.

While the 2005 current population survey data did not provide public online access to reports for Caucasian Americans, I conducted comparative analyses to examine the racial and gender composition of emotional labor occupations across high and low levels of occupational-level autonomy in the WSH. Using an objective occupational-level measure of autonomy, I was able to examine the occupational-level conditions of the “emotional proletariat” and compare employment patterns across racial group membership at different levels of emotional labor and occupational autonomy. Interestingly, I found significant subgroup patterns that provide evidence for the prevalence of minorities in the emotional proletariat. More specifically, I find that among WSH respondents, a high percentage of minorities work in occupations that are *high* in emotional labor requirements and *low* in autonomy—the key features of the emotional proletariat. In contrast, I found that non-minority WSH respondents are most prevalent in occupations *high* in emotional labor requirements and *high* in autonomy.

Following these analyses, I also examined the patterns across WSH respondents’ gender for each racial group, and found that minority women typically occupy emotional labor intensive jobs with *low* autonomy; whereas minority men typically work in occupations that are *low* in *both* emotional labor requirements and both. My results suggest that among minority WSH respondents, women are more likely to work in occupations that represent the emotional proletariat—A finding that is consistent with previous emotional labor scholars (Macdonald & Merrill, 2009). Among non-minority WSH respondents, results are somewhat interesting for women, showing that respondents typically work in jobs with high emotional labor requirements and high autonomy; but also, non-minority women are shown to be employed in similar numbers across all other occupational categories. However, previous scholars have also reported such patterns for non-minority women, suggesting that many women enter and exit the emotional proletariat at different stages across the life course whereas minority women tend to enter

the emotional proletariat and remain there (McDoanld & Merrill, 2009). In contrast, non-minority men in the WSH are shown to reflect similar patterns as minority men and show that the highest percentage of men are found in occupations with low emotional labor requirements and low autonomy. In contrast, however, a large percentage of non-minority male respondents are also found in occupations with high emotional labor requirements and high autonomy.

CONCLUSION

While emotional labor scholars have argued that workers who lack a “status shield” are at a greater risk of experiencing the negative consequences of working in service environments, little research has examined these potential issues. With the development of literature on the emotional proletariat, a systematic examination of the occupants of various types of emotional labor occupations is rarely conducted (for an exception see Macdonald and Merrill, 2009). In this study, I have examined the racial composition of emotional labor occupations across high and low levels of autonomy in a nationally representative study of American workers, in order to determine if minorities are concentrated in less desirable emotional labor occupations. Based on my occupational analyses, I find that minorities are indeed concentrated in occupations with high emotional labor requirements and low autonomy—and this is especially prevalent among minority women. These analyses shed light a number of important issues regarding occupational stratification in the service economy. Despite well documented reports of racial and gendered occupational stratification in the labor market, not many researchers have focused on these issues in emotional labor occupations—an important issue given the expansive and continual growth of the service sector.

A number of limitations associated with this study deserves to be mentioned. First, the dichotomous measure of racial group membership may obscure findings across different races/ethnicities that could be highlighted in a more intensive intersectional approach. Given the difficulties in conducting intersectional quantitative analyses, other emotional labor scholars have adopted this dichotomous approach in their research

(Grandey, 2009). However, a more complex analyses could shed light on the typical emotional labor occupations that vary across gender and racial/ethnic categories and the unique consequences associated with each group—a feat that is beyond the scope of this study. Despite this limitation, I believe that these results have demonstrated some important nuances across social status hierarchies that draw attention to the unique experiences of minority emotional laborers.

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TABLE 3.1. Mean and Proportions for all Study Variables

	Mean/Proportion (N=1,785)	Std. Dev
<i>Individual-Level Measures</i>		
Gender		
1= “female”	0.588	-----
0 = “male”	0.412	
Racial Group Membership (RGM)		-----
1= “white”	0.738	-----
0 = “minority”	0.262	-----
Age	43.511	13.205
Married		
1= “not married”	0.549	-----
0 = “married”	0.450	-----
Children in the Household	1.761	1.446
College Degree		
1= “degree holder”	0.338	-----
0= “non-degree holder”	0.662	-----
<i>Occupation-level Measures</i>		
Emotional Labor Demands	.049	.751
Occupational-level Autonomy	2.48e-09	.841

TABLE 3.2. *Occupations Held by WSH Respondents Highest in Emotional Labor Requirements*

	Occupational Title	Emotional Labor Score	Percent Women (2005) ^a	Percent Asian (2005) ^a	Percent African American (2005) ^a	Percent Hispanic or Latino (2005) ^a
			69,288	6,503	17,013	19,824
1	Police Patrol Officers and Sheriffs	1.97	12.5	.2	8.2	6.3
2	Emergency Service Dispatchers	1.85	59.1	1.2	13.6	9.4
3	Flight Attendants	1.73	74.5	3.3	14.0	9.4
4	Healthcare Social Workers	1.60	80.1	3.3	19.0	9.6
5	Correctional Officers and Jailers	1.58	29.1	1.3	23.7	10.8
6	Emergency Medical Technicians and Paramedics	1.57	31.3	1.5	8.1	10.1
7	Bailiffs	1.56	29.1	1.3	23.7	10.8
8	Child, Family, and School Social Workers	1.54	80.1	3.3	19.0	9.6
9	Criminal Investigators and Special Agents	1.42	24.0	1.4	13.8	8.9
10	Education Administrators, Elementary and Secondary School	1.41	63.4	2.4	13.4	5.4
11	Reservation and Transportation Ticket Agents and Travel Clerks	1.38	64.0	4.4	18.7	13.9
12	Licensed Practical and Licensed Vocational Nurses	1.31	93.4	2.6	21.6	5.5
13	Radiologic Technologists	1.30	72.0	1.3	12.5	5.5
14	Educational, Guidance, School, and Vocational Counselors	1.30	65.9	5.3	11.0	6.5
15	Fish and Game Wardens	1.28	22.5	1.5	5.1	40.3

Note. WSH = Work, Stress, and Health.

^a Adapted from “Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005.”

TABLE 3.3. *Average Emotional Labor Score across Demographic Groups*

Respondent Demographics	Average Emotional Labor Score	<i>t</i> -test (two-tailed)
<i>Gender</i>		
Men	-.13	-8.51***
Women	.17	
<i>Racial Group Membership</i>		
White	.05	-.05
Other	.03	
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Married	.07	-1.59
Not Married	.02	
<i>Parental Status</i>		
Parent (child under 18 living at home)	.05	.36
Not a parent	.03	
<i>College Degree</i>		
Degree Holder	.23	-7.27***
Non-Degree Holder	-.04	
<i>Age</i>		
18 – 34 Years	.03	1.14 (<i>F</i> -test)
35 – 49 Years	.02	
50 – 64 Years	.10	
65 and over	.08	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed test).

TABLE 3.4. Distribution of Minority and Non-Minority WSH Respondents across Emotional Labor Occupations at Different Levels of Autonomy

Racial Group Membership	Emotional Labor Requirements at different levels of Autonomy				Total
	<i>High ELR & High Autonomy</i>	<i>High ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & High Autonomy</i>	
<i>Minority</i>	116 24.79%	120 25.64%	154 32.91%	78 16.67%	468 100%
<i>White</i>	440 33.41%	242 18.38%	363 27.56%	272 20.65%	1,317 100%
Total	556 31.15%	362 20.28%	517 28.96%	350 19.61%	1,785 100%
Pearson Chi Square(3) 23.4338***					

TABLE 3.5. Distribution of Men and Women WSH Respondents by Racial Group Membership and Emotional Labor Occupations at Different Levels of Autonomy

Emotional Labor Requirements at different levels of Autonomy	Women		Men		Total
	<i>White</i>	<i>Minority</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Minority</i>	
<i>High ELR & High Autonomy</i>	278 37.37%	86 28.10%	162 28.27%	30 18.52%	556 100%
<i>High ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	160 21.51%	91 29.74%	82 14.31%	29 17.90%	362 100%
<i>Low ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	153 20.56%	84 27.45%	210 36.65%	70 43.21%	517 100%
<i>Low ELR & High Autonomy</i>	153 20.56%	45 14.71%	119 20.77%	33 20.37%	350 100%
Total	744 100%	306 100%	573 100%	167 100%	1,785 100%
Pearson Chi Square(3)					
Minority 19.7487***					
Non-Minority 47.5211***					

Appendix D. Adjusted Residuals for Gender and Race across Emotional Labor Occupations at Different Levels of Autonomy

Racial Group Membership	Emotional Labor Requirements at different levels of Autonomy			
	<i>High ELR & High Autonomy</i>	<i>High ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & High Autonomy</i>
<i>Minority</i>	-3.460	3.358	2.189	-1.866
<i>White</i>	3.460	-3.358	-2.89	1.866

Minority Men and Women	Emotional Labor Requirements at different levels of Autonomy			
	<i>High ELR & High Autonomy</i>	<i>High ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & High Autonomy</i>
<i>Minority</i>	-2.285	-2.790	3.452	1.564
<i>White</i>	2.285	2.790	-3.452	-1.564

Non-Minority Men and Women	Emotional Labor Requirements at different levels of Autonomy			
	<i>High ELR & High Autonomy</i>	<i>High ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & Low Autonomy</i>	<i>Low ELR & High Autonomy</i>
<i>Minority</i>	-3.469	-3.342	6.477	0.090
<i>White</i>	3.469	3.342	-6.477	-0.090

CHAPTER 4

EXPLORING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT AMONG EMOTIONAL LABORERS: OUTSIDER CONFLICT, CONTROL BELIEFS AND THE STATUS SHIELD

Interpersonal conflict in emotional labor occupations often occurs during service work interactions with organizational “outsiders” and where customer contact is high (Boyd, 2002; Grandey, Kern & Frone, 2007; Grandey, Dickter, & Sin, 2004). As an emotion provoking event, experiences of incivility have been of particular interest to emotional labor researchers. While most scholars agree that the frequency of conflict is largely attributed to high customer contact, less research examines psychological factors that influence the interpersonal experiences of emotional laborers (Xanthopoulou et. al, 2009). In addition to enacting feeling rules, emotional laborers are likely to confront outsider conflict in a variety of ways. These experiences may be influenced by other salient characteristics such as individual perceptions, cognitions, psychological disposition, and social status. In this paper, I draw from The Stress Process Model, which identifies the personal sense of control as a key buffering resource (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). Serving as a psychological resource, it is the extent to which an individual believes that they have control over the important things in their life. In this paper, I consider the relevance of the personal sense of control for emotional laborers. Emotional labor research has demonstrated how similar psychological dispositions can influence how individual workers respond to customer conflict situations, including the emotional labor strategy they adopt (Karatepe, 2004; Xanthopoulou et. al, 2009). Despite these findings, the personal sense of control—from this point onwards also referred to as ‘control beliefs’— is rarely examined in emotional labor research.

Stress research demonstrates that control beliefs can weaken the negative impact of a number of stressors (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). Essentially, individuals with greater control beliefs are less impacted by stressors. Emotional labor, is a *potential* stressor that

can lead to conflict—another stressor. For some workers emotion management may be perceived as alienating, while for others faking and suppressing emotions may be perceived as a means to control a difficult and escalating encounter with customers. This can mean that high personal sense of control can serve as a resource that may diminish the threat of conflict. Nevertheless, empirical research is scant on the issue of whether buffering resources, like control beliefs, assist men and women in similar ways in emotional labor intensive occupations. Both women and men are confronted with the threat of potential conflict with customers; however, it is more often the case for women because of a weakened status shield (Hochschild, 1983) and it is possible then, that control beliefs are a more important resource for women.

While women are often tasked with recreating gender appropriate feelings in the face of conflict, men are not typically expected to display the same level of deference and emotional care (Hall, 1993; Simpson & Stroh, 2004). Along with ethnic minorities, women lack a ‘status shield’—a perceived cloak of social protection from the opinions and judgements of others—which may explain why women encounter the displaced feelings of outsiders (customers or clients) more frequently than men (Hochschild, 1983). Women may also be more likely than men to experience conflict when their psychological resources are low, and feel powerless to evade emotionally charged interactions. Research has yet to examine this issue. Do control beliefs instil greater confidence and resilience that helps women avoid potential conflict situations? It is possible that women with greater control beliefs are able to more skilfully navigate and defuse tense interactions. Alternatively, some scholars argue that female emotional laborers with greater control beliefs may be exposed to more rather than less conflict—as a result of their deviating from prescribed behavioral norms—and experience greater conflict as a result (Ridgeway, 2009; Evans & Moore, 2015). I investigate these possibilities.

While most emotional labor research has focused on female dominated occupations, many male dominated occupations have high emotional labor requirements as well. Yet, the differences in the odds of conflict experiences between men and women

are rarely examined explicitly in emotional labor research. In the current study, I seek to contribute to the emotional labor literature by investigating whether the relationship between emotional labor requirements and interpersonal conflict with organizational outsiders varies for men and women. As part of this investigation, I examine whether the potential of control beliefs to buffer this relationship is also contingent on gender. I use a nationally representative study of American workers and their interpersonal experiences (*The Work, Stress and Health Study, 2005, N=1,800*), and merge this with occupational-level data on the typical emotional labor requirements and job conditions for a wide variety of occupations in the United States. In the following sections I briefly review the literature on emotional labor and interpersonal conflict.

Literature Review

Interpersonal Conflict in Emotional Labor Occupations

Service quality is a central focus in most emotional labor intensive occupations. Many service-oriented organizations promote customer service values (*display rules*) resembling the now popularized mantras: ‘*the customer is always right*’ or ‘*service with a smile*’ (Grandey, Dickter & Sin, 2004; Kern & Grandey, 2009; Sliter et al., 2010). There is, of course, an inherent power imbalance here, since the customer is not always right, and they are not required to follow display rules in their interactions with service workers. Consequently, a common stressor encountered by front-line service workers is customer- or client-induced micro-aggressions. Research in the hospitality industry, for example, has shown that verbal abuse towards employees is often intentional, and used as a strategy for financial gain (Harris & Reynolds, 2004). Researchers refer to these customers as “the illegitimate complainer” – customers who demand compensation for a service at any cost without a legitimate reason (Harris & Reynolds, 2004). Findings from a number of case studies reveal that outsider (i.e. customer, client) induced incivility and interpersonal conflict is experienced across a variety of service contexts, including encounter-based services (e.g. hotels, call-centers) and relationship-based services (e.g.

social workers, nurses doctors) (Adams & Buck, 2010; Boyd, 2002; Grandey, Dickter & Sin, 2004; Harris & Reynolds, 2006; Ringstad, 2005).

Emotional laborers are vulnerable to a variety of workplace incivilities (See Grandey et. al, 2004 for a review). Scholars agree that customer incivilities are worthy of study because repeated occurrences may lead to damaging health outcomes for workers (e.g. stress, burnout, emotional exhaustion, etc.) (Cortina et. al, 2001; Goussinsky, 2011; Kern & Grandey, 2009). Customer incivility is also linked to emotional dissonance—the conflict over one’s felt and expressed emotions (Goussinsky, 2011; Grandey & Goldberg, 2007; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Rupp & Spencer, 2006). Emotional dissonance is a particularly problematic outcome for workers who are *frequently* faking and suppressing felt emotions typically in response to rude or discourteous customers (Goussinsky, 2011; Rupp & Spencer, 2006). For example, Grandey and colleagues (2004) find that frequent occurrences of customer aggression experienced by call center workers was related to emotional exhaustion (burnout), and in some cases, absenteeism. Given that service workers’ interact frequently with customers/clients, and are more likely to be constrained to formal and explicit display rules in these interactions, some researchers suggest that these conflict interactions are more problematic than other forms of conflict (e.g. those occurring with supervisors and coworkers) (Karatepe, Yorganci & Haktanir, 2009).

Several theories explain why customer abuse can occur frequently for workers with higher emotional labor requirements. One common explanation is that workers who occupy routine, low-skilled and tightly controlled service jobs, represent the ‘emotional proletariat’ and are more susceptible to customer abuse due to their perceived lower status and autonomy (Bolton, 2004; Leidner, 1999; Macdonald and Sirriani, 1996). Similarly, the emotional proletariat along with other members of disadvantaged social groups (women and minorities), are considered as lacking a ‘status shield’ that protect higher status workers from customer incivility (Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1993). A related explanation is the notion that when worker-customer interactions are one-off encounter based interactions, they are ‘socially disembedded’ and become more problematic (Grandey, Kern & Frone, 2007; Gutek, 1995; Korczynski & Evans, 2013). In contrast to a

socially embedded service relationships, disembodied encounters carry narrower definitions of social roles that emphasize the economic rationale behind the exchange—‘worker’ and ‘customer’ (Korczynski, 2009). Service relationships occurring repeatedly over time may deter customers/clients from initiating conflict, because individuals are more likely relate to each other as social beings (interactions are socially embedded) as opposed to the narrow definition of actors in an economic exchange (Gutek, 1995; Korczynski & Evans, 2013; Korczynski, 2009).

Hypothesis 1: Emotional labor requirements should be associated with an increased likelihood of interpersonal conflict with organizational outsiders (i.e. customers and clients)

Men and Women’s ‘Status Shield’

Job segregation in emotional labor occupations is well documented in the literature (Guy & Newman, 2004; Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 2009). Gendered emotional norms and management have been shown to contribute substantially to the reproduction of occupational segregation (Pierce, 1995; Leidner, 1991; Martin, 1999). Yet other researchers demonstrate that the commodification of gendered emotions often extends beyond “female” typed jobs (Leidner, 1991; Poletta & Tufail, 2016). Even in ‘gender neutral’ occupations, gender norms still dictate how men and women are expected to perform emotional labor. Poletta and Tufail (2016) demonstrate how women working in debt settlement firms are expected by customers/clients, coworkers and employers to enact more nurturing and kind service behavior than men—even in the face of conflict. While managing one’s emotions during difficult service interactions is stressful for high *and* low status workers, women often experience a greater penalty than men by having to engage in more intensive emotion management (Pierce, 1999). One of the primary reasons for the “emotional double bind” women face, is that women are expected to “do gender” in a way that undermines their respectability—making them an

easy target for customer aggression (Pierce, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987) Hochschild (1983) used the concept of the “status shield” to describe these differences and how they shape the service interactions of men, women and minorities.

Research has shown that the privileged status of men typically translates to a greater perceived authority and competence during interactions (Cottingham, Erickson & Diefendorff, 2014; Ridgeway, 1997; Williams, 1992). This perceived authority frequently shields men from social assaults and other forms of customer incivility during service interactions (Hochschild, 1983; Lovell & Brotheridge, 2009). In female dominated occupations, some researchers have found that men experience a ‘status bonus’ (Cottingham, Erickson & Diefendorff, 2014). A study of nurses in the U.S. revealed that not only do male nurses feel exempt from enacting display rules, they also engage in less emotion management than female nurses (Cottingham, Erickson & Diefendorff, 2014). Similarly, female flight attendants report that dealing with difficult customers is much easier for male flight attendants, because masculine characteristics, like height and tone of voice deter customers from expressing anger (Forseth, 2005). Other research on interactive service work reveals that job roles are segregated by gender, where women are placed in roles that require more interaction while men occupy background roles (Milkman, 1997). Leidner (1991) discusses how job segregation at McDonald’s is typically based on the assumption that men have a short temper and will likely lose composure when dealing with angry customers; whereas women, can “handle” hostility in a more understanding manner.

Hypotheses 2: The positive association between emotional labor requirements and outsider conflict should be stronger for women compared to men.

The personal sense of control (control beliefs)

Self-regulating one's emotions and behaviors during difficult interpersonal exchanges is likely to occur in various ways due to individual personality differences. Emotion regulation represents an intrapsychic process, and is subject to influence by an individual's perceptions and beliefs. Researchers have highlighted the importance of examining the factors that influence the relationship between emotion regulation and negative outcomes (Grandey, Fisk & Steiner, 2002). When emotional laborers are faced with potentially challenging interactions at work, for some, difficult encounters may turn into conflict, while for others they may not. There may be both direct and indirect effects on conflict outcomes because of psychological differences across workers. Some individuals possess psychological resources that provide intrinsic confidence and motivation to de-escalate problematic encounters. Others may occupy a less powerful psychological state, where feelings of powerlessness and alienation can hinder how they manage challenging situations. In this study, I examine whether control beliefs function as a psychological resources that may buffer the tendency of emotional labor to lead to workplace conflict

The personal sense of control is the belief that an individual is in control of their life—the belief that one's life is shaped by personal effort and action (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013; Misowsky & Ross, 2013). In contrast, a sense of powerlessness is the perception that one's life is externally controlled by forces outside of individual personal power and control. In stress research, personal sense of control is shown to weaken the negative impact of a variety of stressors (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). One of the central findings in stress research is that individuals with stronger control beliefs are less impacted by stressors. The stress process model offers two explanations for this reasoning. First, among individuals with a heightened personal sense of control, stressors may be perceived to be less threatening and depleting. Second, high control beliefs are more likely to encourage proactive problem solving to resolve stressful experiences before they become more harmful (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). Another central finding is that individuals with more personal control are overall healthier. Stress process research finds that individuals with higher levels of control beliefs experience better mental health and

well-being (Mirowsky & Ross, 2013; Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). In contrast, individuals who feel powerless are less likely to feel motivated which may reinforce helplessness and produce depression (Mirowsky & Ross, 2013; Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). While similar concepts have been used as a psychological measure in emotional labor research, little attention has been given to the role of control beliefs in moderating the relationship between emotional labor and workplace conflict. Grandey, Fisk and Steiner (2002) argue that personal control can provide a wide range of positive resources, such as optimistic moods, intrinsic interest, and focused attention which can all be particularly useful when interacting with others. Yet, little research has examined this resource directly.

In occupations with high emotional labor requirements psychological resources may function in similar ways as job resources (Karatepe, 2014). Consistent with stress process research on control beliefs, Xanthopoulou et. al (2009) argue that psychological resources 1) protect workers from job demands; 2) assist in achieving desired goals, and 3) promote growth and development. For workers with low perceived control beliefs, emotion regulation may represent a more difficult demand—one that leads to reactions of helplessness as a result of their perception of having limited control over the encounter. These workers may also be less proactive in adopting active coping strategies to deal with the stress of the encounter, which may strengthen the possibility of further strain. In some instances, heightened control beliefs may also serve to diminish the threat of emotion-rule discrepancy (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Xanthopoulou et. al , 2009); that is, individuals with high control beliefs may perceive faking and suppressing emotions (surface acting) as a necessary resource for handling emotionally charged encounters and a means of controlling a situation to protect themselves from insults. For these workers, dissonance may be perceived as the means to making interactions safer and more predictable, buffering the negative effect of emotional strain (Xanthopoulou et. al , 2009)

While limited in scope, concepts similar to control beliefs have been used in emotional labor research. Self-efficacy is a psychological resource that has been shown to moderate the relationship between emotional dissonance and work engagement/motivation (Xanthopoulou et. al, 2009). However, these concepts are rarely

applied to emotional labor research using the stress process model. Stress proliferation—from the stress process model—for example, describes a process in which new or “secondary” stressors emerge from the initial exposure to a stressor (“primary”) stressors (Pearlin & Bierman, 2013). Since emotional laborers are vulnerable to experiencing customer/client conflict (Grandey et. al, 2004), control beliefs may buffer the impact of conflict on well-being and also reduce the tendency of emotional labor requirements to produce conflict. Some research has suggested this possibility through other psychological resources. Emotional labor research often reports that workers with high optimism are more likely to deep act in response to incivility, responding with a genuine attempt to change their inner feelings (anger) to counter aggression with politeness (Bono & Vey, 2007; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). In contrast, individual workers who have low positive affective dispositions (PA) are likely to respond to negative events (i.e. interpersonal conflict) more strongly (Grandey, 2000; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). Positive disposition and its associated traits are the most commonly used psychological measure in emotional labor research, but they are somewhat limited in the sense that they only capture a particular mood or temperament. They are not synonymous with control beliefs, which is a somewhat broader dispositional measure.

Men, Women and the Personal Sense of Control (Control Beliefs)

I put forth two competing hypotheses regarding gender differences in the moderating influence of personal control beliefs on the ELR-conflict association: the stress buffering hypothesis, which predicts that perceived control beliefs disproportionately assist women engaged in emotional labor to avoid conflict—and the *micro-resistance empowerment* hypothesis, which conversely predicts that control beliefs may increase the tendency of women emotional laborers to experience conflict.

Stress-buffering hypothesis

Women’s paid work roles are much more alienating for a numbers of reasons. First, contending with organizational feeling rules in low autonomy work contexts is challenging because there is less freedom over interactions—i.e. scripted interactions.

Second, gendered emotional norms can be very alienating and can cause performance weariness—where feeling of stress and alienation need to be continuously managed in order to be in line with both formal and informal feeling rules at work (Durr & Wingfield, 2011). It should be noted, however, that there is considerable heterogeneity across occupations with high emotional labor requirements, and not all female dominated occupations are characterized by low paid, routine service work (i.e. nursing, teaching, etc.). In stress research, it is typically expected that women and members of other disadvantaged groups will encounter stressors to a greater degree than higher status individuals—because they lack a status shield (Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Hochschild, 1983; Matud, 2004). For these reasons, control beliefs might be a more important stress-buffering resource for women than it is for men. Researchers have shown that when presented with a stressful encounter, individuals engage in a cognitive process of appraisal and coping (Folkman et. al, 1986; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Upon evaluation and appraisal of a particular event, the individual determines the extent to which their health and well-being may be threatened (Folkman, et. al, 1986). As a response, individuals determine how they intend to cope with a stressor, and what psychological resources are required to achieve a resolution.

Because of the status shield dynamic (Hochschild, 1983) and the disproportionate amount of incivility that women encounter from outsiders, control beliefs may be a stronger buffering resource for women than it is for men. Research has not yet examined whether control beliefs operate differently for women compared to men in emotional labor intensive occupations. With regards to outsider conflict, researchers typically conclude that women are more likely than men to be the target of customer/client anger and emotional outbursts. However, it is not clear whether psychological resources can offset the tendency for these encounters to result in conflict.

Micro-resistance empowerment hypothesis

I draw from critical race scholarship to put forth an alternative prediction regarding the role of control beliefs for women engaged in emotional labor and emotion

regulation. Specifically it's possible that psychological resources, such as control beliefs, may, contribute to a state of "double consciousness" among lower status workers – similar to the concept developed by Du Bois (1903). Workers who lack a status shield but have higher control beliefs, may experience a state of personal conflict over the division of their identity into two social roles— a "double consciousness" and resistance that increases the likelihood of conflict with customers or clients. Some researchers theorize that members of disadvantaged social groups cope with stressors by employing various forms of self-monitoring, but also micro-resistance—everyday acts of empowerment (Durr & Wingfield, 2011; Evans & Moore, 2015; Jackson & Wingfield, 2014). Within the realm of racialized and/or gendered social contexts, an individual may experience an awareness of the expectations associated with their social role (e.g. gendered emotional norms), while also consciously resisting these norms (if they feel oppressed by them) (Evans & Moore, 2015). Such acts of empowerment may be reflected in more conflict, and is likely to be the case for those high control beliefs.

When workers are navigating gendered and/or racialized service spaces, choices are often made that are likely to dictate *how* emotions will be regulated. Evans and Moore (2015) describe these choices as either participating in one's own marginalization (compliance) or resisting against micro-aggression and alienation (micro-resistance). Compliance can be a result of external powerlessness (e.g. the work context), but it can also be a result of internal powerlessness (psychological disposition) (Hollander & Einwonher, 2004; Pearlin & Bierman, 2013); but what about individuals who possess strong psychological resources—high control beliefs? Some research has found evidence for psychological resistance to the symbolism of servitude and deference (Paules, 1991).

In her ethnographic study on female waitresses, Greta Paules (1991) argues that the powerlessness of servitude in waitressing is a matter of interpretation. Paules (1991) finds that the waitresses in her study often exerted their own personal power and autonomy to outwardly defend themselves when disrespected by customers—sometimes leading to conflict. It is possible that there can be conscious efforts on the part of the lower status individuals to not assume the subservient identity that is expected of them.

Evans and Moore (2015) describe similar processes in their examination of micro-resistance among minority men and women in two institutional settings – an elite law school and a U.S. commercial airline. For example, when confronted with assumptions regarding black women’s educational attainment, one flight attendant discusses her resistance to these assumptions by stating that she has an MBA (completed), and is married with one child. As a coping mechanism, the visibility of micro-resistance may vary across contexts (e.g. subtle vs. explicit), but these actions derive from an internal sense of power, resilience and confidence about self-worth and control over interactions with others.

Some instances of micro-resistance may lead to conflict, while in other situations the acts of resistance may be more subtle (e.g. Evans and Moore (2015)). However, in both cases, when faced with incivility, the use of micro-resistance as a coping mechanism alters the behavior that is expected of lower status individuals when faced with conflict in service positions. In emotional labor intensive occupations, coping in this way may escalate conflict because of the requirement for ‘service with a smile.’ Research has not yet examined this alternative possibility. The micro-resistance empowerment hypothesis therefore predicts that control beliefs should exacerbate the tendency of emotional labor requirements to create outsider conflict.

Drawing from theory and research on emotional labor, psychological resources and incivility, I make the following hypotheses:

Stress-buffering hypothesis

Hypothesis 3: Control beliefs will moderate the association between emotional labor requirements and outsider conflict. In addition, there is some evidence that this association will be stronger for women compared with men.

Micro-resistance empowerment hypothesis

Hypothesis 4: Higher control beliefs will reduce the association between emotional labor requirements and outsider conflict among men but increase the association between emotional labor requirements and conflict among women.

METHOD

To test the hypotheses described above, two separate data sources are analyzed: the Work, Stress and Health survey (WSH)—a nationally representative study of Americans in the paid labor force—and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) dataset, an online database containing occupational definitions and characteristics for a comprehensive set of occupations in the US. The WSH individual-level data involved telephone interviews with working adults in the 50 United States in 2005. To obtain the original sample, a list-assisted random digit dialing (RDD) selection was drawn proportionally from all 50 states from GENESYS Sampling Systems. Eligible participants are 18 years of age or older and participating in the paid labor force. 71 percent of eligible individuals were successfully interviewed, yielding a sample of 1,800 adults. I exclude participants who do not report having interactions with clients/customers, this yielded a pooled analytical sample of 818 individuals. I then create two final analytical samples, one for men (N=313), and another for women (N=572).

The WSH individual-level dataset is linked to the O*NET database, which contains ratings on generalized work activities and work contexts for 886 occupations, in accordance with the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) system. Collected as part of the O*NET Data Collection Program, these occupational ratings were acquired from a sample workers in each occupation, along with additional ratings from occupation experts. Among the ratings are a number of descriptors that are indicative of emotional labor requirements for an occupation; the average of these sampled ratings is used to create an emotional labor requirements scale (discussed in more detail below). In order to connect this occupational information to the WSH dataset, open-ended information is used about WSH respondents' job title and their typical work activities, and coded these responses in accordance with the O*NET classification codes; the end result of this is a

combined individual-level and occupation-level dataset that contains respondent specific outcomes (e.g. health, work conditions, demographic statuses etc.) along with information on the typical emotional labor requirements associated with each respondents' occupation.

Measures

“Outsider” Interpersonal Conflict. WSH respondents were asked a series of questions related to their experiences with interpersonal problems at work in the past 30 days. These items include: (1) “Someone at work blamed or criticized you for something that wasn’t your fault” (2) “Someone at work treated you unfairly” (3) “Someone did not do the work needed to be done or did it in a sloppy incompetent way” (4) “Someone got annoyed or angry with you” (5) “Someone gossiped or talked about you behind your back” (6) “Someone teased or nagged you” (7) “Someone gave you unclear directions about work you needed to do,” and (8) “Someone made too many demands on you.” Participants were asked to identify the sources of these indicators *in the workplace* which include, supervisors, supervisees, customers/clients, coworkers, or anyone else in the workplace. All sources are excluded except customers/clients in this measure. Response choices are coded as (0) “never” (1) “rarely” (2) “sometimes” and (3) “frequently.” Responses were then summed to create an index of customer/client interpersonal conflict and dummy codes were used for (1) at least one instance of “interpersonal conflict” versus (0) “no interpersonal conflict” in the workplace.

Emotional Labor Requirements. The O*NET occupational ratings are used to assess the emotional labor requirements associated with a WSH respondent’s occupation. To do this, an adapted version of Glomb and colleagues’ (2004) measurement strategy of emotional labor demands is used. The authors conducted exploratory factor analyses of 42 generalized work activities and 59 work context items from the O*NET to produce a six-item composite scale to represent the degree of emotional labor demands associated with an occupation. This measure is adapted, since the version of the O*NET dataset used in this study (version 18.0) one of the items (“providing a service to others”) is excluded, but includes an additional item (“self control”). The emotional labor demand scale that is

use therefore includes 6 items asked of workers and occupation experts: 1) “How important is assisting and caring for others to the performance of your current job?”; 2) “How important is self-control to the performance of your current job? (i.e. Job requires maintaining composure, keeping emotions in check, controlling anger, and avoiding aggressive behavior, even in very difficult situations.”; 3) “How important is performing for or working directly with the public to the performance of your current job?”; 4) “How important are interactions that require you to deal with external customers (as in retail sales) or the public in general (as in police work)?”; 5) “How often are conflict situations a part of your current job?”; 6) “How often is dealing with unpleasant, angry, or discourteous people a part of your current job?” The response categories for the first three items are: (1) “not important,” (2) “somewhat important,” (3) “important,” (4) “very important,” (5) “extremely important.” The response categories for the last two items are: (1) “never”, (2) “once a year or more but not every month” (3) “once a month or more but not every week”, (4) “once a week or more but not every day,” (5) “every day.” Items are standardized, summed, and then averaged to create a composite scale of emotional labor demands, such that higher scores indicate higher levels emotional labor demands (Cronbach alpha coefficient=.84). A principle component factor analysis is also conducted, utilizing an orthogonal rotation matrix, to ensure that all of the items loaded on a single underlying construct. These analyses revealed evidence of a single factor solution, with only a single factor having an eigenvalue greater than 1.

Personal Sense of Control (Control Beliefs). Following a previously developed measurement strategy (see Glavin, 2013; Schieman, 2008), the following 8 items are included in the measure of personal control: (1) "I am responsible for my own successes," (2) "I can do just about anything I really set my mind to," (3) "My misfortunes are the result of mistakes I have made," (4) "I am responsible for my failures," (5) "The really good things that happen to me are mostly luck," (6) "There's no sense planning a lot-if something good is going to happen it will," (7) "Most of my problems are due to bad breaks," (8) "I have little control over the bad things that happen to me." I create an adapted measure, where responses to statements 1 through 4 are reverse coded “strongly

disagree” (1), “disagree” (2), “neutral” (3), “agree” (4), and “strongly agree” (5). Responses to statements 5 through 8 are coded “strongly disagree” (1), “disagree” (2), “neutral” (3), “agree” (4), and “strongly agree” (5). I averaged responses; higher scores indicate a greater sense of control ($\alpha = .57$).

Gender. Dummy codes are used for men (0) and women (1).

WSH Respondent Controls

Job autonomy. WSH respondents were asked: “In your current job, how often does someone else decide how you do your work?” Response categories are "never" (1), "rarely" (2), "sometimes" (3), and "frequently" (4).

Race. White (1) is contrasted against all other categories (0). This dichotomous measure has been used in previous emotional labor research on racialized incivility among service workers (Grandey, 2015).

Job Authority. Four items are used to measure WSH respondent job authority: Do you influence or set the rate of pay received by others? Do you have the authority to hire or fire others? Do you supervise or manage anyone as part of your job? And, if “yes” to the last question: Do any of those individuals supervise or manage others? Yes responses are coded as 1 and no responses as 0. Responses are summed such that higher scores indicating more authority ($\alpha = .73$).

Job Pressures. WSH respondents were asked: “How often do the demands of your job exceed those doable in an 8-hour workday?” Response categories are "never" (1), "rarely" (2), "sometimes" (3), and "frequently" (4).

Work hours. WSH respondents were asked: “How many hours do you work in a typical week at your main job?” A continuous measure of work hours is used.

Personal income. Personal income is assessed with the question: “For the complete year of 2004 what was your total personal income, including income from all of your paid jobs, before taxes?”

Education. Education is coded as (1) some high school but did not graduate, (2) high school graduate or GED, (3) specialized vocational training or some college, (4) Associate’s

degree (2-year program), (5), college graduate (BA or BS), and (6) post graduate—advanced degree (MA, PhD).

Marital status. “married” is coded as the omitted reference category and contrasted against “never married” and “previously married” in regression analyses.

Children in the household. This is coded as the presence of children under 18 living in the household (1) versus no children in the household (0).

Age. Age is coded in years.

Organization Size. WSH respondents were asked a series of questions related to the number of people with whom they work with/for. Respondents were asked to report: (1) the number of supervisors the respondent has; (2) the number of people the respondent supervises directly and, (3) the number of coworkers the respondent has. These items are summed, and dummy codes are used for “very small (< 10)” (0) vs “small (10-49)” (1), “medium (50-249)” (2) and “large (250<)” (3).

Plan of Analyses

After reporting descriptive statistics (Table 4.1), I conduct multivariate logistic regression analyses (Tables 4.2 & 4.3) to test my hypotheses. In Table 4.2 I first test all hypotheses for women, then, in Table 4.3 I repeat all analyses for men. In model 1 of Tables 4.2 & 4.3, I examine the association between emotional labor requirements and ‘outsider’ conflict for women and men. Next, I examine whether the association between emotional labor requirements and ‘outsider’ conflict is contingent on the control beliefs of women and men in the WSH (model 2; Table 4.2 & 4.3)^a.

RESULTS

Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for all individual-level and occupation-level measures. In order to further examine the patterns in the average emotional labor requirements, outsider conflict and control beliefs among WSH respondents more closely, in Table 4.1, I also present differences between men and women. I find that emotional labor requirements are higher among female WSH respondents and that control beliefs are slightly higher for men, but find no significant differences for outsider conflict. I also

find that job authority, work hours and income are all higher for men, compared to women. Next, in Table 4.2, I present the logistic regression results for women. Model 1 reports the association between emotional labor requirements and ‘outsider’ interpersonal conflict. Surprisingly, I find no evidence that holding an occupation with higher emotional labor requirements is associated with the odds of reporting ‘outsider’ interpersonal conflict among women (hypothesis 1 & 2). With regards to work conditions, I find that greater work pressures are associated with the increased odds of reporting ‘outsider’ conflict, and that the odds of reporting ‘outsider’ conflict is greater among the self-employed. Model 1 also shows that there is no statistically significant association between control beliefs and outsider conflict among female WSH respondents. In model 2, I examine whether control beliefs moderates the association between emotional labor requirements and interpersonal conflict with organizational outsiders. I find that the interaction between emotional labor requirements and control beliefs is not statistically significant and provides *no support* for hypotheses 3 or 4.

In Table 4.3, these analyses are repeated for men. Model 1 reveals no evidence that holding an occupation with higher emotional labor requirements is associated with the odds of reporting ‘outsider’ interpersonal conflict among men (Hypothesis 1). Similar to women, I find that the self-employed and respondents with greater work pressures are more likely to report ‘outsider’ conflict. However, in model 2, statistically significant results show that the association between emotional labor requirements and outsider conflict is contingent on control beliefs, for men. Results indicate partial support for hypothesis 4. Among men with high control beliefs, emotional labor requirements are associated with a reduced odds of reporting “outsider” conflict. Among men with low control beliefs, emotional labor requirements are associated with an increased odds of reporting outsider conflict—again, showing partial support for the micro-resistance hypothesis (4). (See Figure 1)

DISCUSSION

The current study extends the emotional labor literature by: (1) investigating potential psychological factors that influence the association between emotional labor and workplace conflict and (2) Examining whether psychological resources assist men and women in similar ways in emotional labor intensive occupations. Drawing from social psychological theory and research, I test two competing hypotheses regarding gender differences in the moderating influence of control beliefs on the ELR-conflict association.

The experience of customer conflict in emotional labor intensive occupations is often discussed as a prevalent stressor that is unique to service work. With an abundance of evidence for the severity of customer-based conflict, the emotional labor literature has rarely considered the role of psychological resources in buffering the strain that leads to outsider conflict. Given the gender disparities in conflict experiences during service interactions it is unclear whether psychological resources like, control beliefs, assist men and women similarly during customer interactions. The current study seeks to fill this gap in the literature. In the first part of my analyses, I do not find evidence for a main association between emotional labor requirements and ‘outsider’ conflict. The lack of significance is found across both subsamples of men and, more surprisingly, women as well. Therefore, no support was found for hypothesis 1 or 2. These results seem to parallel other emotional labor research, suggesting that there is a great deal of complexity regarding the negative outcomes of emotional labor (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Wharton, 1993; 1999). Given the multi-dimensionality of emotional labor, it is often difficult to capture the situational factors that may lead to generally high reports of outsider conflict in emotional labor occupations. Some research has shown that women experience negative consequences to a greater degree when they are surface acting more frequently than deep acting (Johnson & Spector, 2007). Comparing self-reported conflict along with organizational factors such as ‘display rules’ or ‘emotion management’ would be a worthwhile next step that was not the central focus for this study.

In addition to the analysis of ‘outsider’ conflict, this paper examines how psychological resources influence the threat of outsider conflict. After testing the stress buffering hypothesis and the micro-resistance empowerment hypothesis, I found partial

support for hypotheses 3 and 4. Unexpectedly, results revealed an association for men when psychological resources are considered. Consistent with the stress buffering hypothesis, results indicate that among men with low control beliefs, emotional labor requirements are associated with an increased odds of reporting outsider conflict. In contrast, among men with high control beliefs, emotional labor requirements are associated with a reduced odds of reporting outsider conflict.

These findings appear consistent with research that explores masculinity in service work and may be explained by the incompatibility between idealized masculinity and ‘feminized’ display rules (McDowell, 2003; Nixon, 2009). Hegemonic masculinity, and in particular, working-class masculinity is a discourse that is fundamentally at odds with “middle classness” (higher education) as well as expressions of femininity, such as docility and deference—two important underlying expectations of display rules in service work (Acher, Pratt & Phillips, 2001). Men who embody a ‘working class’ or hegemonic masculinity and work in emotional labor intensive occupations are likely to face challenges to masculine norms—such as the right to stand up for themselves (Nixon, 2009). Coincidentally, this may shed some light on why some men with low control beliefs work in emotional labor intensive occupations and why they experience greater conflict. Perhaps working in service occupations is not a choice. Information on whether or not men in the WSH chose to work in emotional labor intensive occupations is not available; but it seems worthwhile for future research to attempt to answer this question. Further examining men who report lower control beliefs and work in emotional labor intensive occupations is an area of research that is yet to be explored in depth.

Among men in the WSH, a number of respondents who work in emotional labor intensive occupations and report low control beliefs hold low-level service occupations—retail salespersons, taxi drivers/chauffeurs, fish and game wardens. Again, these findings reflect some of the broader concepts in masculinity research. Men who embody a working-class masculinity (in comparison to men who do not), are not likely to pursue higher education (Nixon, 2009); yet, the demand for low-skilled male manual workers has declined with the growth of entry-level service jobs. For low-skilled men the options may

be unemployment or low-level service jobs. While these changing realities are likely to reduce an individual's control beliefs, it can also push working class men to participate in 'women's work.' My analyses certainly reflect these possibilities. Interestingly, however, I found a small number of men with low control beliefs that work in higher status emotional labor occupations—a lawyer, pharmacist and surgeon. Perhaps embodied masculinity influences an individual's control beliefs in some cases, but not in others. Masculinity, on the other hand, can become a part of one's habitus early in life which may influence an individual's lifelong disposition and control beliefs—especially in a growing service economy. The latter may be possible, as I do find that a number of male respondents with high control beliefs hold emotional labor occupations that require a greater level of skill—pharmacists, surgeons, nurses, psychiatrists, detectives and police officers etc. Again, these speculations are indicative of the need for more research on this topic.

While this may not be the case for all men, masculinity as a classed and gendered disposition, is a fitting notion that may explain the difference in control beliefs among men and the occurrence of conflict. It is possible that class differences contribute to different forms of masculine identity and also impact an individual's control beliefs. Masculinity researchers have hinted at this possibility (i.e. marginalized men 'claiming control and power when there are no resources to access power')(Connell, 2005). Power, control and authority—characteristics associated with hegemonic or 'working-class masculinity'—has been shown to lead men to 'front up' and act aggressively towards customers when being challenged or mistreated (Nixon, 2009). Some men may not choose to work in service occupations and are 'pushed' into these occupations, which results in lower control beliefs that becomes frustrating and can exacerbate conflict. It may be the case that men with high control beliefs are less likely to experience customer conflict because they embody a different type of classed and gendered masculinity. Perhaps these men build psychological resources that assists them with challenging interactions rather than escalate them, because they feel more empowered and in control to affect situations. For men, the buffering resource hypothesis may be closely linked to

internalized dispositions that are gendered and classed—a prospect that has not been examined in emotional labor research. The nature of service interactions (encounters vs relationships) would also be a useful concept to further examine these possibilities, but was not possible for the current study.

The current analyses did not provide support hypotheses 2 through 4 with regards to women. This is part of a larger trend in quantitative emotional labor research (Bulan et al, 1997; Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Pugliesi & Shook, 1997). It is possible that the disconnection between case studies and survey research is situational. There is a level of complexity in emotional labor occupations that encompass both occupational level and intrapsychic level factors. Most often, research finds that it is the difference between surface acting and deep acting that becomes problematic for women (Johnson & Spector, 2007; Scott & Barnes, 2011). When women deep act, they become more invested in service interactions and this emotion management strategy may protect women from conflict—*stress buffering hypothesis*. It may be that women with greater control beliefs are able to more skilfully navigate and defuse tense interactions though deep acting. However, deep acting would likely entail some level of acceptance of feminized feeling rules. Surface acting, on the other hand is more likely to lead to conflict as faking emotions may be more transparent to customers and could suggest women's rejection of gendered emotion norms—*micro-resistance empowerment hypothesis* (as with the waitresses in Paules (1991) study). Perhaps women with high control beliefs are more adept at both emotion management strategies. Future research would need to investigate this further. An examination at the occupational level and intrapsychic level is difficult to achieve, but is worthwhile for future research to consider. Emotional labor as an occupational requirement may not be problematic for women, but situational factors like display rules, emotion management, and service orientation (encounters vs relationships) may shed light on the circumstances in which women experience stressors like customer conflict.

It may also be at the intra-psychic level that psychological resources like control beliefs play a bigger role for women during customer interactions, and perhaps vary by situational context. In the micro-resistance empowerment hypothesis, much of the

resistance that Evans and Moore (2015) find women utilizing, is at the intra-psychic level—where emotion management occurs. This may not have been the case for the waitresses in Paules (1991) study, but again, this may be a result of context. For example, it seems more conceivable to imagine that women working in a small family owned private restaurant would have more leeway to “break” display rules than a waitress at a large chain restaurant or a barista at Starbucks. I would argue that the lack of significant findings are not so much about the inability of these hypotheses to explain the experiences of women, but that it clarifies some of the issues with gender based emotional labor research. Emotional labor requirements may not be as problematic for women, compared to men; but it may be that emotion regulation is where the problem lies—a point that Hochschild (1986) was initially concerned with.

CONCLUSION

The current study attempts to shed light on unanswered questions regarding the occurrence of conflict between men and women in emotional labor intensive service contexts. The findings in this study underline the importance of psychological resources (control beliefs) when examining the conflict experiences of male emotional laborers. Control in emotional labor occupations is important for a number of reasons. A perceived sense of control over customer interactions has been shown to be particularly important for positive psychological health outcomes in response to aggressive customers (Grandey, Dickter & Sin, 2004). In addition, personal control—is an important resource for response options to customer aggression and similar concepts have been shown to foster more positive interactions between service workers and customers/clients (Grandey, Fisk & Steiner, 2005).

Unexpectedly, these analyses have opened up important discussions regarding the status shield dynamic and stress-buffering resources in emotional labor intensive occupations. One of the objectives of this paper was to determine if control beliefs operate differently for women compared to men in service work. I find that it does, but not in the way that was expected. Control beliefs appear to be a buffering resource for

men in occupations with high emotional labor requirements. These findings have highlighted the need for further research to probe the reasons for this. Perhaps a more in depth examination of masculinity in emotional labor research could provide more insight on the factors that influence men's psychological resources, and how this may be related to other social constructs like class and cultural ideals. Additionally, these findings underline the importance of achieving clarity in the concept of emotional labor. This paper measures emotional labor as an occupational requirement, as opposed to an intra-psychic process. It may be the case that emotional labor as an occupational requirement can be problematic for men—especially those with low control beliefs, whereas women's psychological resources may be more pronounced at the intra-psychic level where situational context can be measured—something that researchers have previously touched on in the past.

^a Some researchers suggest there are challenges interpreting the coefficient of the interaction term in logit models (Mustillo, Lizardo, and McVeigh 2018). I therefore corroborated my results by calculating average marginal effects as part of a strategy outlined by Long and Mustillo (2018). Results from these analyses broadly support the patterns and conclusions reported in model 2 of Tables 4.2 and 4.3.

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TABLE 4.1: Mean and Proportions for All Study Variables

	Women (N=572)		Men (N= 381)		Comparison
	Mean/Proportion	Std. Dev	Mean/Proportion	Std. Dev	
<i>Individual-Level Measures</i>					
Job Autonomy	2.617	0.988	2.680	0.940	1.384 (<i>t-test</i>)
Personal Sense of Control (<i>Control Beliefs</i>)	3.854	0.434	3.939	0.450	3.209*** (<i>t-test</i>)
Outsider Interpersonal Conflict (Vs. No Conflict)	0.201	---	0.261	---	0.159 (<i>z-test</i>)
Excessive Work Pressures	2.933	1.009	2.955	1.018	0.616 (<i>t-test</i>)
Job Authority	0.841	1.112	1.296	1.476	5.102*** (<i>t-test</i>)
Work Hours	40.407	14.093	46.801	13.847	10.256*** (<i>t-test</i>)
Self-Employed (Vs. Wage Workers)	0.124	---	0.168	---	---
Age	43.118	12.801	44.861	13.382	0.092 (<i>t-test</i>)
White (Vs. All other Races/Ethnicities)	0.792	---	0.811	---	---
Children in the Household	1.787	1.398	1.625	1.413	-2.304* (<i>t-test</i>)
Married (Vs. Single)	0.561	---	0.651	---	---
College Degree Holder (Vs. Non-Degree Holder)	0.379	---	0.462	---	---
Personal Income	38.230	34.007	69.817	129.697	3.219** (<i>t-test</i>)
Organization Size					
Very Small (<10) (Vs. Small, Medium, Large)	0.593	---	0.569	---	---
Small	0.327	---	0.307	---	---

Table 4.1: continued.

Medium	0.072	---	0.094	---	
Large	0.009	---	0.029	---	
<i>Occupation-level Measures</i>					
Emotional Labor Requirements	0.169	0.650	-0.026	0.745	-8.514*** <i>(t-test)</i>

TABLE 4.2: Logistic Regression of Outsider Conflict on Emotional Labor Requirements, Resources and Demographics among Women (N= 572)^a

Women	Model 1	Model 2
Emotional Labor Requirements	1.117	0.809
Personal Sense of Control	1.358	1.335
<i>Interaction</i>		
Emotional Labor Requirements x Personal Sense of Control	----	1.086
<i>Respondent Work Conditions</i>		
Job Autonomy	0.873	0.873
Excessive Work Pressures	1.306*	1.306*
Job Authority	0.984	0.983
Work Hours	1.003	1.003
Organization Size		
Small	1.281	1.284
Medium	1.695	1.684
Large	1.251	1.268
Self-employed	3.701***	3.720***
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>		
White ^b	0.649	0.648
Age	0.989	0.989
Children in the Household	0.991	0.992
Married ^c	1.273	1.271
Personal Income	1.000	1.000
College Degree	1.051	1.051
Constant	0.061*	0.065*

^a Odds ratios presented.

^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.

^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

*p <.05. **p <.01. ***p<.001, two-tailed test

TABLE 4.3: Logistic Regression of Outsider Conflict on Emotional Labor Requirements, Resources and Demographics among Men (N= 381)^a

Men	Model 1	Model 2
Emotional Labor Requirements	0.873	92.877***
Personal Sense of Control	0.720	0.640
<i>Interaction</i>		
Emotional Labor Requirements x Personal Sense of Control		0.306**
<i>Respondent Work Conditions</i>		
Job Autonomy	1.161	1.154
Excessive Work Pressures	1.388*	1.383*
Job Authority	0.915	0.919
Work Hours	0.989	0.988
Organization Size		
Small	0.797	0.756
Medium	0.901	0.805
Large	0.444	0.355
Self-employed	4.082***	4.0181***
<i>Respondent Demographics</i>		
White ^b	0.923	0.861
Age	0.961**	0.962**
Children in the Household	1.080	1.074
Married ^c	1.334	1.424
Personal Income	.999	.999
College Degree	1.308	1.320
Constant	1.530	2.449

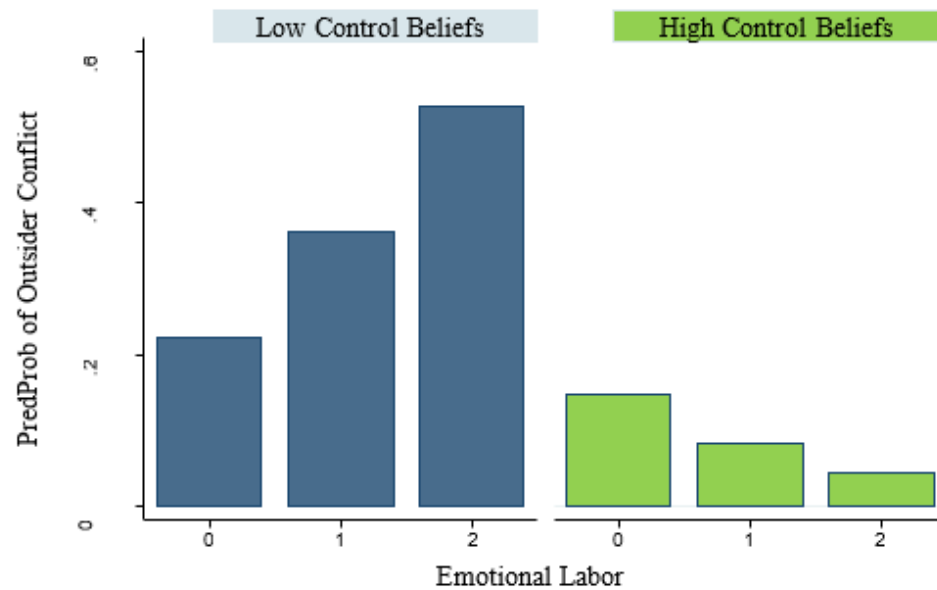
^a Odds ratios presented.

^b Compared to All Other Races/Ethnicities.

^c Compared to Never Married and Previously Married.

*p <.05. **p <.01. ***p <.001, two-tailed test

FIGURE 4.1. The Association between Emotional Labor Requirements and Predicted Probability of Outsider Conflict at Different Levels of Control Beliefs.



Note. Predicted probabilities shown in the figure are derived from Model 2 of Table 4.3 (Men) for “Outsider Conflict.” All control variables are held constant at their respective means. For categorical/ contrast codes, the equation is solved using the modal response. For presentation purposes and ease of interpretation, ELR is shown at 0, 1 and 2 across both groups. Low and high personal control are shown and at the 10th and 90th percentiles and represent responses about the extent that respondents claim control over important aspects of his or life.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Collectively, this dissertation has sought to open a multi-dimensional conversation about emotional labor as a growing work requirement along with its potential consequences for workers. Research on emotional labor has taken a variety of forms, but the most expansive area of research is centered on investigating its psychosocial consequences for workers. While this literature is vast, there remains a number of unanswered questions that linger. One of the most pressing questions is whether emotional labor should be deemed a stressor that threatens the health and well-being of workers. Empirical evidence for this is mixed, showing that in some cases emotional labor can lead to burnout, emotional exhaustion, decreased job satisfaction and workplace incivility (Troyer, Mueller & Osinsky, 2000; Wharton, 1999). On the other hand, there is evidence that emotional labor can lead to greater job satisfaction among workers (Wharton, 1993; Zapf & Holz, 2006).

I argue that these inconsistencies are in part due to how emotional labor has been conceptualized and measured. While case studies have expanded our knowledge of the more intricate and situational experiences of emotional labor, they are often based on a single occupation or a comparison of a select few. A comparison of many emotional labor intensive occupations allows for a more in depth investigation, one that can account for both individual-level differences and the broader work conditions that may influence how workers experience emotional labor. In this dissertation I have examined how autonomy, workplace support and control beliefs assist emotional laborers at work. Drawing from theory and research from the work stress literature and the general stress literature I integrate insights from emotional labor research in order to adopt a resource-based perspective. I reveal that emotional labor poses the greatest threat to well-being in resource deprived work contexts, and that occupations that have little job control—the emotional proletariat—are mostly occupied by minority women. I also find that high control beliefs serve as an important psychological resource for men that can buffer the

strain that leads to customer/client conflict in emotional labor intensive occupations. Taken together, I argue that approaching emotional labor with a gendered and racialized lens is important for understanding the different ways in which workers experience emotional labor.

An Occupational Lens

Despite becoming the new ‘buzzword’ in popular media and internet blogs, emotional labor research has grown unclear with regards to its definition and measurement among academic scholars (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Grandey & Melloy, 2017). A recent article published in *The Atlantic*, reveals that Arlie Hochschild now shares these same sentiments (Beck, 2018). Hochschild explains that emotional labor has become a ‘blurry’ concept and reiterates her definition in a conversation regarding its ‘correct’ use:

Emotional labor, as I introduced the term in *The Managed Heart*, is the work, for which you’re paid, which centrally involves trying to feel the right feeling for the job. This involves evoking and suppressing feelings. Some jobs require a lot of it, some a little of it. From the flight attendant whose job it is to be nicer than natural to the bill collector whose job it is to be, if necessary, harsher than natural, there are a variety of jobs that call for this. Teachers, nursing-home attendants, and child-care workers are examples. The point is that while you may also be doing physical labor and mental labor, you are crucially being hired and monitored for your capacity to manage and produce a feeling. (Beck, 2018, para. 11).

As a timely issue, this dissertation has attempted to contribute to the ongoing conversation surrounding the conceptual and operational measurement of emotional labor as well as shed light on some of the empirical inconsistencies and unanswered questions in the literature. While the operationalization of emotional labor at the occupational-level is not commonly adopted in the literature, I argue that this particular approach aligns more closely with Hochschild’s original idea. It is perhaps the “blurriness” of the concept that has led to some of the inconsistencies in determining much about the consequences

and experiences of emotional laborers. As a multi-dimensional construct, emotional labor requirements vary across occupations. As Hochschild notes in the above excerpt, some occupations require a lot of emotional labor while others require less. As a result, the experiences of emotional laborers vary across occupations and this raises a number of important questions regarding the complexity that racism and sexism imposes on the emotion regulation process. Unpacking some of these issues have been the central focus of this dissertation in hopes that it may contribute to moving this research forward in the face of its current state of blurriness and road blocks.

The Health Consequences of Emotional Labor

Research has typically framed emotional labor as a stressor that often leads to deleterious health consequences for workers (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1999). The concern is largely centered on the threat of ‘emotional dissonance’, where an individual’s felt emotions become displaced and disconnected from the emotions that they are expected display to others (Hochschild, 1983). Over time, authenticity becomes eroded by the inauthentic expression of emotion, and the process of managing these emotions can become very taxing on an individual’s health and well-being. Constant regulation of one’s emotions has been shown to lead to worker burnout as well as reduced job satisfaction and overall well-being (Grandey, Diefendorff, & Rupp, 2013; Troyer, Mueller & Osinsky, 2000; Wharton, 1999). However, despite increasing scholarly interest in these issues, research examining its implications for worker well-being has produced inconsistent findings (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Grandey et.al, 2013). Other research, for example, has shown that emotional labor is an enjoyable and meaningful job condition for some service workers (Bhave & Glomb, 2013; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Wharton, 1993; Zapf & Holz, 2006). The first paper in this dissertation engages with this conversation. This paper (**Chapter 2**), examined whether there are health penalties for workers who occupy emotional labor intensive occupations and whether these health penalties are contingent on the work context.

Analyses of the 2005 work stress and health data—a national sample of American workers—merged with occupational information from the O*NET database, initially revealed little evidence of an association between emotional labor requirements and negative worker outcomes. In fact, findings reveal the opposite. Among the four health outcomes, emotional labor requirements were found to be associated with the reduced the odds of reporting poor health. However, further analyses revealed that there are health penalties for workers in resource deprived work-contexts. With regards to self-rated poor health, testing hypothesis 2 revealed that the associated between emotional labor requirements and reduced odds of reporting poor health exists only for workers with autonomous work conditions. Similar results are found for job satisfaction. Emotional labor requirements are associated with an increased odds of reporting job satisfaction among individuals with autonomous work conditions, and are associated with reduced odds of reporting job satisfaction among individuals with low job autonomy. Finally, a statistically significant interaction between emotional labor and interpersonal work conflict indicates that among individuals who experience higher degrees of interpersonal conflict with coworkers or supervisors, emotional labor requirements are associated with increased odds of reporting high blood pressure—the opposite association was found for those who report lower levels of interpersonal conflict.

In contrast to the dominant perspective of emotional labor, this chapter reveals that emotional labor requirements can be associated with better health and well-being for workers—an insight that is in conflict with the assumption that emotional labor is a stressful occupational requirement for workers. Drawing from the conservation of resource theory, however, these findings illustrate that it is not so simple. Resources like workplace autonomy and support are important contextual resources that can potentially protect workers from experiencing a resource loss spiral that would otherwise occur when individuals fail to successfully regulate their emotions. Successful emotion regulation, can be aided by job resources like autonomy. For example, workers who have more control over how they do their jobs may be better equipped to deal with potential conflict and can aid positive interpersonal relationships with customers. Similarly, positive

workplace relations with coworkers limit the threat of energy depletion at work—which is integral for successful emotion regulation. The contextual variation shown in this chapter represent a small number of many workplace resources that could potentially assist emotional laborers during service interactions.

An Intersectional Analysis of the Emotional Proletariat

The second paper (**Chapter 3**) in this dissertation addresses some of the concerns regarding occupational stratification and the concentration of minority workers in resource-deprived work contexts—the emotional proletariat. Drawing on a national sample of American workers (WSH) merged with occupational-level data from the O*NET, I advance the understanding of the emotional proletariat by adopting an approach that considers how gender and race intersect in shaping the stratification process in service work. Examining racial group differences across a wide range of occupations and occupational contexts revealed significant sub-group patterns among WSH respondents. Results indicate a prevalence of minorities in the emotional proletariat. I show that a high percentage of minorities work in occupations that are high in emotional labor requirements and low in autonomy. In contrast, my analyses also reveal that non-minority WSH respondents are most prevalent in occupations that are both high in emotional labor requirements and autonomy. Intersectional analyses also reveal that among minority WSH respondents, minority women are prevalent in emotional labor intensive occupations that have low autonomy, while this is not the case for minority men. With regards to non-minority respondents, I find that women typically work in emotional labor intensive occupations with high autonomy, a pattern that is similar to non-minority men. I argue that minority women experience the greatest effects of a weakened status shield and that the complexity of both racism and sexism is likely to impose greater difficulty on the emotional regulation process for minority women. As chapter 2 has demonstrated, job autonomy is important for the emotion regulation process and emotional proletarians do not have access to this job resource. As a result managing one's emotions in response to racism and sexism (emotional overtime) is likely to be a harsh reality for minority women working in these occupations.

Examining Psychological Resources and Workplace Conflict among Men and Women

The third paper (**Chapter 4**) engages with stress research to expand the current understanding of workplace conflict in emotional labor intensive occupations. Based on Hochschild's (1983) notion of the status shield, I examine whether the occurrence of conflict varies for men and women. I also consider the relevance of the personal sense of control (control beliefs)—the degree to which an individual feels that they have control over their life—for emotional laborers in navigating interpersonal conflict with customer and clients. Using a combined individual-level and occupational-level dataset, I test two competing hypotheses regarding gender differences in the moderating influence of control beliefs on the ELR-conflict association. Surprisingly, I do not find evidence that control beliefs moderate this association for women. Instead, I find that control beliefs are a more powerful stress-buffer for men. For men with low control beliefs, emotional labor requirements are associated with an increased odds of reporting customer/client conflict. In contrast, men with high sense of control have a decreased odds of reporting customer/client conflict. I argue that a high sense of control is an important buffering resource for aiding successful emotion regulation and protecting workers from potential strain.

While these results are counter to theory and research regarding women, they are also a part of a larger trend in survey research. I speculate that the stress-buffering hypothesis may be more “fitting” for men at the occupational-level than it is for women. Research has shown that the intra-psychic dimension of emotional labor—emotion regulation—is more problematic for women than the occupational requirement itself (Johnson & Spector 2007; Scott & Barnes, 2011). I conclude this chapter by arguing that masculinity as a classed and gendered disposition may offer some insights to explain the difference in control beliefs among men and the occurrence of conflict. Emotional labor—a feminized job requirement—is fundamentally at odds with certain expressions of masculinity (i.e. working-class masculinity). I argue that the occupational requirement of emotional labor can be particularly difficult for some men as opposed to others, and

that masculinity is perhaps tightly wound with an individual's level of control beliefs. Future research should consider these possibilities.

Summary

Taken together, these papers support previous theory and research regarding the complexity of emotional labor and the importance of distinguishing between its different components: 1) emotional labor, 2) emotion regulation and 3) emotion performance (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). While each of these components are linked in the emotional labor process, this dissertation has been concerned with looking at emotional labor from an occupational lens, as an objective requirement of an individual's occupation. Doing so has offered a perspective that more closely aligns with Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization and allows for the investigation of a large number of occupations. Inconsistencies in existing research regarding the consequences of emotional labor are perhaps due to varying conceptualizations and measures of emotional labor. I examine the consequences of emotional labor as an occupational requirement and find that some of these inconsistencies may be due to an oversight of resource-based moderators in emotional labor research.

In the first two papers, I find that workplace contextual resources are important at the occupation and job level for the determining potential consequences for workers (Paper 1) and also shedding light on the sub-group patterns across racialized and gendered categories (Paper 2). Psychological resources, such as the personal sense of control (control beliefs) is an emerging area of research for emotional labor. While limited, similar concepts like self-efficacy and positive disposition have been explored with regards to their moderating influence on well-being outcomes. Fulfilling emotional labor requirements is a potential stressor, one that can often lead to conflict—another stressor. Individuals with a greater personal sense of control over their lives may perceive the process of emotion regulation as a means to an end; whereas those with a low personal sense of control may perceive emotion regulation as alienating and an external means of control over their lives.

Limitations

The current project uses a large, diverse, and representative sample of workers to examine a number of outcomes associated with emotional labor. Respondents from the WSH study come from a variety of occupational backgrounds, and this has provided the means to compare emotional labor requirements across 403 occupations—see appendix E for the full list of occupations. Connecting the O*NET database to the WSH survey data provided a unique opportunity to utilize the O*NET occupational-level information to construct a measure of emotional labor requirements—a measurement approach that has been adopted in only a few studies. Merging these datasets has provided access to a broad range of occupational-level information regarding the typical work conditions and activities for each respondents in the WSH. In addition, the WSH survey data includes established measures of mental health and an array of other health outcomes. As a result, this project has been able to examine the association between emotional labor and a number of health outcomes as well an interpersonal experiences of emotional laborers. Detailed job-level information from the WSH (e.g. job pressures, autonomy etc.) has also been available to help rule out spuriousness in focal associations between emotional labor requirements and a number of outcomes.

While my dissertation has contributed to the literature on the consequences of emotional labor, it is not without several limitations. The limitations for each paper are briefly discussed in each chapter. In this section, I will outline them in more detail. First, as a conceptual model emotional labor can be seen as an integrative process; one that includes three distinct but interrelated components. This dissertation has conceptualized emotional labor as an occupational requirement, which the literature situates as the first component of the model (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, 2013). Through this lens emotional labor is objectively measured in accordance to the degree that it requires actions that involve emotions, for example, caring for others, dealing with customers, or self-control (eg. keeping emotions in check). In order to meet these job requirements, workers must engage in an intra-psychic process of emotion regulation (also referred to as emotion work or managing emotions). As part of this

process, faking and suppressing emotions (surface acting) or aligning internal feelings with outward display (deep acting) are necessary strategies that are likely to produce different health outcomes and consequences. I was not able to measure the intra-psychic components of emotional labor in this dissertation as this information was not available in the WSH study. Despite this, I argue that distinguishing between the components of emotional labor is important for the purposes of determining where and how consequences arise for workers. At the occupational level I do not initially find evidence that emotional labor requirements are necessarily associated with negative consequences for workers, nor do I find any gender disparities (e.g. health, customer/client conflict). What I do find, are variances in consequences across different job contexts and psychological dispositions where job resources and psychological resources (i.e. the personal sense of control) can dictate how individual workers approach emotion regulation.

With regards to gender, it should be noted that initially, there was a gender hypothesis (in earlier versions/analysis for Chapter 2). Analyses didn't reveal any significant gender differences, unfortunately. In particular, I examined the extent to which gender moderates the relationship between emotional labor and health. Since including a gender hypothesis would have probably made the chapter much longer than necessary, I decided to exclude this given that there were no significant gender differences found. I can only speculate as to why there is a lack of gender contingencies in the relationship between ELR and health. First, as discussed in chapter 4, survey researchers do not generally find the same results as ethnographic researchers—that emotional labor is more harmful to women's health than men's (Bulan et. al, 1997; Erickson & Ritter, 2001). What survey researchers have found, is either non-significant findings or actually the opposite—better health and well-being. Another consistency with my research is that these results remain unchanged, even in samples where women are reported to be more likely to work in emotional labor intensive occupations than men.

I speculate that this may be due to a couple of factors. First, emotional labor requirements is an occupational measure. In ethnographic research, this concept is

typically operationalized in a different way and mostly pertain to the intra-psychic process of emotion regulation—where feelings are managed. The performance of emotional labor cannot indicate the specific emotion that is being managed, as emotions are a situational concept. This is something that would be captured at the individual-level, where reports of emotional content can be accounted for. This point has also been discussed by Erickson and Ritter (1997). For example, an emotion such as anger, is influenced by both gender and occupational type. Anger, a masculinized emotion, is not problematic for men working in masculinized occupations such as law enforcement or bill collecting. On the other hand, anger is a problematic emotion for women who work in feminized occupations providing care to a sick patient or teaching young children how to read. However, it is also important to consider that while women lack a status shield, the extent to which they experience anger on a daily basis is situational and is perhaps not determined by emotional labor requirements itself.

Second, Emotional labor as an occupational requirement, does not include individual emotional experiences. As a correlate of emotional labor, emotion regulation is shown to be the most detrimental to women's health and well-being when they feel inauthentic during interactions—in other words surface acting (Pugliesi & Shook, 1997). Perhaps it is not the requirement of emotional labor itself that is distressing for women, but the feeling of “being fake” or covering anger with pleasantries. This may not be the case with all emotional labor intensive occupations, as surface acting may not always be excessively used. Again, I can only make speculations regarding these patterns in survey research. Future survey research would benefit from a comparison of emotional labor requirements and emotion regulation with an aim to clarify these inconsistencies.

While race based studies of emotional labor are quite rare in survey research, I have also conducted additional analyses in previous drafts to test for potential race contingencies. These analyses have not revealed any significant findings. I speculate that the lack of significant findings might be due to similar reasons as those outlined above for gender. Perhaps the intrapsychic process of emotion regulation is also more problematic for minorities than the requirement for emotional labor itself. This is certainly possible, as

concepts such as the “double shift” are indicative of the management of emotions in response to experiencing racism. In addition, given the findings regarding the emotional proletariat, a logical next step would be to examine health penalties across racial group membership among the emotional proletariat. However, for methodological reasons—discussed below—survey research often poses challenges for testing three-way interactions. This was certainly a challenge for this particular project.

Methodologically, a few limitations deserve mention. First, the cross-sectional design of the WSH dataset did not allow for a more in depth analyses of consequences over time as well as turnover and job changes. For example, the null results in chapter 2 with regards to psychological distress may be due to the fact that distress is something that becomes evident after a very long period of time. In a review piece on emotional labor research, Grandey & Gabriel (2015) note that longitudinal approaches could determine how and when dissonance arousal results in mental exhaustion. Whether distress can be captured by an occupational level measure of emotional labor requirements is unclear. Perhaps a longitudinal study that captures surface acting and deep acting (the intrapsychic process) can more adequately investigate these possibilities. Cross-sectional analyses also did not allow the potential to rule out selection bias and self-selection effects, as these processes likely occur over time as well. Second, the use of occupational-level data combined with the WSH individual-level data would typically require multilevel modeling for the analytical goals of Chapter 2 and Chapter 4. Unfortunately, there are 400 unique occupations in the WSH analytical dataset with a sample size of 1,566 respondents, and there is an insufficient number of observations (respondents) per occupation (mean observations per group=4.1) to meet the recommended minimum for hierarchical linear modeling (5+ observations per group). With fewer than 5 cases per group, standard errors tend to be underestimated, increasing the chance of a Type I error (Maas & Hox, 2004).

The intersectional analyses in chapter 3 consists of a dichotomous measure of race. While crude, the WSH dataset includes a limited number of visible minority respondents in comparison to non-minority respondents. This has limited the extent to

which intersectional analysis could be conducted as well as analytical techniques that could be used (e.g. OLS regression). Adequately performing subgroup analyses beyond a binary measure presented a number of methodological issues. The number of respondents is very low when racial categories are broken down further (Black, 270; Hispanic, 136; Asian/other, 91; White, 1, 264). Performing more advanced statistical analyses, such as a three-way interactions, was not possible because of the very low cell-sizes. This goal can only be achieved with a much larger sample—a point that I discuss further in the next section.

Future Research

Emotional labor has become a prominent job requirement for many contemporary occupations. In some cases, these experiences can be very personal (e.g. a palliative care nurse or a therapist) while in other cases these experiences may be very brief and less personal (e.g. a fast-food attendant). I have examined some of the health consequences for workers across this broad spectrum of occupations when emotional labor is a prominent requirement of their job. Chapter 2, for example, demonstrates that the level of control workers have can determine whether emotional labor requirements are detrimental to health. This is also the case with workplace support—more supportive work contexts foster better health among emotional laborers. These findings bring up a number of interesting questions regarding service orientation and the complexity of interactions. What about the relational context of emotional labor occupations? In other words, do ‘service encounters’ versus ‘service relationships’ influence emotion regulation in ways that produce variations in health penalties for workers. Grandey and Melloy (2017) argue that one of the limitations of the current research on emotional labor is that scholars have not paid much attention to “situational cues” – role expectations that take into account the characteristics of interactions (duration, variety, etc.), display rules and relational characteristics (i.e. service interactions vs relationships) (Gutek et. al., 1999). This is an unexplored area that warrants further research. Perhaps the duration, intensity and variety of interactions can reveal different outcomes with regards to health, or the frequency of experiencing incivility from customers.

Emotional labor occupations where interactions are based on greater complexity through longer duration of interactions, higher intensity, and greater variability, often represent higher status work such as care work. Status distinctions are important to consider in emotional labor occupations because they are likely to affect “outsider” perceptions of workers, which can lead to incivility in the case of a perceived low status. For example, when interactions are standardized, “outsiders” may project negative stereotypes towards workers such as low cognitive ability or the belief that “anyone can be qualified for this job (Grandey & Diamond, 2010). Future research should compare the consequences for workers who experience service encounters to those who experience service relationships. As a necessary part of this, factors like display rules or feeling rules would need to be taken into consideration.

Another area for future research to focus on is the multidimensional experiences of emotional laborers based on social status. Characterized by public interaction, many interactive service jobs bring status markers like race and gender to the forefront. Concepts such as ‘racialized feelings rules’ and ‘emotional overtime’ are important advancements in emotional labor literature that warrant further investigation. Some research has shown that social interactions between workers and clients are ‘racialized’ and linked to customer incivility (Evans, 2013; Kang, 2010). Other studies have clearly shown that emotional labor is not experienced in the same way across racialized groups. Even in autonomous and supportive work contexts, an added layer of complexity is likely to present challenges for minorities. Evans (2013) and Wingfield (2010) have both demonstrated the discrimination and overt racism black professionals experience in service jobs. An examination of the health consequences of minority emotional laborers would be a worthwhile future endeavor.

What is perhaps one of the one of the greatest challenges for quantitative research is accessing large enough samples to conduct intersectional analyses. When such analyses are attempted, these intersecting status categories can become very small and can cause methodological complications. While the WSH data included 1,800 respondents other nationally representative studies could offer a much larger sample size for these

initiatives. With regards to the experiences of emotional laborers, there are limitations to examining gender and race as a single category. My research in this dissertation has attempted push beyond this barrier. However, there is much left to be explored. For example, the unexpected findings regarding men in chapter 4 sheds light on an unexplored aspect of the status shield, and future research should examine how these patterns vary across racial group membership.

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APPENDIX E**Emotional Labor Occupations in the WSH Study**

ELR Score	O*NET ID	Occupational Title
-2.122233	19-4021.00	Biological Technicians
-2.105997	45-2092.02	Farmworkers and Laborers, Crop
-2.015377	19-1021.00	Biochemists and Biophysicists
-1.967887	51-2021.00	Coil Winders, Tapers, and Finishers
-1.87247	51-6021.00	Pressers, Textile, Garment, and Related Materials
-1.833499	31-9094.00	Medical Transcriptionists
-1.83319	51-4081.00	Multiple Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
-1.76557	51-7011.00	Cabinetmakers and Bench Carpenters
-1.712691	27-3043.05	Poets, Lyricists and Creative Writers
-1.705876	43-9051.00	Mail Clerks and Mail Machine Operators, Except Postal Service
-1.671171	51-6041.00	Shoe and Leather Workers and Repairers
-1.664626	51-7041.00	Sawing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Wood
-1.661244	49-2093.00	Electrical and Electronics Installers and Repairers, Transportation Equipment
-1.654369	15-2011.00	Actuaries
-1.629667	17-2031.00	Biomedical Engineers
-1.621538	15-1133.00	Software Developers, Systems Software
-1.612965	15-1132.00	Software Developers, Applications
-1.608253	19-3011.00	Economists
-1.570819	51-9111.00	Packaging and Filling Machine Operators and Tenders
-1.548926	51-6061.00	Textile Bleaching and Dyeing Machine Operators and Tenders
-1.529627	17-2131.00	Materials Engineers
-1.516392	51-9198.00	Helpers--Production Workers
-1.504128	51-6093.00	Upholsterers
-1.47568	15-1131.00	Computer Programmers
-1.395738	49-3043.00	Rail Car Repairers
-1.383715	49-9043.00	Maintenance Workers, Machinery
-1.372048	45-4022.00	Logging Equipment Operators
-1.358371	47-2043.00	Floor Sanders and Finishers
-1.326549	17-3023.01	Electronics Engineering Technicians
-1.318893	17-2121.02	Marine Architects

-1.313348	51-4032.00	Drilling and Boring Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
-1.313092	51-2092.00	Team Assemblers
-1.296836	13-1141.00	Compensation, Benefits, and Job Analysis Specialists
-1.287268	51-4011.00	Computer-Controlled Machine Tool Operators, Metal and Plastic
-1.286846	27-2041.04	Music Composers and Arrangers
-1.270277	51-9196.00	Paper Goods Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
-1.262715	49-3021.00	Automotive Body and Related Repairers
-1.252454	25-4013.00	Museum Technicians and Conservators
-1.237697	51-6064.00	Textile Winding, Twisting, and Drawing Out Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
-1.233654	27-1024.00	Graphic Designers
-1.229059	15-1199.03	Web Administrators
-1.220615	51-2022.00	Electrical and Electronic Equipment Assemblers
-1.209455	51-6051.00	Sewers, Hand
-1.202222	51-3011.00	Bakers
-1.194379	51-4122.00	Welding, Soldering, and Brazing Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
-1.192091	15-1134.00	Web Developers
-1.187691	15-1122.00	Information Security Analysts
-1.177082	47-2181.00	Roofers
-1.176431	49-9098.00	Helpers--Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Workers
-1.174584	51-2031.00	Engine and Other Machine Assemblers
-1.174324	53-7032.00	Excavating and Loading Machine and Dragline Operators
-1.173912	51-4033.00	Grinding, Lapping, Polishing, and Buffing Machine Tool Setters, Operators, and Tenders, Metal and Plastic
-1.168917	17-2011.00	Aerospace Engineers
-1.15504	51-6062.00	Textile Cutting Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
-1.146298	51-4111.00	Tool and Die Makers
-1.144759	37-3011.00	Landscaping and Groundskeeping Workers
-1.14428	51-9041.00	Extruding, Forming, Pressing, and Compacting Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
-1.127937	47-2151.00	Pipelayers
-1.1272	15-1121.00	Computer Systems Analysts
-1.125244	27-3042.00	Technical Writers
-1.124679	47-2031.01	Construction Carpenters
-1.119611	35-2021.00	Food Preparation Workers
-1.1124	51-8093.00	Petroleum Pump System Operators, Refinery Operators, and Gaugers

-1.099082	47-2021.00	Brickmasons and Blockmasons
-1.09611	27-1013.00	Fine Artists, Including Painters, Sculptors, and Illustrators
-1.09551	15-1141.00	Database Administrators
-1.095466	47-2121.00	Glaziers
-1.079102	15-1143.00	Computer Network Architects
-1.070387	19-4061.00	Social Science Research Assistants
-1.069116	51-4121.06	Welders, Cutters, and Welder Fitters
-1.068066	51-2041.00	Structural Metal Fabricators and Fitters
-1.052504	51-8013.00	Power Plant Operators
-1.050404	13-1161.00	Market Research Analysts and Marketing Specialists
-1.046183	35-9021.00	Dishwashers
-1.030613	47-5042.00	Mine Cutting and Channeling Machine Operators
-1.026176	19-1042.00	Medical Scientists, Except Epidemiologists
-1.025054	51-8091.00	Chemical Plant and System Operators
-1.017974	13-2011.01	Accountants
-1.009193	51-5112.00	Printing Press Operators
-1.008464	17-3027.00	Mechanical Engineering Technicians
-1.008286	17-3023.03	Electrical Engineering Technicians
-0.9926657	13-2031.00	Budget Analysts
-0.9911875	47-2073.00	Operating Engineers and Other Construction Equipment Operators
-0.9737872	17-2141.00	Mechanical Engineers
-0.9673809	27-4011.00	Audio and Video Equipment Technicians
-0.9666573	43-4071.00	File Clerks
-0.9553421	47-3011.00	Helpers--Brickmasons, Blockmasons, Stonemasons, and Tile and Marble Setters
-0.9420273	51-3092.00	Food Batchmakers
-0.9383674	11-3071.02	Storage and Distribution Managers
-0.9350437	17-2071.00	Electrical Engineers
-0.930037	47-3012.00	Helpers--Carpenters
-0.9265419	51-8021.00	Stationary Engineers and Boiler Operators
-0.8918908	19-3022.00	Survey Researchers
-0.8910778	47-2141.00	Painters, Construction and Maintenance
-0.8848354	47-2061.00	Construction Laborers
-0.8848067	47-2221.00	Structural Iron and Steel Workers
-0.8845903	13-2051.00	Financial Analysts
-0.880688	51-9061.00	Inspectors, Testers, Sorters, Samplers, and Weighers
-0.8734235	29-2071.00	Medical Records and Health Information Technicians
-0.8718387	39-3092.00	Costume Attendants
-0.8597667	25-1063.00	Economics Teachers, Postsecondary

-0.8521233	19-2041.00	Environmental Scientists and Specialists, Including Health
-0.8517785	43-9011.00	Computer Operators
-0.8403533	27-3041.00	Editors
-0.8273681	47-2051.00	Cement Masons and Concrete Finishers
-0.8272333	37-2011.00	Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners
-0.8200461	27-1021.00	Commercial and Industrial Designers
-0.8140939	23-2093.00	Title Examiners, Abstractors, and Searchers
-0.8088447	47-3013.00	Helpers--Electricians
-0.8064903	17-2051.00	Civil Engineers
-0.7980233	15-1142.00	Network and Computer Systems Administrators
-0.7979025	49-3093.00	Tire Repairers and Changers
-0.7950298	19-4091.00	Environmental Science and Protection Technicians, Including Health
-0.7812436	53-7041.00	Hoist and Winch Operators
-0.7751994	53-7064.00	Packers and Packagers, Hand
-0.7725366	43-3051.00	Payroll and Timekeeping Clerks
-0.7453309	43-9021.00	Data Entry Keyers
-0.7391146	53-7062.00	Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand
-0.7379626	27-1014.00	Multimedia Artists and Animators
-0.7362491	35-2014.00	Cooks, Restaurant
-0.7197244	43-5053.00	Postal Service Mail Sorters, Processors, and Processing Machine Operators
-0.719273	51-9012.00	Separating, Filtering, Clarifying, Precipitating, and Still Machine Setters, Operators, and Tenders
-0.708199	43-3021.01	Statement Clerks
-0.7055023	25-1052.00	Chemistry Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.7036021	49-3011.00	Aircraft Mechanics and Service Technicians
-0.701979	13-2061.00	Financial Examiners
-0.6995901	45-2093.00	Farmworkers, Farm, Ranch, and Aquacultural Animals
-0.6861306	43-5071.00	Shipping, Receiving, and Traffic Clerks
-0.6755313	43-3031.00	Bookkeeping, Accounting, and Auditing Clerks
-0.6711637	51-9071.01	Jewelers
-0.6612944	47-2211.00	Sheet Metal Workers
-0.655731	53-4021.00	Railroad Brake, Signal, and Switch Operators
-0.6438709	25-1126.00	Philosophy and Religion Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.628213	49-3042.00	Mobile Heavy Equipment Mechanics, Except Engines
-0.626591	51-4012.00	Computer Numerically Controlled Machine Tool Programmers, Metal and Plastic
-0.6130187	51-9151.00	Photographic Process Workers and Processing Machine Operators

-0.6094523	47-5071.00	Roustabouts, Oil and Gas
-0.6031155	13-2021.02	Appraisers, Real Estate
-0.6013685	49-2098.00	Security and Fire Alarm Systems Installers
-0.549965	11-9041.00	Architectural and Engineering Managers
-0.5423805	43-9022.00	Word Processors and Typists
-0.5399884	49-3023.02	Automotive Specialty Technicians
-0.5385417	47-2111.00	Electricians
-0.5368516	13-2041.00	Credit Analysts
-0.5256084	43-5111.00	Weighers, Measurers, Checkers, and Samplers, Recordkeeping
-0.5169289	53-7051.00	Industrial Truck and Tractor Operators
-0.4895902	25-1121.00	Art, Drama, and Music Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.48473	15-1199.09	Information Technology Project Managers
-0.4788154	17-2112.00	Industrial Engineers
-0.4769666	43-6012.00	Legal Secretaries
-0.4769339	51-6011.00	Laundry and Dry-Cleaning Workers
-0.4698545	13-1111.00	Management Analysts
-0.4671016	47-2152.02	Plumbers
-0.4621708	43-9031.00	Desktop Publishers
-0.4584932	49-3023.01	Automotive Master Mechanics
-0.4574751	27-4021.00	Photographers
-0.4522674	47-2152.01	Pipe Fitters and Steamfitters
-0.4439338	43-5061.00	Production, Planning, and Expediting Clerks
-0.4422458	13-2082.00	Tax Preparers
-0.4412679	49-3031.00	Bus and Truck Mechanics and Diesel Engine Specialists
-0.4250084	53-4031.00	Railroad Conductors and Yardmasters
-0.4217236	51-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Production and Operating Workers
-0.4203445	35-3041.00	Food Servers, Nonrestaurant
-0.4068545	53-4013.00	Rail Yard Engineers, Dinkey Operators, and Hostlers
-0.4065814	37-2012.00	Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners
-0.3970037	27-2042.02	Musicians, Instrumental
-0.39295	13-1151.00	Training and Development Specialists
-0.3864021	15-1151.00	Computer User Support Specialists
-0.3841282	35-3022.00	Counter Attendants, Cafeteria, Food Concession, and Coffee Shop
-0.3692896	27-2012.02	Directors- Stage, Motion Pictures, Television, and Radio
-0.3657323	39-9021.00	Personal Care Aides
-0.3515534	47-4061.00	Rail-Track Laying and Maintenance Equipment Operators

-0.3481778	27-1022.00	Fashion Designers
-0.3447774	27-2011.00	Actors
-0.3309596	49-9021.01	Heating and Air Conditioning Mechanics and Installers
-0.3275127	35-2015.00	Cooks, Short Order
-0.3250585	27-4031.00	Camera Operators, Television, Video, and Motion Picture
-0.3206913	11-3071.01	Transportation Managers
-0.316899	53-7121.00	Tank Car, Truck, and Ship Loaders
-0.3152871	11-3021.00	Computer and Information Systems Managers
-0.3152475	53-3032.00	Heavy and Tractor-Trailer Truck Drivers
-0.313481	11-2021.00	Marketing Managers
-0.3084006	53-2012.00	Commercial Pilots
-0.3067679	13-2053.00	Insurance Underwriters
-0.3049399	41-4011.00	Sales Representatives, Wholesale and Manufacturing, Technical and Scientific Products
-0.2965115	39-5011.00	Barbers
-0.2872126	25-1022.00	Mathematical Science Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.2851629	23-2011.00	Paralegals and Legal Assistants
-0.2836237	27-3031.00	Public Relations Specialists
-0.2804399	25-1066.00	Psychology Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.2802921	25-3021.00	Self-Enrichment Education Teachers
-0.2588965	53-6051.07	Transportation Vehicle, Equipment and Systems Inspectors, Except Aviation
-0.2471964	49-9071.00	Maintenance and Repair Workers, General
-0.2420839	31-1011.00	Home Health Aides
-0.2337248	27-2012.05	Technical Directors/Managers
-0.2292247	53-3031.00	Driver/Sales Workers
-0.2285767	47-2071.00	Paving, Surfacing, and Tamping Equipment Operators
-0.2057111	13-2052.00	Personal Financial Advisors
-0.205533	29-9011.00	Occupational Health and Safety Specialists
-0.1997068	43-5021.00	Couriers and Messengers
-0.192525	43-9041.01	Insurance Claims Clerks
-0.1922184	43-5081.03	Stock Clerks- Stockroom, Warehouse, or Storage Yard
-0.1792636	43-4121.00	Library Assistants, Clerical
-0.1658799	39-2021.00	Nonfarm Animal Caretakers
-0.1618927	53-7081.00	Refuse and Recyclable Material Collectors
-0.1606314	17-1022.00	Surveyors
-0.1576443	25-9041.00	Teacher Assistants
-0.1575402	43-3021.02	Billing, Cost, and Rate Clerks
-0.1558022	49-9094.00	Locksmiths and Safe Repairers
-0.1434129	25-2012.00	Kindergarten Teachers, Except Special Education

-0.1404044	53-7011.00	Conveyor Operators and Tenders
-0.1367887	31-9011.00	Massage Therapists
-0.1284554	41-9091.00	Door-To-Door Sales Workers, News and Street Vendors, and Related Workers
-0.114848	25-1011.00	Business Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.110641	43-4161.00	Human Resources Assistants, Except Payroll and Timekeeping
-0.1028998	47-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Construction Trades and Extraction Workers
-0.1017102	43-6011.00	Executive Secretaries and Executive Administrative Assistants
-0.0980675	27-2041.01	Music Directors
-0.0940542	27-1025.00	Interior Designers
-0.0837296	13-2072.00	Loan Officers
-0.0743924	25-1081.00	Education Teachers, Postsecondary
-0.0681081	25-4021.00	Librarians
-0.0588795	13-1041.01	Environmental Compliance Inspectors
-0.0493749	49-2011.00	Computer, Automated Teller, and Office Machine Repairers
-0.0422763	11-2011.00	Advertising and Promotions Managers
-0.0418416	43-4051.00	Customer Service Representatives
-0.0205702	49-9052.00	Telecommunications Line Installers and Repairers
-0.0182125	13-1011.00	Agents and Business Managers of Artists, Performers, and Athletes
-0.0154292	13-1022.00	Wholesale and Retail Buyers, Except Farm Products
-0.0104066	29-1127.00	Speech-Language Pathologists
-0.0098145	37-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Housekeeping and Janitorial Workers
0.0073449	43-6014.00	Secretaries and Administrative Assistants, Except Legal, Medical, and Executive
0.0074934	27-1026.00	Merchandise Displayers and Window Trimmers
0.0165429	25-1122.00	Communications Teachers, Postsecondary
0.0176088	43-5052.00	Postal Service Mail Carriers
0.028564	27-1023.00	Floral Designers
0.0292386	43-4111.00	Interviewers, Except Eligibility and Loan
0.0337072	37-1012.00	First-Line Supervisors of Landscaping, Lawn Service, and Groundskeeping Workers
0.035298	27-2023.00	Umpires, Referees, and Other Sports Officials
0.0390919	27-3022.00	Reporters and Correspondents
0.0481621	41-9041.00	Telemarketers
0.0594838	19-4092.00	Forensic Science Technicians
0.061374	43-9041.02	Insurance Policy Processing Clerks
0.0618371	41-9031.00	Sales Engineers

0.0622358	47-4041.00	Hazardous Materials Removal Workers
0.0800662	43-5081.01	Stock Clerks, Sales Floor
0.0842297	51-8031.00	Water and Wastewater Treatment Plant and System Operators
0.086046	11-2022.00	Sales Managers
0.1032645	11-9021.00	Construction Managers
0.1065634	27-3011.00	Radio and Television Announcers
0.1069101	49-9051.00	Electrical Power-Line Installers and Repairers
0.1073334	39-9011.00	Childcare Workers
0.108553	11-3051.00	Industrial Production Managers
0.1210085	43-9061.00	Office Clerks, General
0.1235308	47-4051.00	Highway Maintenance Workers
0.1409143	35-3031.00	Waiters and Waitresses
0.1442326	47-4011.00	Construction and Building Inspectors
0.1809458	29-1199.01	Acupuncturists
0.1860698	25-1071.00	Health Specialties Teachers, Postsecondary
0.1884311	41-1012.00	First-Line Supervisors of Non-Retail Sales Workers
0.1931891	43-4151.00	Order Clerks
0.1978818	51-6052.00	Tailors, Dressmakers, and Custom Sewers
0.2112742	27-3012.00	Public Address System and Other Announcers
0.2114525	31-1014.00	Nursing Assistants
0.2124272	41-4012.00	Sales Representatives, Wholesale and Manufacturing, Except Technical and Scientific Products
0.2159796	49-9095.00	Manufactured Building and Mobile Home Installers
0.2239445	35-9031.00	Hosts and Hostesses, Restaurant, Lounge, and Coffee Shop
0.2300963	53-6031.00	Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants
0.2324348	35-2012.00	Cooks, Institution and Cafeteria
0.2349468	11-3121.00	Human Resources Managers
0.2431787	37-2021.00	Pest Control Workers
0.2433208	53-3033.00	Light Truck or Delivery Services Drivers
0.258832	27-3091.00	Interpreters and Translators
0.2696087	33-3021.02	Police Identification and Records Officers
0.2737552	29-2011.00	Medical and Clinical Laboratory Technologists
0.2848359	29-2012.00	Medical and Clinical Laboratory Technicians
0.2864845	33-9021.00	Private Detectives and Investigators
0.2883165	43-5032.00	Dispatchers, Except Police, Fire, and Ambulance
0.2944077	11-1011.00	Chief Executives
0.2946207	53-2011.00	Airline Pilots, Copilots, and Flight Engineers
0.2961358	41-3021.00	Insurance Sales Agents
0.2991972	39-9011.01	Nannies

0.3017178	41-3031.02	Sales Agents, Financial Services
0.3121118	43-4171.00	Receptionists and Information Clerks
0.3149374	49-2022.00	Telecommunications Equipment Installers and Repairers, Except Line Installers
0.3359091	49-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Mechanics, Installers, and Repairers
0.3413186	41-2022.00	Parts Salespersons
0.3419173	53-3022.00	Bus Drivers, School or Special Client
0.3476391	25-2053.00	Special Education Teachers, Middle School
0.3560505	41-9021.00	Real Estate Brokers
0.3637485	35-1011.00	Chefs and Head Cooks
0.3840831	41-3011.00	Advertising Sales Agents
0.3892486	13-1071.00	Human Resources Specialists
0.3904992	43-4031.01	Court Clerks
0.3971978	39-9031.00	Fitness Trainers and Aerobics Instructors
0.4008291	13-1031.02	Insurance Adjusters, Examiners, and Investigators
0.4159332	41-9022.00	Real Estate Sales Agents
0.4226164	41-3041.00	Travel Agents
0.4250526	25-3011.00	Adult Basic and Secondary Education and Literacy Teachers and Instructors
0.4268966	11-3011.00	Administrative Services Managers
0.4316924	41-2011.00	Cashiers
0.433928	43-6013.00	Medical Secretaries
0.4518105	53-2021.00	Air Traffic Controllers
0.4535551	29-1031.00	Dietitians and Nutritionists
0.4699054	11-9033.00	Education Administrators, Postsecondary
0.4779394	43-3011.00	Bill and Account Collectors
0.482756	29-2021.00	Dental Hygienists
0.4841979	31-2021.00	Physical Therapist Assistants
0.4942585	35-3021.00	Combined Food Preparation and Serving Workers, Including Fast Food
0.4959953	43-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Office and Administrative Support Workers
0.5034969	21-1094.00	Community Health Workers
0.5103816	43-3071.00	Tellers
0.5168297	43-9071.00	Office Machine Operators, Except Computer
0.5172081	39-5094.00	Skincare Specialists
0.5230015	29-2055.00	Surgical Technologists
0.5300232	13-1121.00	Meeting, Convention, and Event Planners
0.5337798	53-3041.00	Taxi Drivers and Chauffeurs
0.549907	11-2031.00	Public Relations and Fundraising Managers
0.5517533	25-2011.00	Preschool Teachers, Except Special Education

0.5610902	41-2012.00	Gaming Change Persons and Booth Cashiers
0.5625783	11-9141.00	Property, Real Estate, and Community Association Managers
0.5701578	35-1012.00	First-Line Supervisors of Food Preparation and Serving Workers
0.5706577	31-2011.00	Occupational Therapy Assistants
0.5983782	21-2021.00	Directors, Religious Activities and Education
0.601965	11-1021.00	General and Operations Managers
0.6324082	31-9091.00	Dental Assistants
0.6374003	43-4041.02	Credit Checkers
0.6608073	39-5012.00	Hairdressers, Hairstylists, and Cosmetologists
0.6828597	33-9032.00	Security Guards
0.6851721	53-3011.00	Ambulance Drivers and Attendants, Except Emergency Medical Technicians
0.6868791	13-1041.06	Coroners
0.6870931	41-2031.00	Retail Salespersons
0.7055252	23-1011.00	Lawyers
0.7095009	27-2022.00	Coaches and Scouts
0.7154231	53-1031.00	First-Line Supervisors of Transportation and Material-Moving Machine and Vehicle Operators
0.717103	11-3031.02	Financial Managers, Branch or Department
0.7364601	33-2011.01	Municipal Firefighters
0.7549144	25-1072.00	Nursing Instructors and Teachers, Postsecondary
0.759532	19-3031.03	Counseling Psychologists
0.7614107	25-2031.00	Secondary School Teachers, Except Special and Career/Technical Education
0.762444	25-2021.00	Elementary School Teachers, Except Special Education
0.763701	25-2054.00	Special Education Teachers, Secondary School
0.7739693	11-9131.00	Postmasters and Mail Superintendents
0.7796917	39-9032.00	Recreation Workers
0.8047469	21-2011.00	Clergy
0.8172252	29-1063.00	Internists, General
0.8234392	33-1021.01	Municipal Fire Fighting and Prevention Supervisors
0.8262781	35-3011.00	Bartenders
0.829622	11-9031.00	Education Administrators, Preschool and Childcare Center/Program
0.8320943	13-1031.01	Claims Examiners, Property and Casualty Insurance
0.8455687	13-2081.00	Tax Examiners and Collectors, and Revenue Agents
0.8666033	11-9111.00	Medical and Health Services Managers
0.8916754	11-9051.00	Food Service Managers
0.905004	39-3011.00	Gaming Dealers
0.9053298	29-2099.06	Radiologic Technicians

0.9207925	31-9095.00	Pharmacy Aides
0.945122	29-1122.00	Occupational Therapists
0.9455548	31-1013.00	Psychiatric Aides
0.9538241	31-9092.00	Medical Assistants
0.9599835	41-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Retail Sales Workers
0.9616595	25-2022.00	Middle School Teachers, Except Special and Career/Technical Education
0.9753444	29-2052.00	Pharmacy Technicians
0.9892722	53-3021.00	Bus Drivers, Transit and Intercity
1.021454	39-3091.00	Amusement and Recreation Attendants
1.023345	39-9041.00	Residential Advisors
1.027342	19-3031.01	School Psychologists
1.033095	29-1123.00	Physical Therapists
1.084339	43-4081.00	Hotel, Motel, and Resort Desk Clerks
1.08472	29-1126.00	Respiratory Therapists
1.085734	21-1014.00	Mental Health Counselors
1.090074	11-9151.00	Social and Community Service Managers
1.0978	21-1023.00	Mental Health and Substance Abuse Social Workers
1.100008	39-1021.00	First-Line Supervisors of Personal Service Workers
1.11426	23-1021.00	Administrative Law Judges, Adjudicators, and Hearing Officers
1.114837	29-1141.00	Registered Nurses
1.120906	29-1067.00	Surgeons
1.156907	29-1066.00	Psychiatrists
1.160578	29-1062.00	Family and General Practitioners
1.207529	33-3021.05	Immigration and Customs Inspectors
1.208591	29-2053.00	Psychiatric Technicians
1.214666	21-1092.00	Probation Officers and Correctional Treatment Specialists
1.270746	29-1051.00	Pharmacists
1.276717	13-1041.03	Equal Opportunity Representatives and Officers
1.283793	33-3031.00	Fish and Game Wardens
1.298414	21-1012.00	Educational, Guidance, School, and Vocational Counselors
1.299982	29-2034.00	Radiologic Technologists
1.306279	29-2061.00	Licensed Practical and Licensed Vocational Nurses
1.355154	33-1011.00	First-Line Supervisors of Correctional Officers
1.382224	43-4181.00	Reservation and Transportation Ticket Agents and Travel Clerks
1.411941	11-9032.00	Education Administrators, Elementary and Secondary School
1.417479	33-3021.03	Criminal Investigators and Special Agents

1.542761	21-1021.00	Child, Family, and School Social Workers
1.555963	33-3011.00	Bailiffs
1.573209	29-2041.00	Emergency Medical Technicians and Paramedics
1.578723	33-3012.00	Correctional Officers and Jailers
1.596217	21-1022.00	Healthcare Social Workers
1.611712	33-1012.00	First-Line Supervisors of Police and Detectives
1.733557	53-2031.00	Flight Attendants
1.84633	43-5031.00	Police, Fire, and Ambulance Dispatchers
1.859115	33-3051.03	Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs
1.957845	33-3051.01	Police Patrol Officers
