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The organisational, managerial and individual means alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. An integrative literature review

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The organisational, managerial and individual means alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. An integrative literature review

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The aim of this Master's thesis is to identify the factors which could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. The research question of this thesis is: What are the factors that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being? An integrative literature review was chosen as the research methodology for this thesis. This method was considered to be the most efficient approach to examine the extensive research already existing on the subject while being the most suitable method to answer the research question. The literature review was conducted as systematically as possible, with all the stages carefully planned and documented. Data was collected during June 2017 using two different databases; EBSCOhost and SAGE Premier 2012. A manual search was done using Google Scholar. After the careful two phased screening process, where the original studies were evaluated against the pre-set inclusion criteria, 10 publications were accepted into the final research. The data was analysed using thematic analysis. The literature review identified three distinctive 'means'. These different means offer a variety of ways to alleviate the negative effects emotional labour poses on the individual's work well-being. These means are the organisational means, the managerial means and the individual means.

The organisational means that were identified in this literature review, were social sharing, strong team climate, co-worker support and job complexity. The data suggests that the working environment is important and can be extremely beneficial for those performing emotional labour. Support can be provided through a strong team climate, through co-workers as well as providing opportunities for individual workers to share their frustrating work experiences. Also, the complexities of emotional labour jobs should be examined, as there is a clear indication that high job complexity can alleviate some of the negative effects of emotional labour.

The managerial means identified in this literature review were supportive management, enabling worker autonomy, trust in a supervisor and positive supervisor affectivity. The data suggests that the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being can be alleviated by paying attention to the management style of an organisation. Management should be able to provide enough support, while eliciting trust and enabling and promoting worker autonomy. Positive supervisor affectivity was recognised as one of the ways to alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual workers work well-being.

The individual means that were identified from the literature were chosen acting strategy, sense of self-efficacy, self monitoring, emotional intelligence and emotional resilience. The results demonstrate that workers should be encouraged and supported in developing skills to cope with the demands of emotional labour. Training in areas such as the emotional labour strategies, emotional intelligence and emotional resilience, are thus immensely important. The results also highlight that the selection and recruitment processes of an organisation should pay attention to individual's abilities, as certain qualities seem to also be more fitted to perform emotional labour.

Keywords: Emotional labour, Work well-being, Negative effects

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1 Introduction

Although an ample amount of research has been done on the affects of emotional labour on the well-being of individuals, the concept is still fairly unknown in the workplace. Having worked in human resources, this topic was immensely interesting from a professional point of view, and through witnessing first-hand the effects performing such roles can have on an individual's work well-being, the theme also touched upon a personal interest. The reasons therefore for choosing this topic were to broaden my own knowledge about the concept of emotional labour and emotion work, and to understand, how, organisations together with management, could support the personnel in such professions. Arlie Russel Hochschild's (1983) book "The Managed Heart - Commercialization of Human Feeling" was of a great source of inspiration for this thesis, although written years ago, it describes so vividly the struggles those in the public eye, doing emotional labour, face.

Emotions are an important part of any organisation and these can be examined at the different levels, such as the individual worker; between people; interpersonal; group and at the organisational level (Ashkanasy & Humphrey 2011, 215). When thinking about emotions in the context of labour, or the "various forms of emotion management in the context of paid employment" as referred to by Pugliesi (1999, 126) as emotional labour, we soon realise, that many professions and roles involve some parts of it, of course some more than others. Many may have been in a situation where there have been expectations on how to behave or what kind of emotions should be displayed, for example how our feelings should be expressed or how they should be held inside. Thus we may have faked a smile, pretended to be empathetic, or have repressed our disgust or hid our anger, as we have been paid to perform such work roles. We may have bitten our cheek in order to not say what was really on our mind, we may have dealt with people with whom we disagree with or worse, whom we despise, as this has been an informal part of our job and responsibilities, and in some cases even part of our job description. So, to some degree, we may have managed our emotions to meet the expectations of the organisation, or of the professional role held. Managing our emotions at the workplace is one of the necessary skills one must possess, though different professions have differing expectations to how emotions should be displayed or how they should be hidden from the public eye.

Emotional labour has been seen as the management of one's feelings for a wage within frontline customer service roles (Hochschild 1983), but a growing number of research is validating that emotional labour professions cover a diversity of occupations and it can also refer to the interaction with colleagues as well as external and internal clientele (Pugliesi 1999; Wharton 2009). Different expectations to the performance of emotional labour may

exist, as some research suggests that it differs between genders, and women may be expected to perform more of it. There can also be the tendency to see that emotional labour is more “natural” for women and therefore such skills are undervalued and un-noticed. (Hochschild 1983; Guy & Newman 2004.)

In the field of people work, whether it be social work, ambulance services or even the human resource function, these interaction and emotion management skills are especially important. But in many such professions emphasis may be put on workers well-being after a particular situation or crisis event, and in alleviating work related stress that such event may thus present to the worker. For example, personnel may be provided with psychosocial support during or after such an especially stressful event. Thus less attention is paid to the longer term, negative effects emotional labour inflicts on such workers well-being. As it may be accumulating over time and leaving the origin of such negative effects on individual’s work well-being hard to identify. But as research has continued to demonstrate, emotional labour can have several negative effects on the well-being of those doing it (e.g. Pugliesi 1999; Hochschild 1983; Zapf 2002; Yang & Chang 2008; Wharton 1999), so how could it be supported and what are the key factors that each organisation and manager should consider after recognising that such emotion work exists.

This research aims to describe and open up the concept of emotional labour and emotion work, introduce current discussions, as well as present recent research about emotional labour and it’s effect on an individual’s work well-being. It aims to describe and summarise, through a descriptive literature review, the ways in which organisations, managers and leaders, and individuals themselves, could best alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour.

2 Emotional labour and work well-being

2.1 Emotions and feelings

Emotions are a very important part of the life of homo sapiens. The word 'emotional' has crept into our everyday language; sentences such as "Do not be so emotional" or "S/he is so emotional" or a phrase such as "emotional wreck", can be heard in day to day conversations. Differing emotions are present, in our private lives as well as our public lives, in our various occupations, professions and roles, though the expectations on the expression or suppression of emotions differ from organisation to organisation, occupation to occupation, as well as culture to culture. Emotions and feelings are present everyday as we feel or try to suppress ourselves from feeling something constantly. As human beings, we fall in and out of love, are capable of hating, experience anger, guilt and shame, as well as happiness, joy, sadness and frustration, excitement and fear. However, the viewpoints of emotion vary from organismic models to interactional views, so differing theories as to where they stem from and what is their purpose remain. Emotions involve changes in our bodily systems, so have a biological perspective. They are also conscious feelings about ourselves, and therefore have a cognitive perspective, and a cultural perspective through the words and labels we give to certain physiological states of arousal. (Turner 2007, 1-2.)

Hochschild (1983, 229) suggests that emotion is "a biologically given sense... it is a means by which we know about our relation to the world, and it is therefore crucial for the survival of human beings in group life". Emotion is exceptional amongst the senses as it is related to an orientation toward action as well as toward cognition (Hochschild 1983, 229). Lawler & Thye (1999, 295) see emotions as internal events that occur within an actor, stemming from external conditions or events, such as the behaviour of others or the social context. Emotions are considered to be spontaneous processes, whereas feelings can be controlled, enhanced, moderated or even suppressed. Long term, less intense emotions are called moods. Differing cultural rules exist as to what kind of feelings can be publicly shown in which social situations and culture also shapes how emotions are expressed and interpreted. (Helkama, Myllyniemi & Liebkind 2001, 164; 170.)

Goldie (2002) argues that emotions involve two kinds of feelings. These are the 'bodily feeling', such as feeling cold or feeling hair going up on one's neck, influencing us to believe that the heating has been turned off, or in the latter that one may be in danger. The other type of feeling is the 'feeling towards', when we direct our feelings towards the object of an emotion, whether this is an action or an event, a person or a thing, or a state of affairs. (Goldie 2002, 238-239, 241.) According to Hansen (2002, 1427) feelings are conscious and

cognitive perceptions used “to describe our more primitive non-cognitive emotional control of what we do”. Feelings can be used in our language, as we may talk about feelings of excitement, sadness, happiness as well as jealousy or may tell someone we felt scared (Hansen 2002, 1427; Goldie 2002, 240). When thinking of feelings, we also recognise them as what they are and therefore “are deploying a common set of concepts, shared with others” (Goldie 2002, 240). This leads us to being able to think and talk of how another person is feeling, and vice versa also allows and enables us to think and talk of how we are ourselves feeling (Goldie 2002, 240).

What we feel and what is communicated is influenced by ‘feeling rules’. Feeling rules are socially constructed rules about what we should or should not feel in certain situations, roles, or social settings. Such rules regulate, for example, how we try to manage our emotions to feel in ways that are appropriate for a certain situation, such as feel sad at funerals and happy at weddings. (Hochschild 1979, 552.) Feelings are something through which we discover our own viewpoint of the world and when we try to feel, we apply feeling rules, which are the “standards used in emotional conversation to determine what is rightly owed and owing in the currency of feeling” (Hochschild 1983, 17-18). Feeling rules could be compared to social interaction rules, or rules of etiquette (Goffman 1961 as cited in Hochschild 1979, 565). They define the ground in which one can be free of worry, guilt or shame. These rules can be followed fully or obeyed listlessly, although the latter may come with a cost. Such rules also reflect one’s social membership. Some of these rules are universal and others only exclusive to a certain social group. (Hochschild 1979, 565-566.) Feeling rules are rooted in our culture and each culture produces its own prototype of feelings. This lays the foundation for subjectivity in guiding the “act of recognizing a feeling”. Aside from thinking what a feeling is, we have ideas in respect to what they should be. Because of such rules, feelings are then managed to meet the ideals of a feeling as they should be. It is through the awareness of an interaction, our interpretation of feeling, our assessment of feeling, and the management of feeling, that makes feeling social. (Hochschild 2008, 80.)

Emotions and feelings are an important part of work life and of organisations, as the latter are made up of individuals with differing backgrounds and experiences, including diverse emotions, moods and traits. All of which are intertwined - effecting and influencing others. (Barsade & Gibson 2007, 54.) Organisations are thus not static things, but affected widely by the individuals they are made up of.

2.2 Emotional labour and emotion work

Although a growing number of industries are finding new ways to become more efficient and cost effective through service computerisation, automatization and the use of robotics,

several service professions still exist. When thinking about a good service we once received, we may think about an encounter with a kind, cheerful and friendly worker and most of us would not be happy with a service encounter with a rude and unkind worker. Most companies, therefore, pay attention to their service personnel's training and induction processes, in enhancing the customer experience, to include models on how customers should be met, spoken to and greeted. Ideas about what kind of feelings should be conveyed to customers or clients, through the service interaction, may also exist in companies and organisations' business strategies or customer service manuals. And these in turn reflect on the way that workers are expected to create such a feeling in the service interaction.

The concept of emotional labour was first introduced by Hochschild, who, in the seminal book *The Managed Heart - Commercialization of Human Feeling*, referred to with it as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial or bodily display" which is "sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value" (Hochschild 1983, 7). The term "emotion work", according to Hochschild (1979, 561), refers to the "act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling", and as it is done in a private context it has use value (Hochschild 1983, 7). Hochschild (2008, 80), in her later work, described emotional labour as "the effort to seem to feel and to try to really feel the "right" feeling for the job, and to try to induce the "right" feeling in certain others". Morris & Feldman (1996, 987), define emotional labour as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions". It is therefore work where the expression of organisationally aspired emotions is part of an individual's job (Zapf 2002, 237). Tracy (2005, 261) uses the term emotion labour and defines it as "the instrumental use and suppression of emotion" while Ahsforth & Humphrey (1993, 90) see it as "the act of displaying the appropriate emotion (i.e., conforming with a display rule)" and argue that one may conform with behavioural display rules without having to manage their feelings.

Emotional labour is the management of one's emotions for a wage (Hochschild 1983, 7), like the previous example of a service worker keeping up a friendly and cheerful demeanour to make the customer service experience a pleasant one. Emotions can be managed through faking them, containing them or enhancing them to modify the emotional expression to meet the display rules of a particular organisation (Grandey 2000, 95). Emotional labour refers to work roles that require the management of feelings as workers are encouraged to display certain emotions while others should stay concealed, and as Tracy (2005, 261) suggest, it is about employees packaging their emotional expressions to fit organizational norms. Morris & Feldman (1996) agree with Hochschild in that previously privately determined expression of emotion, has now become "a marketplace commodity" (Hoschschild 1979, 572; Morris & Feldman 1996, 988). But in their conceptualisation of emotional labour, they focus on the appropriate expressive behaviour that is organisationally aspired, rather than the

management of feeling as Hochschild does (Morris & Feldman 1996, 988). Differing terms are used to describe emotional labour, depending on the approach and underpinning theories. What unites them is that they all have the same elemental theme, that of regulating one's emotional expression at work. (Grandey 2000, 97.) Zapf et al. (1999, 373) and Zapf (2002, 238-239) argue that the term emotion work should be preferred, over emotional labour, to be compatible with other fields of work and organizational psychology, as the term "work" is used in work and organisational psychology instead of the term "labour" when referring to cognitive or motivational facets of work. But both terms (emotional labour and emotion work) are used concurrently today.

The concept of emotional intelligence seems to be familiar to many organisational and workplace consultants, human resources professionals and leaders, and may be incorporated into various leadership and management training programmes. Emotional labour and emotional intelligence could be described as being the different sides of the same coin. While emotional intelligence refers to "the ability to engage in sophisticated information processing about one's own and others' emotions and the ability to use this information as a guide to thinking and behavior" (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso 2008, 503), emotional labour is the "emotive behaviour that is performed for a wage" (Guy & Lee 2013, 264). Emotional intelligence requires self-awareness, emotional self-awareness, emotional other-awareness and ability to regulate emotion (Guy & Lee 2013, 262-263) and other competences, such as "self-control, empathy, active listening, conflict resolution and cooperation with others" (Guy & Newman 2004, 290). Emotional intelligence is an ability, which some argue, could be developed through education and training, while emotional labour is the performance of such emotion management in a work setting. Therefore emotional intelligence could be seen as the individual skill, and when such skills are applied, it will result in emotional labour. (Guy & Lee 2013, 262-265.) Emotional intelligence is an important skill, especially in emotional labour professions, as managing feelings requires high levels of emotional intelligence (Guy & Newman 2004, 290).

Many jobs these days require individuals to have interpersonal skills, or soft skills, rather than mechanical skills (Hochschild 1983, 9; Wharton 1999, 174), so more and more emotional labour is expected from workers today than ever before. In various workplaces individuals are doing emotional labour, but emotional labour may be hard to recognise, as it refers to the management of a wide range of feelings. (Hochschild 2012, ix-x.) The expression of socially appropriate emotions seems to be a neglected form of role demand (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 110), resulting in emotional labour being under recognised (Cricco-Lizza 2014, 617) and overlooked or even taken for granted (Riley & Weiss 2015, 15). Also women may be expected to perform more emotional labour compared to men and to manage their expression of emotion and feeling better than their male counterparts (Hochschild 1983, 164). Guy &

Newman (2004, 289) argue that tasks that require emotional labour are usually such that are thought to be more “natural” for women. Some of such tasks include caring, empathising and working behind the scenes. But as these are usually excluded from job descriptions they thus remain invisible and uncompensated for.

Hochschild argues (1983, 147) that there are three central characteristics of emotional labour. The first one being that it requires interaction (whether face-to-face or voice-to-voice), secondly it requires the worker to produce or influence another’s emotions, attitudes or behaviour, and thirdly, it calls for the emotional activities of workers to be controlled through training or supervision. According to Pugliesi (1999, 129) emotional labour can be directed either towards clients or co-workers (other-focused and self-focused), as the management of one’s emotions encompasses the management of own feelings or the management of feelings of others. Zapf et al. (1999, 373-374) suggests that employers differ in their attempts to control and direct the emotional displays of workers, and that it is not that common for companies to have explicit display rules as part of the job descriptions or of the organisational culture, at least not in Continental Europe. But even though such explicit ‘display rules’ may not come as part of one’s job description, they may be implicit rules that come through one’s occupational education or they may be part of one’s professional practices or ethos. (Zapf 2002, 241.) Thus organisations may have differing norms, rules or standards as to how tasks should be carried out, but that the attempts to control and direct the emotion displays of workers is different from organisation to organisation. In some, it could be that it is the supervisors’ role to foresee that display rules are being followed, while in some it could be done through differing customer evaluations, which are being carried out by the organisations to assess service quality. (Zapf et al 1999, 373-374.) This definition differs from Hochschild’s view of having “an emotion supervisor immediately on hand” (1983, 153). Also, it has been argued that emotional labour is not exclusive to front-line service occupations as Pugliesi (1999, 129) states that emotional labour is not “exclusively embedded in the provision of services to clients or the public... not restricted to service occupations in the narrowest sense. Rather, incumbents of a variety of jobs engage in both client- and coworker-focused emotional labour”. Wharton (2009, 152) proposes that emotional labour research has extended to professional and expert service work, concentrating on the interaction with one’s clients and co-workers.

Each field of occupation has their own kind of feeling rules (Hochschild 1983, 204), which are “...what guide emotion work by establishing a sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchange” (Hochschild 1983, 56) as they “set out what is owed in gestures of exchange of people” by enabling us to “...assess the worth of an outward tear or an inward attempt to feel sad...” (Hochschild 1983, 76). In private life, such exchanges between equal status people are usually even, but in the public world these may be uneven as an individual’s

job may be to face disrespectful or angry customers (Hochschild 1983, 84-85). Ashforth & Humphrey (1993, 89-90) preferred the term display rules, over feeling rules, as it refers to “what emotions ought to be publicly expressed rather than to what emotions are actually felt” and as such, is better used to define the process of observing one’s behaviour as it is the compliance levels of such behaviour display rules, not the internal states of individuals, which are observed by colleagues, customers and peers. Some institutions have very good techniques to suggest how individuals should imagine and thus how they should feel (Hochschild 1983, 49) and in some organisations, the rules of how emotions should be managed or expressed, may be written in their induction and training programmes, while in others it could be more about the subtle knowledge of how emotions should be exhibited. Some such rules may refer to how emotions should be displayed towards clients or customers, for example in a call-centre, workers may be directed to speak to customers in a friendly tone. (Zapf et al. 2001, 529.) But even if no special policies existed guiding individual workers on how to act, such professions may have clear societal norms and expectations as to how professionals should behave. Also the expectations of clients may affect the behaviour of such professionals. (Zapf 2002, 241.) It has been suggested that the negative consequences of emotional management requirements arise from the fact that it is the employer who dictates how such emotions should be displayed, and not the worker (Wharton 1999, 162). Hayward & Tuckey (2011, 1514) suggested that when nurses have expertise and authority in choosing when and how to emotionally connect with patients, it enables them to feel good, inspired and excited. But this calls for a certain control over one’s work, to be able to choose when and how to do so.

2.3 Emotional labour in different professions

Emotional labour exists in a variety of professions and comes in different forms and dimensions (Wharton 1999, 161). Newman et al (2009, 10) suggests that “case-workers, attorneys, paralegals, and investigators... therapists, social workers, school teachers, judges, and health care workers” are all such professions where emotion management demands are high, not to mention emergency response services, child welfare services, victim services and trauma care, which are all very high in their emotional intensity and would definitely require the performance of emotional labour. Debt collectors, correctional officers and police officers, as well as flight attendants are also such service sector professions, where emotional labour exists (Zapf 2002, 239; Hochschild 1983). What does emotional labour look like then? Correctional administrators are encouraged to suppress feelings of weakness and fear, but expected to convey warm emotions, while concealing irritation whether in their manners, facial expressions or speech (Tracy 2005, 256-267). Flight attendants are expected to put on a smile, act sincerely, while treating passengers as if they were guests in their own homes (Hochschild 1983, 106-108), while an emergency response worker may need to suppress a

feeling of horror after seeing a badly injured victim and wear an “emotional” mask when doing their duties (Guy & Lee 2013, 262; 264) and paralegals, according to Pierce (1999, 130), are expected to manage their and others anger and be pleasant in the courtroom. Some emotional labour jobs require workers to manage grief, depression or fear, and abusive clients (Hochschild 2008, 80), some call for the ability to show compassion and to transform expression of emotions, to pick up on others’ emotional state, to embrace the emotions of others and to emphasise or to have the capacity to suppress own emotions (Newman, Guy & Mastracci 2009, 6-7). Pugliesi (1999, 147) argues that masking or suppressing own feelings towards a co-worker is more distressful for workers than managing the feelings of others (of clients). Thus emotional labour may then be managing one’s emotions according to organisational norms, so suppressing or hiding one’s true felt emotions from co-workers. But it could also be seen as the effort to influence others by strategically putting on particular emotional expression in a job in order to meet organisational goals (Barsade & Gibson 2007, 53).

Emotional labour emphasises the interaction which can be between employees and external customers, whether patients, clients, children, passengers or guests (Zapf 2002, 238), between employees and internal customers (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 90) or encounters between co-workers (Pugliesi 1999). Emotional labour is positive for customers and clientele, as who would want to be served by an irritable waitress, cranky bank officers, or someone who avoids eye contact to avoid any engagement that would create extra work (Hochschild 1983, 9). In service professions the interaction in a service encounter is extremely important in how the customer feels about the overall encounter. Some studies suggest that the interaction can be perceived negatively by customers, if they detect that employees are being insincere and are merely surface acting (Victorino & Bolinger 2012, 201). Emotional labour is thus extremely valuable for organisations, as the happier the customers are with the customer experience, the better the return on investment, through referrals, good customer reviews, increased customer commitment etc. In terms of emotional labour which is self-focused, so suppressing own feelings towards a co-worker, there are also several benefits for the organisation as individual workers comply to organisational norms and expectations on how to act. Several workplaces may have such “rules” regarding for example workplace behaviour. Emotional labour may therefore also help organisations to achieve their goals or agenda, by making collaboration possible. Different forms of emotional labour are thus valuable from an organisational perspective.

As emotional labour refers to person-related jobs (Zapf 2002, 240) it can be interaction with clients, customers, co-workers or patients. Many such occupations are those who play a key role in supporting others, whether in an event of disaster or crisis, during despair, sickness, loss or pain. So what about the well-being at work of such individuals who play a key role in

supporting others? There are several advantages to why it is important that those who play a key role in supporting others are themselves supported and that their work well-being is looked after. It is good risk management as the possible risks that may actualize may not only have negative affects on the individual supporters but can have massive affects to the people being cared for through a lower level or quality of care. (Wills 2014, 13-15.)

2.4 Individual emotional labour strategies

In our private and public lives, humans are very capable of pretending, especially when we want to be polite. The act of pretending to feel something is an offering, a statement of deference, and through fabricating a feeling, we try to give someone behavioural evidence of what we are thinking or feeling. (Hochschild 1983, 82-83.) But when we are managing a feeling this way, we are actively trying to change an emotional state which is pre-existing (Hochschild 1983, 229). Hochschild (1983, 186) was concerned about the private acts of emotion management becoming sold as labour in public contact jobs. As when feelings are actively managed to make personalities fit public-contact work, the emotional dues may be costly to the self (Hochschild 1983, 229). This is because the product, whether a smile, a feeling or a mood, belongs to the organisation and less to the self, leaving the worker confused about how they are really feeling themselves (Hochschild 1983, 198). Accepting such a division between the true and the company self may result in the individual worker abandoning his/her healthy sense of self and accepting the tension between the true and on-stage self as normal (Hochschild 1983, 184).

According to Hochschild (1983) three differing viewpoints of emotional labour can be identified and each of these come with their own psychological toll on the individual. The worker may become too present and identifies with the job too deeply risking burnout; the worker may identify when they are acting, but may feel phony as a result of such clear distinction of the roles and blame themselves; or the worker may not be present enough following withdrawal and cynicism. Hochschild argues that it is the lack of control over the work conditions which creates problems for the worker. This lack of control leads to the worker not being able to influence his/her entrances and exits on "stage", or the nature of their acting in between, therefore resulting into the worker either overextending themselves and facing burnout, or the worker psychologically removing themselves from the job and feeling sadness about it. (Hochschild 1983, 187-189.)

Emotional labour can be performed in two ways, through surface acting or deep acting (Hochschild 1983, 35-36). These processes have also been referred to as the forms of emotion regulation (Cote 2005, 510; Grandey 2000, 98-101). Surface acting refers to emotions being acted on the surface - so trying to change how we appear outwards and thus deceiving others,

but not ourselves, about what we truly feel (Hochschild 1983, 33). One may try to manage their visible aspects of emotions on the surface to “bring them in line with the organizational display rules while the inner feelings remain unchanged” (Zapf 2002, 244). When surface acting one’s expression on the face or one’s posture is put on (Hochschild 1983, 36) and it “concerns the manipulations of components of emotion once the emotion is fully under way” and by such it “changes the public display but not the internal experience of emotion” (Cote 2005, 510). Surface acting most likely drains one’s energy as it involves lengthened strain between displayed feelings and true feelings (Biron & Veldhoven 2012, 1263). Deep acting refers to an individual actually experiencing such emotions as feelings have been self-induced (Hochschild 1983, 35-36) and thus we deceive others as much as we deceive ourselves (Hochschild 1983, 33). Deep acting is “the manipulation of components of emotion before the emotion is fully under way” and it aims to change “the internal experience and the public display of emotion” (Cote 2005, 510). In deep acting we are actively inducing, suppressing or shaping feelings (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 93). According to Yang & Chang (2008, 883) deep acting is “the process in which internal thoughts and feelings are altered to meet mandated display rules” and this can be done through psyching ourselves up, in the same way that actors do for a role they are playing, into experiencing the desired emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 93). When surface acting refers to the outward behaviour, deep acting concentrates on the inner feelings (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 93). It has been proposed that the displays of emotion are authentic in deep acting, as they match the internal experiences, while in surface acting they do not match and are therefore inauthentic displays (Coté 2005, 516).

A third emotion management strategy has been identified as a means of performing emotional labour as there can be a genuine expression and experience of emotions, something that Ashforth & Humphrey (1993, 94) referred to when they stated that “...a service agent may naturally feel what he or she is expected to express without having to work up the emotion... A nurse who feels sympathy at the sight of an injured child has no need to ‘act’”. Zapf (2002) maintained that automatic emotion regulation, surface acting and deep acting can be differentiated. Automatic emotion regulation therefore refers to a situation when an emotion is felt, but the expression of it is genuine and occurs automatically. These required emotions are thus spontaneous and their expression occurs automatically while social competence may be a moderator, so a worker may act but does not do it consciously. (Zapf 2002, 243-244.)

A worker may experience a conflict between their real feeling and the fake display they put on. Hochschild (1983, 90) suggested that emotional dissonance, which is comparable to cognitive dissonance, will result from keeping up such a separation of display and feeling for a long period of time. Being required to express emotions which are not authentically felt in one’s work in a certain situation may then result in emotional dissonance. There may be

organisational expectations to display a particular emotion but the individual feels nothing, or one is required to suppress an emotion that is undesired and instead of it display a neutral expression or emotion. Emotional dissonance is therefore the disparity between organisationally desired expression of emotions and true felt emotions. (Zapf et al. 1999, 375; Zapf 2002, 244-245.) Maintaining this kind of difference between real feeling and pretending can cause a huge strain on an individual, and as Hochschild claims, this strain can be reduced by either changing what we feel or by changing what we pretend. As in most cases such fake display is necessary on the job, so it is the feeling that has to change. (Hochschild 1983, 90.) But this practice may in the long run lead to self-estrangement, as a means of defence (Hochschild 1983, 183). Although emotional dissonance is considered to be a negative state, both surface and deep acting as processes may result in positive or negative outcomes (Grandey 2000, 97).

Emotional dissonance may be dealt with by other means. For example, Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) suggest that those doing emotional labour may turn to differing techniques in order to create a boundary between their central identity and their role's behaviour. This kind of boundary may then act as a buffer against possible daily violations on their true self. (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 105.) In emotional labour professions different ways to cope with such a strain has been identified. Nurses, for example, have been found to withdraw from emotional pain by limiting eye contact and interaction with patients and focusing solely on the procedures and tasks at hand and this way cope with the emotional demands of their jobs (Cricco-Lizza 2014, 623), and to manipulate their emotional boundaries to keep emotional distance (Hayward & Tuckey 2011, 1514), medical students use humour to dehumanise patients as part of their emotional management strategy to control situations (Smith & Kleinman 1989, 67), and flight attendants use banter and jokes to vent frustration towards passengers (Hochschild 1983, 114-116).

Hochschild's concept of emotional labour has been criticised by many writers as being over simplified in separating private and public realm emotions (Brook 2009, 533; Bolton & Boyd 2002, 293). And that such a view of the worker creates "an illustration of emotionally crippled actors" (Bolton & Boyd, 290) but that it is not always "the organisation that defines the emotional agenda" as workers can "genuinely empathize... rather than present the cynical face of a service-provider" (Bolton & Boyd 2003, 304). In their article, Bolton & Boyd define four different but equally vital, emotional self-management types. These are pecuniary emotion management, presentational emotion management, prescriptive and philanthropic emotion management. Pecuniary emotion management strategies refer to meeting the rules which have commercial motives, so the wage-relationship; the prescriptive strategies to meet and comply with the professional as well as organisational feeling rules; the presentational strategies refer to the basic socialised self such as conforming to social expectations and the

philanthropic emotion management strategies to individuals' freedom to give that little extra. Differing emotion management may be performed at any one time, and workers therefore have varied, different and diverse ways of achieving organisations rule's. The model offers both professional and personal emotion management strategies and has successfully identified the feeling rules at work which are not commercially motivated. (Bolton & Boyd 2002, 295-298; 305.) Bolton & Boyd's critique has been argued to have been flawed, being based on two large misinterpretations - the commodified content of emotional labour power and the composition of the means of service production (Brook 2009, 542), but on the other hand, offer a different view to the emotion management strategies in emotional labour.

Another criticism put forward by Tracy (2005, 262), points out that the view of emotional dissonance, as suggested by Hochschild, influencing the majority of research in the domain, is based on the idea of an essential self. But when identity is perceived in post-structuralist terms, other issues arise that should be considered. As when focusing solely on emotional dissonance "the larger discourses of power and everyday social interactions that impact how and why emotion work may be difficult" are ignored (Tracy 2005, 264). Thus emphasising the importance of considering other impactors, such as the discourses of power as well as societal and organisational factors, which may affect emotional labour in turn.

2.5 Work well-being

Well-being at work, especially in terms of the psychosocial elements, has been the topic of many recent workplace studies. This has resulted in more and more employers understanding its importance as the growing number of research has demonstrated the benefits of investing into employees. Work well-being is a multidimensional concept though, and it is not just about offering personnel perks or separate "wellbeing" days and events. Needless to say, work well-being does have several positive consequences for the organisation as it has been found to correlate with increased job productivity and efficiency, employee commitment, employee satisfaction as well as better quality of labour. (Manka, Heikkilä-Tammi & Vauhkonen 2012, 12; 14-16). Work well-being could be examined in terms of an individual worker's ability to manage their daily workload. Several factors affect this, such as the organisational culture, the personality of an individual and their personal experiences as well as the relationships within an organisation. (Viitala, Säntti & Mäkelä 2012, 97-98.) Perceived organisational climate, consisting of factors such as the structure, managerial practices, decision processes and the leadership culture of an organisation, also all have an affect on the individual worker and thus affecting his/her work well-being (Viitala et al. 2012, 99). In their study Viitala et al. (2012, 103-104) illustrated that organisational climate has a strong relationship with work well-being, as positive climate was found to support well-being and

even create it while negative climate was linked to negative work well-being. Organisational support has been also found to influence workers well-being (Soh, Zarola, Palaiou & Furnham 2016, 7) as well as leadership style, as shown by Bono (2007, 1362-1363), who demonstrated that transformational leadership, typically considered to be an empathetic leadership style, correlated with the optimism, happiness and enthusiasm of such leader's subordinates, emphasising the powerful role of supervisors on employee emotions. Managers play an important part in worker burnout too, especially in the field of health care, where their leadership behaviour has been found to relate strongly to workers' personal accomplishment and emotional exhaustion as well as depersonalisation (Kanste 2008, 7-8). Several factors effect workers well-being. For example, it is believed that job insecurity (Sparks, Faragher & Cooper 2001, 491-492), job autonomy (Thompson & Prottas 2005, 115), job performance (Wright & Cropanzano 2000, 91) as well as goal awareness (Uotila, Viitala, Mäkelä & Tanskanen, 2012, 74-75), to name a few, all have a strong association with work well-being. It is also believed that stress at work may be the result of challenges which are the result of a demanding environment, which in turn elicit negative emotions and generate psychological responses (Uotila et al. 2012, 66).

Emotional labour affects individuals well-being; for example, emotional exhaustion, a dimension of job burnout, has been found to positively associate with surface acting (Biron & Veldhoven 2012, 1272-1273). Burnout was originally studied in the health care professions, where the emotional demands at work were high, and considered to be a signal of one's inability to satisfactorily manage their emotions when in interaction with clients (Zapf et al. 2001, 527). Burnout is considered to be a syndrome which consists of emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduced personal accomplishment. Feelings of exhaustion is the most obvious indication of this syndrome. This refers to a worker feeling unable to give of themselves, as their emotional resources have been drained, at a psychological level. (Maslach & Jackson 1981, 99.) Exhaustion is something that evokes action to distance oneself from work emotionally and cognitively, as a measure to cope with an overwhelming workload. It can be the emotional demands of one's work, which can exhaust workers' capacity to respond to service recipients needs. (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter 2001, 403.) Negative and cynical attitudes towards one's client is another signal of burnout. Depersonalization is a pursuit to distance oneself from service recipients by strongly "ignoring the qualities that make them unique and engaging people" (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter 2001, 403). A worker may also evaluate oneself negatively, feel unhappy about themselves and dissatisfied with their work accomplishments (Maslach & Jackson 1981, 99). Overwhelming workload or demands may destroy one's feeling of effectiveness and therefore create reduced personal accomplishment, although the lack of efficacy arises from a lack of relevant resources, whereas exhaustion and cynicism arise from the existence of work overload and social conflict (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter 2001, 403).

Surface acting and deep acting have been both linked to work well-being. Surface acting has been proposed to lead to cynicism and deep acting to stress and exhaustion (Nylander, Lindberg & Bruhn 2011, 482). Surface acting has been shown to also have negative effects on job satisfaction (Hur, Han, Yoo & Moon 2015, 614) as well as to affect organisational commitment, as inauthenticity, so showing expressions which differs from one's inner feelings, has been found to depress workers organisational commitment (Yang & Chang 2008, 883-885). Emotional labour can be a great source of stress to those doing it. Especially where there is an estrangement between the self and feeling and between the self and display. (Hochschild 1983, 131.) Keeping up the separation of display and feeling can be challenging for individual workers, especially for a long period of time (Hochschild 1983, 90). It is believed that the longer the interaction the more emotion work is needed leading onto individual workers displaying emotions that they do not feel at the time, resulting in emotional dissonance (Zapf et al. 2001, 531). Also when a higher variety of emotions are needed to be displayed, emotion work is believed to be higher (Morris & Feldman 1996, 993-994). Suppressing emotions may be easier to some, while others may find such emotional encounters exhausting. It is as individual as cognitive work. (Newman et al. 2009, 7.)

Although there is clear indication that emotional labour can have negative effects on an individual's well-being, according to Wharton (1999), the burnout levels of workers can be predicted better by job characteristics, such as job autonomy, rather than emotional labour, as performers of it are not more likely to report job burnout than nonperformers. But it is the requirement to handle people well, not the interaction with people or public contact work, so emotional labour, that increases individual workers' feelings of inauthenticity. Therefore emotional labour can have negative effects, but these happen under certain conditions. (Wharton 1999, 165-166.) So it is vital to find differing ways to support those doing emotional labour, which take the condition and situation as well as individual's abilities and skills into consideration. In some professions, such as nursing, many may bring home additional emotional demands when the horrors of their work follow them to their homes when off-duty (Cricco-Lizza 2014, 619), this is often the case in professions such as crises and disaster work, that deal with mourning or suffering of others. Those that provide care and support in times of crises and disasters are expected to provide it with sincerity. Research suggests that inauthentic displays of emotion and emotion amplification and suppression through surface acting is perceived by receivers negatively and may evoke adverse responses. (Cote 2005, 517-518.) So employers and customers, whether patients or clients, prefer emotional displays that appear to be sincere and genuine, but it is exactly such sincerity which may increase the risk of burnout (Wharton 1999, 163).

Emotional labour is not always negative, as deep acting has been found to correlate significantly (positively) with job satisfaction (Yang & Chang 2008, 883-885; Hur et al. 2015, 616). Hochschild (1983, 55) argues that surface and deep acting are resources used to make money as they have become a commodity in the prevailing capitalist society as emotion work is no more a private act, but a public one, as it is sold for a wage. But from an organisational and management point of view, emotional labour is immensely important, as it could lead to increased self-efficacy and task effectiveness while fulfilling social expectations by making interactions more predictable (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, 94-95). Through emotional labour workers can influence the emotions of customers, clients and patients, so that they perceive the interaction positively (Zapf 2002, 248).

It has been suggested that as emotional dissonance is socially and interactionally constructed, it is the organisational processes and discourses of power, that enable or constrain the constructions of identity and these affect the difficulty of emotion work in turn (Tracy 2005, 264). As organisations have differing attempts to control and direct workers emotional display towards clients (Zapf 2002, 241) they do play an important part in the everyday struggles of those doing emotional labour. Study of emotion work and job stressors and their effects on burnout carried out by Zapf et al. (2001) illustrates how uncertainty, organisational problems, social stressors, negative emotions, time pressure and emotional dissonance were significant predictors of burnout. Organisational stressors, such as uncertainty or time pressure and emotional dissonance, lead to increased effects in emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation. (Zapf et al. 2001, 538-543.) So emphasis should be on understanding emotions and organisational processes from a wider perspective and how these may hinder individual's work well-being in emotional labour professions. This is important from an organisational perspective for it has a larger effect. As workers bring their entire selves to a job, including their emotions, moods and traits. This results in the individual workers' affective experiences and expressions effecting and influencing others in turn. (Barsade & Gibson 2007, 54.)

According to Guy & Newman (2004, 290) emotional labour is like background music when performed at its best, and may therefore go unnoticed. Indeed, emotional labour should be then first and foremost recognised by organisations and its management as well as the human resource function, and it's negative effects on the individual's work well-being should be understood in greater depth. Since emotional labour is a complex phenomenon. It is not positive or negative per se, and research suggests that it is related to both emotional exhaustion as well as personal accomplishment (Zapf et al. 1999, 396). This is also the position of Manz et al. (2016, 383), who state that emotion regulation processes are neither good nor bad. When the situational requirements do not surpass one's abilities, needs and means, the effect on psychological well-being are positive, but if these are strained or

exceeded, then negative effects may occur. In emotional labour, such strain may result in emotional dissonance, which is an indicator of one's abilities, needs and means being exceeded. (Zapf et al. 1999, 395-396; Zapf et al. 2001, 531.) But increasing the knowledge of emotional labour at workplaces is vital to fully understand the effects it has on those performing it. Only this way, can the ways to alleviate the negative effects on an individual's work well-being, be identified.

3 Integrative literature review as research methodology

The purpose of the study is to describe and synthesise scientific research to highlight how the negative effects of emotional labour could be alleviated.

The purpose of the study is to analyse scientific literature done on emotional labour from the perspective of an individual's work well-being. And in doing so provide information for organisations, managers and leaders on how to best support those doing emotional labour. The aim of this Master's thesis is to identify the factors which may alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being.

The research question of this Master's thesis is:

- What are the factors that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being?

A literature review was used as the research method in this Master's thesis. The researcher's own interest to learn more about the phenomena of emotional labour was one of the reasons why literature review was chosen as the research method. The other reason was that as the field of emotional labour is well established and an extensive amount of research on the topic has been carried out, it was thought that literature review would provide a useful method in answering the research question. A literature review is a systematic and comprehensive method to identify, interpret and evaluate current literature and work (Fink 2014, 36) as it brings together and summarises available literature (Aveyard 2010, 4). Cooper (1988, 107) proposes that literature review aims to "describe, summarize, evaluate, clarify, and/or integrate the content of the primary reports", while using as the database primary source materials or original studies, but not reporting any new primary research itself. Primary source materials refer to original papers written by those who actually conducted the studies, not to papers which summarize the original work of others (Garrard 2011, 30). Fink (2014, 12) agrees and argues that good quality literature reviews use findings from original studies for information, such as controlled experimentation and observation, and not on others interpretation of them.

In a literature review the topic is researched so that all available evidence of it is retrieved and reviewed in order for an overall picture to be achieved (Fink 2014, 36). A literature review can, according to Ridley (2012, 5), be an entire dissertation or thesis when it involves an in-depth critical analysis of literature of a specific area. A literature review is helpful in

identifying, describing and explaining current knowledge which can be then used to guide professional practice (Fink 2014, 36).

The research method used in this Master's thesis will be a descriptive, integrative, literature review. There are three main types of literature reviews, these are the narrative literature reviews, systematic reviews and meta-analysis reviews (Salminen 2011, 6; Stolt, Axelin & Suhonen 2015, 8; Tuomi 2007, 84). Several terms are used to describe narrative literature reviews, such as traditional, standard and descriptive (Coughlan & Cronin 2017, 12). Although there are several literature review types, it is typical that they all contain the same parts in the process, which are the literature search; appraisal; synthesis and analysis (Stolt et al. 2015, 8).

Descriptive literature review aims to describe a phenomena or combine current knowledge of a topic (Tuomi 2007, 84) and it is content driven (Kangasniemi et al. 2013, 295). Descriptive literature reviews are one of the most generally used literature review types and they could be referred to as the general literature reviews, without too tight and specific rules. Selected and used literatures can be wide and from a broad range of sources, but still the review manages to describe phenomena distinctively. (Salminen 2011, 6.) A descriptive literature review, according to Kangasniemi et al. (2013, 294), has 4 stages as seen in Figure 1. These are the formulation of the research question; the selection of the data; construction of the description, and observation of the produced results. Systematic review also has the abovementioned stages (Cooper 1998; Fink 2014; Okoli & Schabram 2010, 7) so descriptive literature review, such as the integrative literature review, does not differentiate that much from the systematic literature review (Salminen 2011, 8).

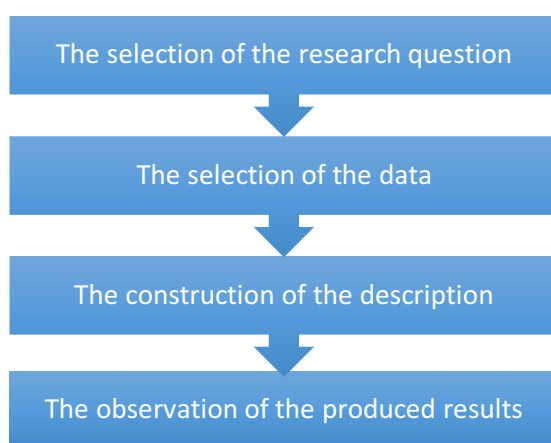


Figure 1: The 4 stages of descriptive literature review, according to Kangasniemi et al. 2013

Fink (2014, 4-5) divides literature reviews into seven tasks, which are the selection of the research question; the selection of the databases; choosing search terms; applying practical screening criteria; applying methodological screening criteria; doing the review and synthesising the results. These tasks are shown in Figure 2. According to Fink (2014) the selection of the research questions guides the review and the search terms, it affects the process of getting appropriate articles and defines the search results, so a particular grammar and logic should be thus applied. An expert could be asked to review the databases and search terms in order to maintain quality of the literature research. (Fink 2014, 3-5.) The first screening task in Fink's model is practical, it refers to the process of identifying possible articles through applying practical screening criteria such as language of the publication, publication type and year of publishing. The second screening task refers to evaluating the scientific quality of the publications, so identifying the best available material by applying methodological screening criteria, in order to ensure the accuracy of the literature review. (Fink 2014, 49-51.)

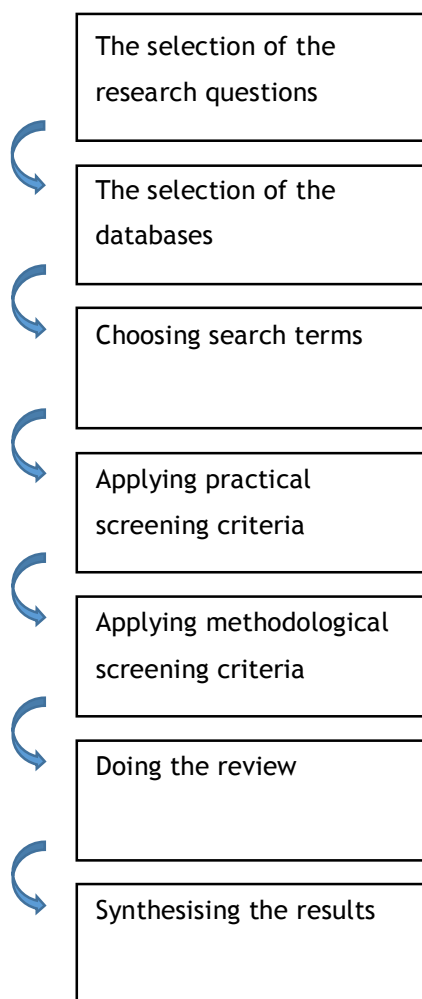


Figure 2: The seven tasks of literature review according to Fink (2014)

Integrative literature review is a type of descriptive literature review (Salminen 2011, 6). It is a distinctive research form which reviews, analyses, critiques and synthesises reviewed literature so that new frameworks and perspectives are generated of the topic (Torraco 2005, 356-357). Integrative reviews can be used to apprise research, practice and differing policy initiatives, and contribute to theory development (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 546). Integrative review can also be seen as part of the systematic reviews, as it has both elements, systematic and narrative, in it (Stolt et al. 2015, 13). It has been argued, that the integrative literature review differentiates from systematic literature review in that it allows the use of diverse methodologies, for example experimental and non-experimental research (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 547; Salminen 2011, 8), and may also incorporate data from theoretical and empirical literature (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 547).

As integrative literatures include data from varied sources, a holistic understanding of a topic can be gained, although with the use of such diverse data sources comes its own challenges, such as systematic bias and error. Data search stage may be endangered, if sources are not extracted and interpreted correctly. This may lead to the data analysis to be compromised, or lead to a non accurate synthesis. But paying attention to the data analysis will decrease the possible bias and error. (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 547-548; 552.) In literature reviews electronic databases can be utilised (Kangasniemi et al. 2013, 295). Computerised databases can be very useful and productive, although several limitations may be present due to the use of search terminology, as if inconsistent, may allow for only half of the eligible studies to be discovered (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 548). The search process of an integrative literature review should be well documented, with search terms, databases as well as the inclusion and exclusion criteria should be clearly stated (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 549).

Integrative literature reviews should critically analyse the literature and identify the strengths and main contributions of the data and the synthesis should aim to present new knowledge or a new perspective from reviewing previous research (Torraco 2005, 362). Reviewers' own knowledge and experience is used to synthesize the literature in a descriptive literature review. The reviewer's expertise in the subject matter, critical thinking as well as the quality of the literature all have an effect on the validity of a descriptive synthesis. (Fink 2014, 199.) According to Fink (2014, 233) descriptive reviews "rely on knowledge and experience in identifying and interpreting similarities and differences in the literature's purposes, methods, and findings".

4 Data gathering process

The literature for this review was gathered as systematically as possible with all stages being recorded and documented. When the literature review is carried out systematically, and the selected methods outlined, the risk of selection bias (when only the literature which supports the reviewer's standpoint is selected) is minimised (Coughlan & Cronin 2017, 13). In an integrative literature review the literature search should be well documented, with inclusion and exclusion criteria, as well as the search results should be clearly stated (Coughlan & Cronin 2017, 15). Sufficient information should be thus presented so that another researcher could attempt to replicate the study (Torraco 2005, 361). In this literature review the inclusion and exclusion criterions were established and tested before the actual literature search took place. Inclusion and exclusion criteria make it easier to recognise relevant literature and publications. These also prevent possible errors and defects, while ensuring that the focus of the research is not compromised. (Niela-Vilén & Kauhanen 2015, 26.) Selection of the data is usually done in two stages, where in the first stage the titles as well as the abstracts are judged against the inclusion criteria and in the more detailed second screening phase full papers are judged against it (Coughlan & Cronin 2017, 40-41). In this literature review the selection of the data was done in two stages in order to select the most useful and relevant materials.

When choosing the databases for this literature review the recommendations from the university's information technician was taken into consideration, and as a result, the following databases were selected: EBSCOhost and SAGE Premier 2012. EBSCOhost was chosen as one of the databases, as it is one of the largest providers of research databases offering access to several other databases (Coughlan & Cronin 2017, 61). SAGE Publications is also a large journal publisher and includes more than 1000 journals, covering Humanities, Social Sciences, Science, Technology and Medicine (Sage Publications 2017). As both of the databases are also used by many Finnish universities, such as the Laurea University of Applied Sciences, they were considered to be a reliable source for the literature review. A manual search was also used to supplement the primary database search by using Google Scholar. Manual searches can provide a good source for identifying studies that may have otherwise been missing from the literature review, and thus reducing the risk of retrieval bias which may be the result of poor indexing or selective publication (Coughlan & Cronin 2017, 59). Google Scholar enables researches to find publications from several databases in one search (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 2007, 94).

A preliminary data search was conducted in order to assess and test the databases as well as the search terms. Using search terms "emotional labour" OR "emotion work" resulted in total of 1325 results in EBSCOhost and 1140 results in SAGE Premier 2012 so the search terms were

narrowed down in order to get data which would be a better match to answer the research question. Therefore “Emotional labour” was chosen as the search term over “emotion work” and term “management” was added. The manual search in Google Scholar also resulted first to 18200 results (with terms “emotional labour” and “emotion work”), so the search terms for manual search had to be revised as well.

The actual searches from EBSCOhost databases Business Source Elite; Academic Search Elite; SportDiscus with Full Text; CINAHL with Full Text, and SAGE Premier 2012 was done by using the search words “emotional labour” and “management”. The manual search was done using the search words “emotional labour” AND “management” OR “moderator” OR “moderators” in Google Scholar. Only publications that were published between 2010-2017 were chosen for this literature review, to ensure that only the most up to date information was used. It is recommended to use the most current publications and articles since research knowledge changes rapidly and may become old in several fields quickly. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 109.)

4.1 Collection of the data

In order to collect the data for the literature review a screening criteria needed to be first set out to guide the search. Table 1 presents the summary of the inclusion criteria for this literature review.

Inclusion criteria	
Content	Search words “emotional labour” AND “management” (EBSCOhost & SAGE Premier 2012)
Publication date	Published between 2010-2017
Publication language	Finnish; English
Other criterion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research-Article; Academic Journals; Peer reviewed - Search words within Abstract (SAGE Journals) - Only content I have full access to - Full text available - Articles which have clear research results - Primary sources - Answers research question

Table 1: Inclusion criteria

The literature searches from SAGE Premier 2012, EBSCOhost and Google Scholar took place 8.6.2017 and resulted in total 147 pieces of articles (See Table 2: Literature search).

Database	Results based on the search
SAGE Premier 2012	62
EBSCOhost	73
Google Scholar	12

Table 2: Literature search

4.2 Data gathered and selected

All literature gained was screened in order to ensure accuracy of the review. First data was searched from EBSCOhost and SAGE Premier 2012 databases. A manual search was done using Google Scholar. These produced in total 147 publications. Initial screening was then employed as the titles and abstracts of each publication were evaluated against the inclusion criteria. This process excluded in total 124 publications. After this secondary screening took place and each publications were read in more detail and screened against the inclusion criteria. This process further excluded 13 publications. In total 10 publications were accepted into the literature review. Articles which did not pose a clear research question, or did not have clear research results or that were irrelevant or too vague to answer the research question were excluded. The data search process can be seen in Figure 3.

A more detailed screening process of each database can be seen in Table 3: Detailed literature search results. In the first initial screening process several articles were discarded as they did not meet the inclusion criteria.

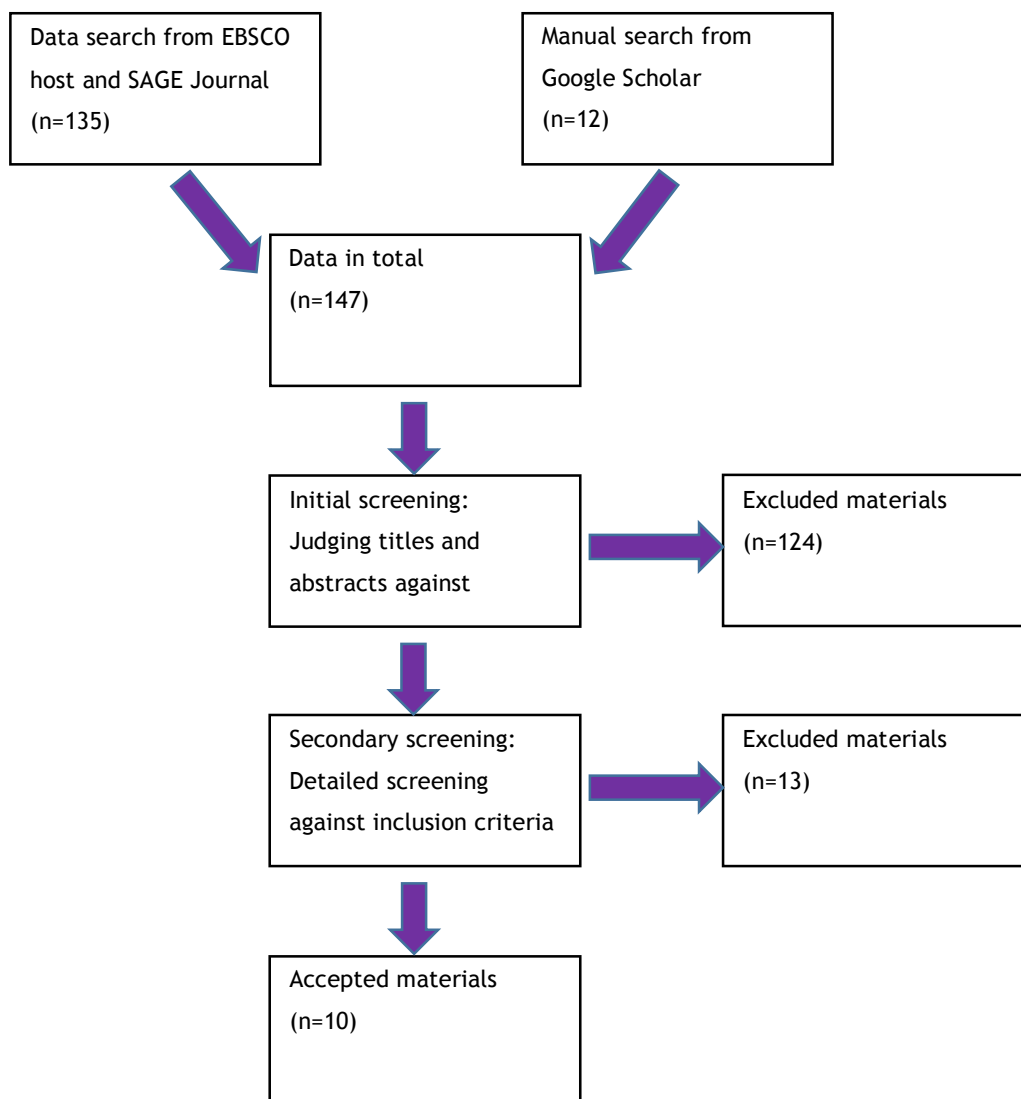


Figure 3: The data search process (applied from Prisma 2009 Flow Diagram by Moher et al. 1999)

Database	Publication year	Date	Search terms	Results	Number discarded after reading title and abstract	Number discarded after reading full text	Number accepted
SAGE JOURNAL	2010-2017	8.6.17	“emotional labour” AND “management”	62	53	7	2
EBSCOhost (Business Source Elite; Academic Search Elite; SportDiscus with Full Text; CINAHL with Full Text)	2010-2017	8.6.17	“emotional labour” AND “management”	73	63	3	7
Google Scholar	2010-2017	8.6.17	“emotional labour” AND “management” OR “moderator” OR “moderators”	12	8	3	1

Table 3: Detailed literature search results

Each research article that met the inclusion criteria, after reading the abstract, was read in more detail. Publications were then accepted into the literature review based on thorough consideration of the validity of the research and its relevance to the research question. Through a vigorous screening process well-designed studies can be distinguished from the poorly designed ones, helping to identify the best available material for the literature review (Fink 2014, 49).

Through this screening process, the amount of publications got smaller, as publications and articles were discarded from the review. After the screening process a total of 7 articles were accepted from EBSCO database, 2 articles from SAGE Journals database and 1 article from Google Scholar. Table 4 shows the final accepted and selected articles. After publications had been selected, analysis of the data took place.

Database	Author	Title and Journal	Publication year	Method and study design	Central results
EBSCO	Mittal, M. & Chhabra, S.	A study of emotional labour and burnout symptoms in teachers. <i>Global Management Review (Vol. 5 No. 4, 55-67)</i> .	2011	Self administered structured questionnaire to teachers. N=115	Superior support reduces burnout.
EBSCO	Yagil, D.	Trust in the supervisor and authenticity in service roles. <i>Journal of Service Management (Vol. 25 No. 3, 411-426)</i> .	2014	Hierarchical linear modelling, questionnaires to supervisors, employee and customer dyads. N=41 & 164	Positive supervisor affectivity relates to employee trust, while trust in the supervisor relates to authentic emotional displays.
EBSCO	Kim, T., Yoo, J., Lee, G. & Kim, J.	Emotional intelligence and emotional labor acting strategies among frontline hotel employees. <i>International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management (Vol. 24. No. 7, 1029-1046)</i> .	2012	A survey to frontline hotel employees. N=353	Emotional intelligence affects emotional labour acting strategies and consequential outcomes.
EBSCO	King, D.	It's frustrating! Managing emotional dissonance in aged care work. <i>Australian Journal of Social Issues (Vol. 47. No. 1, 51-70)</i> .	2012	Semi-structured interviews in aged care organisations. N=100	Employers have an important role in mitigating worker frustration.
EBSCO	Cheng, C., Bartram, T., Karimi, L. & Leggat, S.	The role of team climate in the management of emotional labour: implications for nurse retention. <i>Journal of Advanced Nursing (Vol. 69 No. 12, 2812-2825)</i> .	2013	A cross-sectional quantitative study, self-completed questionnaires to registered nurses. N=210	Strong team climate may help promote work well-being as well as to manage the emotional demands of a role.
EBSCO	Mustafa, M., Santos, A. & Chern, G.	Emotional intelligence as a moderator in the emotional labour - burnout relationship:	2016	A self-report questionnaire to HR professionals. N=136	Those with high emotional intelligence cope with emotional

		evidence from Malaysian HR professionals. <i>International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion (Vol. 7 No. 2, 143-164).</i>			labour strategies better and are thus able to reduce negative effects of burnout.
EBSCO	Kubicek, B. & Korunka, C.	Does job complexity mitigate the negative effect of emotion-rule dissonance on employee burnout? <i>Work & Stress (Vol. 29. No. 4, 379-400).</i>	2015	Questionnaires to eldercare workers. Two-wave study. N=583	Job complexity acts as a buffer against the negative affects of emotional dissonance.
SAGE	Sloan, M.	The Consequences of Emotional Labor for Public Sector Workers and the Mitigating Role of Self-Efficacy. <i>American Review of Public Administration (Vol. 44 No. 3, 274-290).</i>	2014	Large scale survey from a random sample of public service workers. N=1395	Worker's sense of self-efficacy reduces the negative effects of surface acting.
SAGE	McCance, A., Nye, C., Wang, L., Jones, & K. & Chiu, C.	Alleviating the Burden of Emotional Labor: The Role of Social Sharing. <i>Journal of Management (Vol. 39 No. 2, 392-415).</i>	2010	Laboratory study in a controlled environment. N=250	Engaging in social sharing is beneficial in alleviating the negative emotions of service roles.
Google Scholar	Naqvi, F.	Emotional Labour. A Study of Moderators and Outcomes in Hotel Industry. <i>Management and Labour Studies (Vol. 38. No. 4, 471-482).</i>	2013	Questionnaires to customer service employees in a hotel industry. N=230	Self-monitoring and co-worker support can alleviate emotional exhaustion.

Table 4: Accepted and selected articles

4.3 Data analysis and thematic analysis

This thesis was implemented as a descriptive, integrative, literature review. The data search was conducted by using the databases EBSCOhost and SAGE Premier 2012. Data was also searched manually by using the Google Scholar database. Eventually 10 materials were selected for the analysis of the literature review.

The objective of the data analysis phase is the meticulous and unbiased understanding of the primary sources, all resulting into innovative synthesis. When analysing the material, several errors may take place, therefore the analysis stage should be planned carefully. When analysing the data, it is reduced into a feasible framework. Data reduction refers to the techniques of extraction and coding of the data, to simplify and organise it. And to ensure reliability and validity of this procedure, methodological rigidity is required. (Whittemore & Knafl 2005, 550.)

The data was summarised using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a flexible qualitative data analysis method that works well with a variety of research questions as well as with nearly all types of qualitative data (Clarke & Braun 2014, 4) and can be especially useful in applied research (Braun & Clarke 2014, 2). Thematic analysis is the most commonly used method for summarising and synthesising results in narrative reviews (Coughlin & Cronin 2017, 100). As this literature review has both elements, narrative and systematic, being a descriptive integrative literature review, this method was considered to be the most appropriate analysis method. At the core of a thematic analysis is to produce a summary of findings, rather than to provide new insights (Coughlin & Cronin 2017, 100), but a good thematic analysis does not merely report the data, it tells an interpretative story of it (Clarke & Braun 2014, 1).

Thematic analysis, according to Clarke & Braun (2014, 1-2) involves six phases, these are the familiarisation with the data; the generation of initial codes; the search for the themes; the review of potential themes; the definition and naming of themes and the production of the report. In thematic analysis differing themes emerge from the literature and the results are thus organised according to such identified themes. The themes should always emerge clearly from the literature and to ensure this the process of coding should be used. Coding is applied to identify similarities in the data, after which, such codes are then grouped into similar themes or groupings. As a result of this rigorous process, there should be findings, i.e. themes that support each other. (Coughlin & Cronin 2017, 100.) When answering the research question in thematic analysis, it is up to the researchers own analytic judgement to identify what is meaningful and important (Clarke & Braun 2014, 2).

In this literature review the chosen articles were read and re-read and this way the data became familiar to the researcher. After such familiarisation, a coding was implemented by identifying words, phrases or sentences from the data, which were seen as imperative from the point of view of the research question. These were then recorded on a separate Excel sheet. Once all the data was read and such codes created the similarities were examined within the data. After this process the codes were then divided into groups of similar themes or context. Once such themes were born, they were checked several times, to make sure that

the essence of the themes was joint, that they worked together well and that they provided insight and answers into the research question. After this the themes were given names. When coding and searching and reviewing the themes, the attention was on themes that would answer the research question. Some themes had to be dropped from the final set of themes as they were too vague. Through these stages, the themes for this literature review were created. Figure 4 shows an example of this coding process, where sentences from the original texts were identified, coded, divided into groups and further divided into themes.

Original text	Code	Group	Theme
"Trait EI had a strong negative relationship with work-related burnout" (Mustafa et al. 2016, 155)	Emotional intelligence	Emotional intelligence alleviating the negative effects of Emotional labour	Emotional intelligence
"..trait EI was found to have a significant, negative relationship with client-related burnout" (Mustafa et al. 2016, 156)			
"...trait EI yielded a significant buffering effect on deep acting and work-related burnout" (Mustafa et al. 2016, 157)			
"...highly emotionally intelligent individuals experience lower levels of personal burnout... lower levels of burnout in general than individuals with lower levels of emotional intelligence" (Mustafa et al. 2016, 156)			
"...individuals with high trait EI are better able to cope with their emotional labour strategies and are better at reducing the negative effects associated with personal-..related burnout" (Mustafa et al. 2016, 158)			
"...higher EI attenuates the positive effect of SA on EE while higher EI increases the negative effect of DA on EE" (Kim. et al. 2012, 1042)			
"...individuals with high EI...better able to cope with EL" (Kim et al. 2012, 1043)			
"...employees with high levels of EI are better able to regulate their emotions to meet organizational display rules, which result in lower EE" (Kim et al. 2012, 1042)			

Figure 4: Example of the coding process

The themes that were found through this process were then further divided into three categories of means - the organisational, the managerial and the individual. These were realised, based on the different levels at which emotional labour can be examined. Where the themes referred to the organisational factors, such as the environment of an organisation, they were divided into the organisational means. When the themes referred to the attributes of an individual manager, supervisor or a leader they were divided into the managerial means category, and when they referred to the factors within an individual worker, they were divided into the individual means. An example of the process of the grouping into the categories of means can be seen in Figure 5.

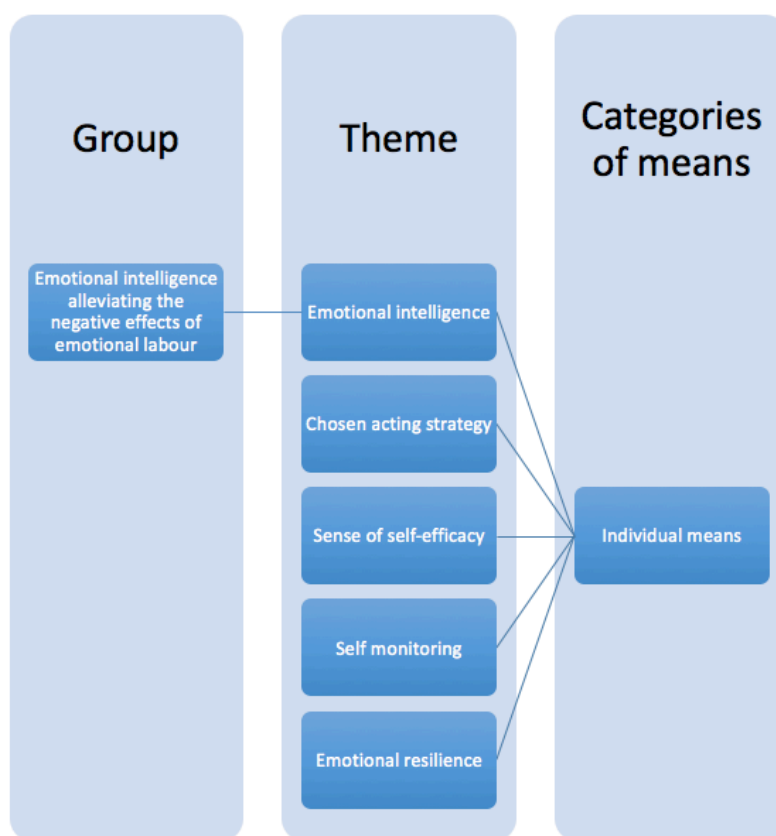


Figure 5: Process of dividing themes into categories of means

5 Results

5.1 The factors that alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being

In this literature review three distinctive 'means', *the organisational means*, *the managerial means* and *the individual means*, manifested from the data. These categories of means offer varied ways to alleviate the negative effects emotional labour poses on the individual's work well-being. The means are as follows:

Organisational means emphasise the environment of an organisation, the organisational culture and practices as well as the work atmosphere, which all play a crucial role and contribute towards the work well-being. The organisational means were: *social sharing*, *strong team climate*, *co-worker support* and *job complexity*.

Managerial means refer to the ways that an individual manager, supervisor or leader, can have an affect through their actions, such as the management/leadership style. The managerial means were: *supportive management*, *enabling worker autonomy*, *trust in a supervisor* and *positive supervisor affectivity*.

Individual means point out the individuals' abilities, skills, attributes as well as the actions taken by an individual worker. The individual means were: *chosen acting strategy*, *sense of self-efficacy*, *self monitoring*, *emotional intelligence* and *emotional resilience*.

These categories of means and the identified factors which could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being, can be seen in Figure 6.

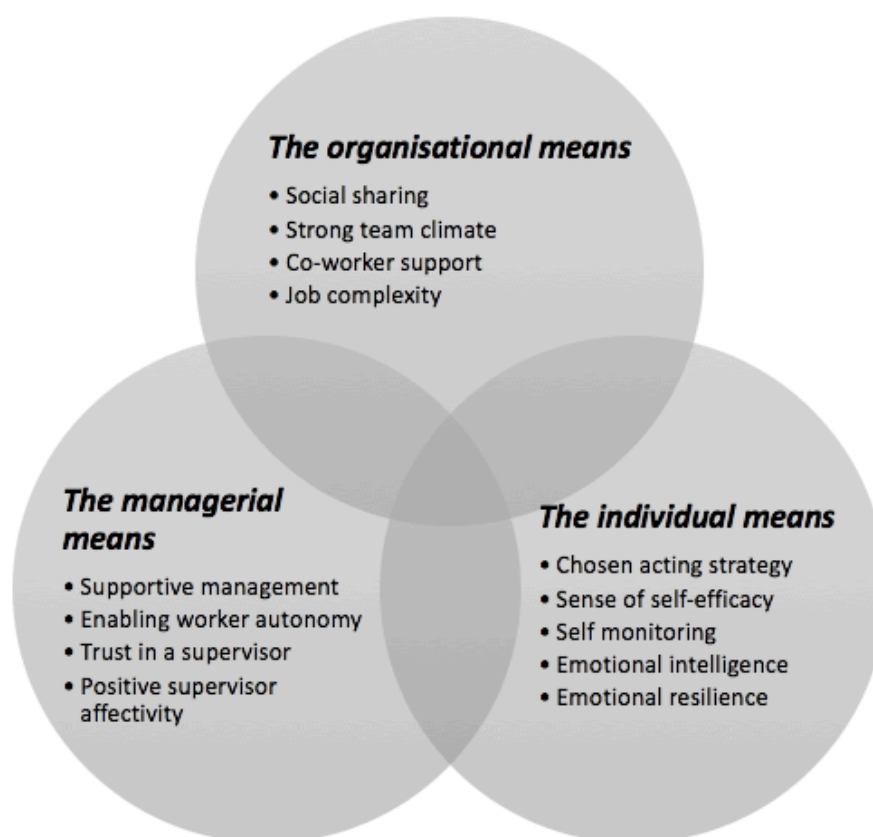


Figure 6: The three categories of means identified

5.1.1 Organisational means

Social sharing can be a viable mechanism to lighten some of the burden emotional labour inflicts on workers as it can help workers to manage their stressful work experiences. In their controlled laboratory study McCance, Nye, Wang, Jones and Chiu (2013) found that participants, all undergraduate students, who had taken part in social sharing, reported lower levels of anger afterwards in the different forms of social sharing sessions (positive experiences sharing, feelings sharing and facts sharing). This, they suggest, highlights the importance of social sharing, as their study indicated that all types of social sharing were equally effective in reducing the emotional impacts of the difficult emotional labour the subjects performed. (McCance et al. 2013, 404-405.) Social sharing could then provide a way to lighten the emotional toll of those performing emotional labour. Sharing experiences in small groups can alleviate the anger experienced immediately after difficult service encounter, thus speaking on behalf of social sharing as a beneficial way of lowering the emotional impact of negative interactions in service professions. Sharing negative experiences of workers improves their emotional well-being and has significant health effects, as it reduces workers anger levels. (McCance et al. 2013, 408-409.)

Strong team climate is an important buffer and can act as a moderator between hiding and burnout, as illustrated by Cheng, Bartram, Karimi and Leggat (2013, 2818), who examined the two separate surface acting methods, hiding and faking amongst registered nurses. Hiding refers to hiding genuine emotions, and faking to faking emotions that are not felt. Cheng et al. (2013) suggest that team climate has a positive impact on hiding, the most often used strategy to perform emotional labour amongst nurses. They conclude, that a strong team climate can have a buffering effect of hiding on burnout, and can be a likely beneficial means for nurses to restore their resources as these have been exhausted from emotional regulation, which reduces their susceptibility to burnout. Team climate can therefore be helpful and positive for workers well-being. (Cheng et al. 2013, 2818-2820.)

Co-worker support can act as a moderator in the relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion as proposed by Naqvi (2013), who studied a variety of service industries, including banks, staffing organisations, educational organisations, retail shops, cellular phone service providers, beauty parlours or hair salons, sports organisations, high-tech companies and restaurants. The level of support available from individual's co-workers, according to Naqvi (2013, 478), affects the relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion. The study illustrated that the positive relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion was weakened where workers received support from co-workers, thus advocating the importance of such support. Sloan (2012), basing her findings on a variety of occupations of public service workers, illustrated that the amount of time spent with co-workers associated negatively with surface acting (Sloan 2012, 282-283) while Mittal and Chhabra (2011, 59) demonstrated that peer support was related to more deep acting in their study amongst teachers. Peer support and co-worker support could be thus beneficial to workers as it weakens emotional exhaustion, and is negatively associated with surface acting but positively to deep acting. Surprisingly, the study by Mittal and Chhabra (2011, 64) also suggests that peer support was positively related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation, on contrary to the study by Naqvi (2013).

Job complexity acts as a buffer against the negative affects of emotional dissonance on burnout, as proposed by Kubicek and Korunka (2015), in their two wave study regarding eldercare workers. The study suggests that complex tasks reduce the negative effects of emotional dissonance on employee strain, as employees with high job complexity suffered less from emotional exhaustion and depersonalization, compared to those with restricted levels of job complexity. Kubicek and Korunka therefore suggest, that skills and abilities used to perform complex jobs help workers to deal with emotional dissonance better. (Kubicek & Korunka 2015, 394.) Sloan (2012) found job complexity to be negatively associated with surface acting and argues that the characteristics of a job are more important predictors of

surface acting than occupational groups or other demographic components. As job complexity is associated with job satisfaction, so it also has positive affects on worker well-being. (Sloan 2012, 282-283.)

5.1.2 Managerial means

Supportive management was recognised as a factor, covering several individual elements, which is crucial in alleviating the negative effects of emotional labour on individual worker's work well-being. When management is supportive, it alleviates the frustration felt by workers as suggested by King in the 2012 study regarding care professionals in aged care work. The support can come in a variety of forms, whether debriefing after an upsetting experience, giving guidance, treating workers with respect and merely for the workers to know that support is available if needed, as these all work as a buffer. But when such support is lacking, workers experience frustration. (King 2012, 64.) Mittal & Chhabra (2011) found in their study regarding emotional labour and burnout symptoms amongst teachers, that superior support correlated with surface acting, that is, the more superior support the less surface acting. The study also proposed that less superior support relates to emotional exhaustion as well as depersonalisation, when good support from superiors reduces this. Emotional exhaustion was related to more surface acting, to depersonalisation and poor superior support. The role of superiors in reducing the symptoms of burnout, such as emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation in emotional labour professions is therefore essential. (Mittal & Chhabra 2011, 59-64.)

Enabling worker autonomy, is important according to King (2012), as it helps care workers performing emotional labour to minimise the frustration caused by their work in aged care organisations. Organisations should thus thrive for enabling relative worker autonomy as it may help workers to interact with their clients on a personal level and the framework, set out by the organisation, should be flexible enough to allow workers to deviate from it where appropriate as these both contribute to the well-being of the workers. (King 2012, 60.) Workers should be given clear guidelines and enough flexibility and autonomy to perform and vary the different emotion management strategies as required of them (King 2012, 65). Sloan (2012, 282-283), who studied public service workers from a variety of occupations also found worker autonomy to be negatively associated with surface acting and argued that it can thus positively affect workers well-being.

Trust in a supervisor, relates positively to workers authentic emotion displays and negatively to surface acting according to Yagil (2014). Trust between a worker and their supervisor relates positively to authentic emotion displays and negatively to surface acting. This means that when a worker feels that they can trust their supervisor, they are more prone to authentic emotion displays towards customers, reducing the negative affects of surface

acting. Supervisors therefore play an important role, as when workers are confident that they can trust in their supervisor, they are more apt to demonstrate authentic emotion displays. (Yagil 2014, 418-421.)

Positive supervisor affectivity. Supervisory characteristics in terms of supervisor affectivity, so whether supervisors display positive or negative affectivity, relates to worker trust according to Yagil (2014) while worker trust relates to authentic emotion displays and to surface acting. When there is trust, there is more authentic emotion displays and less surface acting. Positive supervisor affectivity refers to individuals who appear calm, have positive views about others as well as themselves, think and act in a positive manner. Negative supervisor affectivity, on the otherhand, to individuals who respond negatively to stimuli, appear tense, angry, and have negative views about others as well as themselves. The study found that positive supervisory characteristics, such as positive supervisor affectivity, affect workers emotional displays so that workers are more inclined to express their authentic emotions. (Yagil 2014, 418-421.)

5.1.3 Individual means

Chosen acting strategy taken on by the individual worker, has consequences and thus has been linked to the outcomes in emotional labour. Kim, Yoo, Lee & Kim (2012) proposed that deep acting, as a chosen emotional labour acting strategy, leads to reduced emotional exhaustion, drawing their conclusions on a survey conducted on hotel frontline employees. They argue that workers deep acting is significantly and negatively related to emotional exhaustion, while surface acting is significantly and positively related to it. (Kim et al. 2012, 1039-1042.) These findings are similar to Cheng et al. (2013) who illustrated that surface acting can have serious effects on workers well-being as it has a significant positive relationship with burnout. Surface acting, in terms of hiding and faking, is positively related to burnout, but the study did not find a significant negative relationship between deep acting and burnout. (Cheng et al. 2013, 2818.) According to Mustafa, Santos and Chern (2016), who studied the relationship between emotional labour and burnout amongst HR professionals, surface acting was found to directly predict personal and work related burnout, where personal burnout refers to fatigue and exhaustion regardless of participation in a workforce and work related burnout to fatigue related to work. Deep acting, on the other hand, they found to be negatively correlated with client and personal related burnout (where client related burnout refers to fatigue amongst client related work). (Mustafa et al. 2016, 156.) Surface acting has also been associated with an increased feelings of self-estrangement, reduced job satisfaction and increased psychological distress (Sloan 2012, 283-284). This is similar to the study by Mittal and Chhabra (2011, 59), who found surface acting to be significantly related to depersonalisation. All emphasising the importance of selecting the

right kind of emotional labour acting strategy and promoting the use of deep acting over surface acting in order to alleviate the negative effect on an individual's work well-being.

Sense of self-efficacy, or the feelings of effectiveness in one's work role, according to Sloan (2012), could work as a mitigating factor in reducing the negative effects of surface acting. Those who feel proud of their abilities to provide good service and consider themselves as skilled in influencing others in the workplace have been found to have lower levels of self-estrangement, so feeling effective decreases the connection between surface acting and self-estrangement. When workers feel effective in their role, or that they have an impact on others, their feelings of self-estrangement are less intense. Self-efficacy could therefore work as a buffer against the relationship among surface acting and self-estrangement. (Sloan 2012, 276-277; 285-286.)

Self-monitoring, so the extent that individuals can and do engage in control to create an appropriate self-presentation, could moderate the affects of emotional exhaustion according to Naqvi (2013), who studied emotional labour in the hospitality industry. Self-monitoring was found to weaken the relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion, as the data revealed that this correlation was weakened for individuals whose self-monitoring was high. A significant association between emotional labour and self-monitoring was also found, as workers who were high at self-monitoring, reported less impact of the emotional labour expected of their role. This could be because those that are high at self-monitoring, may modify their behaviour to adapt to different situational requirements more effortlessly. Immersing in deep acting and surface acting is therefore easier to high self-monitoring individuals. In conclusion, emotional labour is negatively associated with self-monitoring, while self-monitoring can alleviate emotional exhaustion deriving from emotional labour. Self-monitoring could then act as a buffer. (Naqvi 2013, 474; 478-479.)

Emotional intelligence was found to be a moderator between burnout and deep acting in a study amongst human resource professionals by Mustafa et al. (2016), who illustrated that trait emotional intelligence, covering dimensions of well-being, sociability, self-control and emotionality, buffers the effects of deep acting strategies and burnout, as those with high trait emotional intelligence experienced lower levels of work and personal related burnout under conditions of deep acting. Emotionally intelligent workers seem to also experience lower levels of burnout in general compared to individuals with low levels of trait emotional intelligence, and are thus able to cope better with their emotional labour strategies.

Individuals with high trait emotional intelligence are better at reducing the harmful effects associated especially with personal-related burnout. (Mustafa et al. 2016, 158-159.)

Emotional intelligence, according to Kim et al. (2012) weakens the positive effect of surface acting on emotional exhaustion and increases the negative effects of deep acting on

emotional exhaustion. Workers with high levels of emotional intelligence seem to have the ability to regulate their emotions to meet the display rules of an organisation. This in turn results in lower emotional exhaustion. Workers with high emotional intelligence seem to therefore be able to handle emotional labour better. (Kim et al. 2012, 1042-1043).

Emotional resilience, so the ability to be able to recover from emotional challenges while having skills to deflect these, was identified by King (2012) to help care workers to deal with the demanding and continuous emotion work required of them. Emotional resilience could help in alleviating the negative effects of emotional labour and provide skills to help individual workers to regenerate their emotional resources. Emotional resilience is an important part of any work which requires skilled emotion management and is especially beneficial in jobs where workers need to manage their emotional displays regarding difficult feelings, as in many aged care professions. (King 2012, 65-67.)

5.2 Discussion of the results

The purpose of this literature review was to *describe* and *synthesise* emotional labour literature from the perspective of an individual's work well-being, while it aimed to *identify the factors that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being*. This literature review identified several factors which could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. Three distinctive means manifested from the literature, these are *the organisational means*, *the managerial means* and *the individual means*. These means offer different ways to alleviate the negative effects that emotional labour poses on the work well-being of those performing it.

5.2.1 Exploring the organisational and the managerial means

On an organisational level, the negative effects of emotional labour can be alleviated by establishing a strong team climate, providing opportunities for social sharing, encouraging social support such as co-worker support, and advocating job complexity. On a managerial level, such factors emphasise the management culture which should be supportive, encouraging and eliciting trust while enabling and promoting worker autonomy, in order to alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. Positive supervisor affectivity was also identified as a such. On an individual level the results emphasise the training and development of skills that could help individuals to cope with the demands of emotional labour. Such as the individual emotional labour strategies taken on by the individual worker, emotional intelligence and emotional resilience. Self-monitoring and sense of self-efficacy were also identified as possible factors, that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour.

Sharing difficult customer experiences via social sharing was found to positively effect the well-being of those performing emotional labour (McCance et al. 2013). This suggests that providing possibilities to vent could thus help workers to manage their stressful work experiences and have a positive effect on their well-being by reducing their anger levels. Supporting and facilitating such social sharing events on the job could therefore have positive benefits for the workers as well as for the organisation. Positive experience sharing seems to be especially important, as individuals who took part in such sharing sessions, were found to mention positive emotions even after having experienced themselves neutral or difficult service encounters. Such participants seemed to also mention fewer negative emotions, compared to those who took part in feelings sharing sessions. This suggests that a constructive approach should be encouraged in any social sharing sessions, focusing on the positive features. (McCance et al. 2013, 411.) Social sharing could be easy to implement in several organisations, and could even simply be informal gatherings during coffee breaks where the experiences of individual workers frustrations are shared amongst peers. Whether or not such a method is useful in alleviating the negative effects that emotional labour has on the work well-being of different professionals in a range of seniority, positions and professions, is still unclear. Also, as the study by McCance et al. took place in a laboratory setting, with individuals having similar experiences, it may have affected the outcomes of the results. The sample also only consisted of college students. (McCance et al. 2013, 409-410.) The results of McCance et al (2013) illustrated also that those in the control condition, who did not take part in any type of social sharing, showed lower levels of anger at the end of the study, although sharing experiences immediately after a difficult customer encounter can alleviate the felt anger more effectively. But as work places and roles are different, it should be understood, that not every worker has the possibility to vent or even has peers with whom to vent. In many roles such social sharing may not be therefore possible, and some individual workers may even be in a position where it is not suitable for them to vent their anger or frustration either. For example, Tracy (2005, 276) pointed out, that for correctional officers, turning to others for emotional support is extremely difficult, as they are stigmatised for showing weakness or apprehension. Hence these professionals had learnt hastily to keep their feelings to themselves. This could also be the case with individuals whose role is to provide help and support to others in an organisation - they too may experience such stigmatisation. This does not mean that such possibilities should not be available since they could also benefit greatly from opportunities to share their frustration and anger inducing work experiences with others. But engaging in social sharing immediately after a frustrating or difficult encounter may only be beneficial and possible to certain roles and/or work functions. Also, in order to provide effective support through the means of social support requires the understanding of the underlying organisational norms.

Strong team climate could be positive for worker's well-being and organisations as it can be a valuable resource for individuals to restore their resources and could act as a moderator in the relationship between surface acting through hiding genuine emotions and burnout (Cheng et al. 2013, 2820). Work environment can therefore have an effect on an individual's work wellbeing and organisations should thrive for supportive organisational climates, and develop teamwork which supports individual's well-being. There is evidence regarding organisational climate having a strong relationship with work well-being. Viitala et al. (2012, 103-104), for example, found positive organisational climate to support well-being and even to possibly create it, while Bakker, Hakanen, Demerouti & Xanthopoulou (2007, 280) propose that it can be an important job resource for individuals performing emotional labour. But there may be emotional labour roles where no such immediate team exists, so such a climate needs to be considered from a different angle. For example, there should be organisational or professional networks, that could provide support for the individual worker.

Data suggests that social support, such as **co-worker support**, could act as a moderator in the relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion (Naqvi 2013, 478). Co-worker support was found to relate to more deep acting (Mittal & Chhabra 2011, 59) and to reduce surface acting (Sloan 2012, 282-283). But interestingly, peer support was also found to positively relate to emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation (Mittal & Chhabra 2011, 59-64), so data is inconsistent in providing conclusions regarding the role of social support provided by peers such as co-workers. These conflicting findings could be the result of differing peer groups and may be explained by individual, professional or cultural differences. Previous studies have suggested that social support is important in emotional labour professions and have a positive effect on the work well-being of individuals. For example, Hochschild (1983, 114-116) argues that social support enables workers to vent their frustration towards clientele, and thus different forms of social support can have a significant positive influence on workers well-being. Also, Näring, Briët & Brouwers (2006, 311) found that social support together with job control was positively related to personal accomplishment and to less depersonalisation. Organisational support, the extent that workers feel that their inputs are valued and how their well-being is being cared for (Hur et al. 2015, 610; Soh et al. 2016, 4), has also been found to have an effect on individual workers work well-being, although the results have been inconsistent, for example Hur et al. (2015, 617), found that high levels of perceived organisational support lessened the relationship between job satisfaction and deep acting. This, they suggest, could be due to individuals with high levels of perceived organisational support also expecting more from their organisations in turn, thus requiring more rewards and having greater demands regarding their well-being. Soh et al. (2016, 7), on the other hand, illustrated that perceived organisational support had positive affects on the workers levels of affective well-being. Emotional labour seems to be a complex phenomena and the conditions under which it is performed need to be understood in

more detail in order to provide means to support it. It could, for example, be that such social support only together with other forms of job resources could provide sufficient means to alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being, as illustrated by Näring et al. (2006).

The importance of job complexity in emotional labour professions presented itself from the data, therefore also an important consideration for any organisation. According to Kubicek & Korunka (2015, 394) job complexity acts as a buffer against the negative affects of emotional dissonance on burnout. Job complexity is also negatively associated with surface acting and has positive affect on worker well-being and job satisfaction (Sloan 2012, 282-283). This calls for organisations and managers to pay attention to job complexity by examining individual workers work tasks and job descriptions, as broadening the tasks given to individuals may present with positive outcomes. According to Zapf et al. (2001, 542) job complexity is an important predictor of personal accomplishment, arguing in favour of challenging jobs, which present enough effort, but offer possibilities for individuals to feel proud of their achievements.

Obviously each organisation need to look at this from their own perspective as it may not be possible to broaden the work task of each individual role. Some service roles, for example, may be relatively low in their complexity, and from the organisational point of view are as such cost effective and functional. In these cases, other considerations should be made, in order to alleviate the negative effects such emotional labour roles have on the individuals. As carrying low complex jobs, with high levels of emotional toll, may come with a cost, resulting in high employee turnover, occupational sick leaves etc. Also, it should be noted, that too complex jobs may also cause stress, as psychosocial stress experienced at work may be the product of challenges from a demanding environment, as suggested by Uotila et al. (2012, 66).

Management can work towards alleviating the negative effects of emotional labour in several ways - through supportive management style, positive affectivity, enabling and supporting autonomy and trust. **Supporting** those performing emotional labour can alleviate the frustration felt by workers (King 2012, 64) and decreases surface acting (Mittal & Chhabra 2011, 59-64). **Positive supervisor affectivity** relates positively to worker trust and thus affects workers emotional displays as workers who trust their supervisors are more prone to display authentic emotions and do less surface acting (Yagil 2014, 420-421). Training programmes directed at management should therefore emphasise the ability to **elicit trust** and encourage the recognition of the effects of trust on employees as well as clients (Yagil 2014, 418-420). Leadership or management programmes could also emphasise positive supervisor affectivity as this has positive effects on the subordinates. Several previous studies

support the positive effects of positive leader affectivity. For example, it has been found to contribute to more effective leadership and better team performance (Barsade & Gibson 2007, 50). **By enabling and supporting worker autonomy**, managers can alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour. Worker autonomy is found to be negatively associated with surface acting (Sloan 2012, 282-283) and to alleviate worker frustration (King 2012, 63). Individuals may experience frustration in their emotional labour professions, as there exists tensions between the differing emotion management strategies that are demanded of them and their own approaches (King 2012, 60). But relative autonomy together with a flexible framework to execute a job, could provide a means to allow a worker to balance out such a tension (King 2012, 63). This is in line with current work well-being research, in emotional labour and non-emotional labour professions, which emphasise the importance of job autonomy. Advocating worker autonomy can have several positive affects. Hayward & Tuckey (2011, 1514) for example argue that autonomy over choosing when and how to emotionally connect in nursing care supports the wellbeing of workers performing emotional labour. Also high levels of job autonomy have been found to positively correlate with job satisfaction (Thompson & Prottas 2005, 115; Wharton 1999, 167), work engagement (Bakker et al. 2007, 279), and lesser feelings of stress (Thompson & Prottas 2005, 115). Task control in terms of individuals abilities to make decisions regarding how to carry out tasks at work has been found to correlate negatively with emotional dissonance (Zapf et al. 2001, 538).

5.2.2 Exploring the individual means

Emphasis should be on the **development and education** of workers, which could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. Therefore, the development and training should concentrate on identifying and utilising individual workers inner strength. For example, training should emphasise the different **emotional labour acting strategies**, as the chosen acting strategy, taken on by the individual, is linked to the relative outcomes. When workers turn to surface acting it has several negative effects on their well-being (Cheng et al 2013, 2818; Sloan 2012, 283-284; Mittal & Chhabra 2011, 59), while deep acting has been found to reduce emotional exhaustion (Kim et al. 2012, 1039-1042) and to negatively correlate with client and personal related burnout (Mustafa et al 2016, 156). Surface acting should be thus discouraged and deep acting strategies encouraged through increasing individual workers understanding of the different emotional labour strategies (Kim et al. 2012, 1043). The importance of deep acting over surface acting has been illustrated also in previous research, for example job satisfaction has been found to rise, when inner thoughts and feelings match display rules (Yang & Chang 2008, 883-885). Also, in emergency medical services surface acting has been found to lower job satisfaction and health and increase work exhaustion while deep acting was not found to be as harmful (Blau, Bentley & Eggerichs-Purcell 2012, 638). Cheng et al. (2013, 2818) also found the faking strategy of surface acting to reduce nurses perceived quality of care as those that used such an

emotional labour strategy seemed less satisfied with the care they provided to patients. This may have then also other negative effects, as such workers may as a result experience lower levels of work related success or work accomplishment or feel phony. The data also suggested that managers may engage in surface acting more than other workers. Therefore, training regarding emotional acting strategies should also be targeted at workers in managerial positions as they may be in positions where not only do they have to manage their emotions towards employees, but also towards the public, such as clients or customers. (Sloan 2012, 282; 287.) Workers should also be encouraged, where possible, to display their authentic emotions instead of faking them, but the potential problems connected to this, such as the display of negative emotions like frustration, anger and hostility, should be addressed. Helping individuals in developing control over their negative emotions could thus provide a very useful method. (Yagil 2014, 420.) Results from previous studies suggest that inauthentic displays of emotion through surface acting are perceived by receivers negatively, therefore emphasising the importance of deep acting from the organisational and client perspective as well (Cote 2005, 517-518).

High levels of **emotional intelligence** leads into better ability to regulate emotions to meet the display rules of an organisation, which in turn results in lower emotional exhaustion (Kim et al. 2012, 1042-1043). Emotional labour seems to also be lessened by trait emotional intelligence, emphasising the need to develop such skills (Mustafa et al. 2016, 159). The importance of emotional intelligence has been illustrated by prior research, and it has been found to enhance job satisfaction. Dimensions of emotional intelligence, such as the ability to regulate emotions have also been found to reduce levels of burnout, therefore speaking on behalf of training, in emotional labour professions, focusing on increasing workers abilities to regulate their emotions. (Guy & Lee 2015, 271.) Biron & Veldhoven (2012, 1274-1276) suggest that even the unpleasant emotions should be accepted and that workers should learn to manage them in challenging situations, as just regulating them lowers individuals well-being. In certain jobs, such as in emergency nursing, which centres around caring for the dying and bereaved, emotional labour can become exhausting to the individual worker, so the development of emotional intelligence is crucial (Bailey, Murphy & Porock 2011, 3370). Emotional intelligence can offer a valuable skillset for any worker, regardless of their field of expertise or occupational context. It should be noted though, that in the studies described in this literature review, two different emotional intelligence concept were used. Emotional intelligence can be seen as a trait of personality (also know as trait emotional self-efficacy) which refers to the variety of emotional self-perceptions placed personality hierarchies' lower levels. While emotional intelligence refers to more of the cognitive abilities of an individual. (Petrides 2010, 137; Petrides 2011, 657.) It has been suggested that these differing constructs of emotional intelligence take different roles. Where ability related emotional intelligence refers to the effective selection of coping strategies in reaction to stressors, trait

emotional intelligence refers to more to the implementation, so applying such coping strategies effectively. Thus having merely the skill-set of emotional intelligence is not enough, as those with high trait emotional intelligence are confident in applying such coping mechanisms later on. Hence why it is important to develop both these skills together, so to boost one's emotional skills together with their emotional self-concept. (Davis & Humphrey 2014, 10-12.)

Individual workers should be supported in developing a **healthy sense of self-efficacy** as it could work as a mitigating factor in reducing the negative effects of surface acting. As those that feel effective and perform surface acting do not seem to experience emotional labour as inauthentic (Sloan 2012, 286.) Healthy sense of self-efficacy is important in roles that entail emotional labour, but also in nonperforming roles across different occupations. According to Bandura (2012) one's beliefs in their capabilities can be developed. This can be done through mastery experiences, by social modelling, social persuasion and through physical and emotional states, as when such a feeling of self-efficacy reduces anxiety and depression, efficacy beliefs can be strengthened in turn. The sense of individual's self-efficacy is immensely important, as it effects the way we think - whether we are pessimistic or optimistic, it can influence the way we motivate ourselves, how we face difficulties, set goals or expect outcomes in turn and the way we self-regulate our emotional states. (Bandura 2012, 13.)

Training workers in developing **emotional resilience** is also important to enable them to regenerate their emotional resources (King 2012, 65-67). Both, emotional resilience and healthy sense of self-efficacy, would provide individual workers personal resources to cope with demanding work contexts. Prior studies have also emphasised the importance of developing personal resources as these could act as a buffer against possible work stressors (e.g. Biron & Veldhoven 2012; Guy & Lee 2015). Developing individual abilities and strengths is extremely important in any job, although especially beneficial for those that require emotional labour.

Self-monitoring was found to be a moderator between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion as those, who are high at self-monitoring, seem to report less impact of the emotional labour expected of their role (Naqvi 2013, 478-479). This is also in line with previous study by Bono & Vey (2007, 187) who illustrated that high self-monitoring individuals are more likely to use deep acting strategies and report less stress than those who are low self-monitoring. The importance of self-monitoring is also put forward by Wharton (1999), who suggests that high levels of self-monitoring abilities enable individuals to avoid burnout in emotional labour professions. But whether or not such an ability is useful in other professions is not clear though, as results suggest that self-monitoring increases the burnout

levels of those who do not perform emotional labour. Therefore suggesting that self-monitoring ability seems to be especially advantageous psychological resource for those that perform emotional labour. (Wharton 1999, 167-168.) Self-monitoring is considered to be a discrete personality trait, as individuals differ to the extent to which they monitor their expressive behaviour (Snyder 1974, 536; Gangestad & Snyder 1985, 344). So whether or not such skills can be developed or enhanced is a question that remains.

Recruitment and selection are important stages in any organisation. Therefore the selection and recruitment processes of an organisation should pay attention to the individual abilities, as certain qualities seem to be more fitted to perform emotional labour (Naqvi 2013; Mustafa et al. 2016; Sloan 2012; Kim et al. 2012). This is in line with Zapf et al. (1999, 395-396) and Zapf et al. (2001, 531) who state that if the situational requirements surpasses individuals abilities, it can have negative effects on one's well-being. Thus the selection and recruitment processes of organisations should pay attention to the individual abilities, such as **self-monitoring**, as those that have high self-monitoring qualities seem to be more fitted to perform emotional labour. (Naqvi 2013, 478-479.) The data also suggests, that **emotionally intelligent** individuals may also be an exceptionally good match for emotional labour jobs, so it could be useful to assess the emotional intelligence of individuals, in the recruitment and selection process of certain emotional labour professions (Mustafa et al. 2016, 159.)

Another interesting finding was that female **gender** was found to be related to less depersonalisation, therefore suggesting that women are more capable of dealing with emotional labour. According to Mittal & Chhabra (2011, 59) the results of their research indicate that women are less likely to detach themselves compared to men. But the study failed to give any further reasons or present any conclusion or discussion on the matter. This is similar to a previous study by Bennet, Williams, Page, Hood, Woollard & Vetter (2005, 223), whose research illustrated that women reported less work related stress compared to men, although no clear reason as to why this was were presented. Bennet et al. (2005) suggested that it could have been due to womens better use of social support system or other coping mechanisms, but the cause of their better emotional state remained unclear. It should be noted, that out of the samples in this literature review, women were over presented in many of them. For example, in the study by Yagil (2014) women counted for 79.9 percent out of the employees; in Mittal & Chhabra (2011) 69.6 percent; 88.2 percent out of the individuals who provided their gender in a study by King (2012); 51.7 percent in Naqvi (2013); 89 percent in Kubicek & Korunka (2015); 58.8 percent in Sloan (2014); 51.5 percent in Kim et al. (2012); 60 percent in Mustafa et al. (2016); 53.6 percent in McCance et al. (2010) and 95 percent in Cheng et al. (2013). In previous research no significant difference on the impact of emotional labour on individual workers levels of burnout have been reported between genders, but as past research has concentrated generally on professions, where female workers outweigh

male workers, such as many of the service professions, these differences have been almost impossible to identify (Wharton 1999, 169-170).

It seems that many of the factors that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being, are such that could be enhanced or developed through education and training. Some of such skills are developed over time, as shown by Hayward & Tuckey (2011, 1516), who found nurses to utilise a strategy to manipulate their emotional boundaries, which they suggest is the result of years of experience, both professional and personal. Through experience, exposure to differing situations and gaining competence therefore enables nurses to successfully manipulate their emotional boundaries. This suggests that some of the necessary skills are gained through experience and cannot necessarily be obtained through training. It seems that years of experience could therefore give individuals the ability to handle emotional labour, or at least provide workers with successful work strategies. It could be useful then to advocate mentoring in emotional labour professions, so those that have more years of experience and have thus gained competence and skills, could then guide junior staff members in their search for their own successful emotional labour work strategies. Environmental factors are also important as shown by the results of this literature review. These require the assessment and development of organisational practices. Managers play a crucial role in the work well-being of employees performing emotional labour. By increasing awareness of emotional labour at the managerial level, for example through leadership and management education, could the challenges related to emotional labour be alleviated.

6 Ethical consideration - reliability and validity

The research was conducted according to the ethical principles of research and each phase was carried out as carefully and thoughtfully as possible. The literature research process was planned and executed stage by stage with emphasis on making sure that each detail and phase was documented. Articles that were chosen for the literature review were all public journals, so no consent was needed and no privacy issues regarding the data had to be considered, but emphasis was on doing justice to the original research by trying to stay as true to the data as possible and analysing it with due care, as impartial and neutral as one can be. Ethically sound research refers to research where certain steps have been taken to ensure that the quality of the research is not being compromised by unethical practices. It is the responsibility of the researcher to carry out the research so that all laws as well as ethical guidelines of research are being followed. The researcher is responsible for paying attention to detail, planning and executing the research with due care, while presenting the data honestly and respecting the work of others. (Hirvonen 2006, 21-32.)

Even though the research process was planned carefully, many things may have affected the quality of the outcomes and these are considered as follows. Only Finnish and English text were searched, but only English publications were accepted into the literature review. This may have affected the reliability of the results. In total 10 articles were accepted into the literature review from the databases selected. It should be noted that by using even more databases the number of accepted articles could have been higher and/or a broader variety of original studies could have been discovered. Also, as only one reader carried out the data search, screening and selection of the publications, it may have influenced the reliability of the results. It is advisable that at least two researchers execute the data search process, as a single researcher may leave a considerable amount of relevant research out in the data selection process (Valkeapää 2015, 66). Thus, with the help of another reviewer, the selected articles could have produced new insights to the research question. Even though the data selection was done rigorously and with immense care, it is possible that the researcher's own subjective views may have affected the end results. This is also true regarding the data analysis process.

The publications that were accepted for this literature review were all peer reviewed and scholarly articles in EBSCO database and peer reviewed in SAGE Premier 2012 database, but no other check was made to ensure the validity of the research selected. For example, the impact factor, which is a measure about the frequency a particular article has been cited (University of Illinois 2013), was not checked due to resource constraints, as only one researcher carried out the literature search. One of the criteria for the data search was the availability of full text. Again, this was due to the time and resource constraints of this thesis

as only one researcher was conducting the research. The availability of a full text or having full access to the content should not be one of the criterion to be included in the literature search, as it may lead into problems regarding the reliability of a literature review. But in some cases there is flexibility regarding this. (Niela-Vilén & Kauhanen 2015, 26.) Because of the limited resources in this literature review the availability of full text and content that is available to the researcher was included into the inclusion criteria.

7 Conclusion

This thesis aimed, through a literature review, to identify and describe the factors that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. The articles selected to the review represented studies from various fields, such as eldercare work and nursing care, frontline hotel employees, teachers, HR professionals, retail staff, beauty parlour and hair salon personnel, banking staff as well as call centre staff. The articles also covered several countries and cultures. These factors may effect the generalisation of the results and their reliability. Also, it should be noted that these results may not, as such, be applicable to all occupational contexts. As shown by Wharton (1999), the working conditions of emotional labour may differ from nonperformers of emotional labour.

The results of this literature review suggest that the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being can be alleviated by paying attention to the management style of an organisation. Management should be able to provide enough support, while eliciting trust and enabling and promoting worker autonomy. The results suggest that the working environment is important and can be extremely beneficial for those performing emotional labour as it can provide support in several ways - through a strong team climate and supportive colleagues as well as providing opportunities for individual workers to share their frustrating work experiences. The work contents should also be paid attention to as there is a clear indication that high job complexity can alleviate some of the negative effects of emotional labour. The results demonstrate that it is of vital importance that workers are encouraged and supported in developing skills to cope with the demands of emotional labour.

Education in areas such as the different emotional labour strategies taken on by the individual workers to gain a better understanding of them and utilising the right kind of acting strategies, emotional intelligence and emotional resilience, are thus immensely important. In some cases professionals performing emotional labour may receive education in emotion management techniques and have, therefore, skills and resources to meet some parts of their role's emotional labour requirements (Wharton 2009, 152). Parts of such education could be about how to deal with stressful situations, such as angry customers, threats at workplace or how to deal with death or crisis situations. But this may not be the case in every field of work, profession or role, resulting in the performance of emotional labour with insufficient skill-set or resources to deal with the work related stressors. Also, the education and development of workers should not be focused merely on how to deal with specific one-off situations, but on building up individual strengths and resources to cope with the stressors in the longer run.

It is important that the performance of emotional labour across different occupations and lines of work is recognised for it can be performed among multiple professions and vary in its shape and appearance. As emotional labour could also be about keeping up a certain appearance at work, such as friendliness in order to get tasks completed; or about the expectation towards certain work roles to display positive emotions and encouraging demeanour to support others while hiding own troubles or worries; or the requirement to hide own anger and frustration towards co-workers as one's job may be collaborative and impartial. But as past research has concentrated mainly on the emotional labour of traditional service roles, more research is needed from different fields and occupational contexts to gain a broader understanding of emotional labour and how to alleviate the negative effects it poses on the individual.

To really tackle the struggles of emotional labour the organisational processes and practices should also be explored in greater depth to see whether such empower or inhibit the construction of identity as pointed out by Tracy (2005). Gender expectations should be identified and examined, such as the requirement or expectation to hide feelings and emotions in what are considered to be 'masculine' occupations or to provide soft-skills in those which are considered typically as feminine. It is also imperative that these are made visible, as when such demands are invisible from individual workers job requirements they are not included in what they are being paid for. But if failing to meet such expectations, such workers are likely to be seen as incompetent. (Wharton 2009, 153.)

This thesis did not take into consideration or explore the effectiveness of the identified factors that could alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual worker's work well-being. There may be differences in the effectiveness of these factors, as not all of them are as effective in alleviating the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual worker's work well-being. It would be interesting, for further research, to see which of the factors are the most useful or effective? Or are there any differences between profession, occupations or field of work?

While not aiming to describe personality traits which may act as a buffer against the negative effects of emotional labour, this thesis did identify that certain personality traits may be more suitable for emotional labour professions and thus alleviate the negative effects of emotional labour on an individual's work well-being. It would be very interesting for further research to find out what kind of qualities are important in roles, of different occupations, that entail emotional labour? This could also be helpful for HR-professionals in recruiting the right fit for the right role.

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