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On Human Emotions in Behavioral
Sciences and Management

(with two studies on Organizational Consequences
and Individual Antecedents to Emotional
Dissonance and Emotional Labor)

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Dissonance and Emotional Labor)

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I. Emotions in Organisational Behavior and Human Resources Management

Organisational effectiveness, both overall and economic, is largely determined by the quality of management of the most important resource it employs, the Human Resource. While this is a universal truth, it becomes even an apparent truth in the context of modern societies and knowledge-based economies. This is not about a narrow focus on the functional level of expertise of Human Resource Units; it is about any act of management, management being above all working with people.

Industrial and Organizational Psychology (I/O Psychology) and Organizational Behaviour (OB) as fields of research and applied science analyze the behaviours of individuals and groups, as well as the relations between and among them in an organizational context, largely acknowledging the pragmatic needs of real-life management. Since the Organisation Man is in essence the same as the human before and after working hours, the interlinks of I/O Psychology and Organisational Behaviour with the remaining branches of psychology and, generally, with the humanities, are significant (for example, cognitive and comparative psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology). Despite some self-sufficiency and independence, these two fields of science seem to have always been affiliate in the sense that they have followed the trends and reflected (though in a specific way through the prism of their own subject) the achievements of the more fundamental areas of science from which they have been derived. Tapping on the privilege of having available for use the findings of numerous private research and experiments in the form of meta-analysis, they have always made good of the fact that they are not on the front line of research modernity by the opportunity to see the larger picture and derive from it precious practical use.

However, this does not seem entirely true in recent times, at least in relation to some intensely revolutionary discoveries as regards humans and the mechanisms driving their mental life. What I have in mind is a series of neuroscience achievements in the understanding of human emotionality, which are sinking in unnaturally slowly in the thinking of psychologists, and even more slowly and more unobtrusively in the interests and work of specialists in I/O Psychology and OB. These fields (hence, people management practices) still host paradigms and attitudes typical of old times, whilst the concept of the organisational world and the human inside it continues to be unnaturally schematised, often enough, bluntly wrongly so.

In the vast variety of ways and schools of thought in relation to humans at least two deep demarcation lines can be traced: between the body and the soul (the psyche) and between thinking (intellect, the mind) and feeling (emotionality, affect). This dichotomisation is deeply imbued in our everyday attitude to human nature and it is also perceptible enough in the thinking of a large part of writers in specialised editions. Also, in as much as voices are raised against these distinctive lines of division, they often go to extremes. As regards the first dichotomy, for example, the development in the field of biochemical and biophysical testing of the brain has given rise to a specific mechanistic reductionism, whereby the whole mind product of man is reduced to chemical and physical processes that stand at the bottom of it all. [Damasio, 1994].

As far as the second dichotomy is concerned, it stands to reason that the mind, thinking and logic are given priority. This holds true even for everyday language. The phrase “to be overcome with emotions” carries a definite negative connotation in Bulgarian, English, Russian, French and German. We say “painfully emotional” but

God knows why we never say “painfully rational”. Psychic disorders related to affect, where emotions trigger unfavourable behaviours and states (depression), are well documented, whilst emotional poverty as psychopathology is significantly less studied.

Meanwhile, from a practical point of view the emotional aspect of human mind is not subordinate to the rational, to reasoning, to the conscious aspect; neither are they independent of each other. Human behaviour is largely triggered by emotions which we are often enough not aware of in the slightest. Equally, the cognitive processes are motivated and strongly influenced by this same emotional aspect. Following decades of not very well justified sense of elitism about itself, as compared to the other branches of psychology, and a harsh refusal to deal with states of affect and the unconscious part of the human mind, in recent years cognitive psychology started to make a turn in these directions. Unfortunately, I/O Psychology, OB and management in practical terms do not seem quick enough in following this development.

An exception in relation to this unfavourable trend seems to have lasted for a while in relation to the sensationally presented and still very modern concept of Emotional Intelligence to which special attention will be paid further on.

The human society and organizations cannot but resort to logic and rational efficiency. The President of the American Psychological Association, Douglas Massey, devoted his presidential address in 2001 to the origin and role of emotions in social life and, in this sense, made the following points: “...sociologists have unwisely elevated the rational over the emotional in attempting to understand and explain human behavior. It's not that human beings are not rational - we are. The point is that we are not only rational. What makes us human is the addition of a rational mind to a

preexisting emotional base. Sociology's focus should be on the interplay between rationality and emotionality, not on theorizing the former while ignoring the latter or posing one as the opposite of the other. Attempting to understand human behavior as the outcome of rational cognition alone is not only incorrect-it leads to fundamental misunderstandings of the human condition.” [Massey, 2002, p.1-29]. The only point to be added to this sufficiently clear and precise position is that the need to reconsider research approaches does not refer to sociology only. The myth of rationality is subject to a thorough revision.

In theories about modern societies (especially ideas about democracy) and in basic economic sciences it is a common enough, even though not always clearly defined, assumption that citizens act as rational human beings, being reasonable about the ways to cope with the problems they face and that they analyse rationally and debate freely and openly questions that arise in the process of reaching a logical collective conclusion. Organisational theories and management, both from a scientific and practical point of view, have always rested on the assumption of the rationality of the management as a leading function of management (i.e. in decision making and objective setting), as the core of management. Indeed, a manager who is not capable of dealing in a logical way with a huge amount of contradictory, misleading and sometimes inaccessible information, has no great chances to succeed. Rationality in an organisational and management context is based on the notion that rational people would respond to interventions from the environment through analysing the available evidence, assessing the possible consequences from their reactive behaviour and figuring out how these consequences correlate with the resources required. In line with this, management and business administration schools are intensely focused, sometimes

with remarkable success, on building the required analytical skills in their graduates.

The problem is, however, that these skills and the rational, purely logical side of management, however needed, are not sufficient for orientation, facing challenges and, ultimately, for success. And this is so just because people very often act irrationally. In addition, the most recent studies of the brain reveal it increasingly clearly that human reactions are in their essence emotionally-triggered and that analyzing the evidence in such reactions is secondary, rather than primary. “Our mental life”, as one of the leading renowned neuroscientists Vilayanur Ramachandran concluded, „is governed mainly by a cauldron of emotions, motives and desires which we are barely conscious of, and what we call our conscious life is usually an elaborate post hoc rationalization of things we really do for other reasons .” [Ramachandran, 1991, p.156]

It is as good as a proven fact that mental structures governing emotions and feelings have a stronger impact on decision-making processes than logic and reasoning.

What is more, emotions hold much more power to impact the mind compared to the power of the mind over emotions. As far as sociological and politological theories of democracy go, it is beyond doubt these days that the “Enlightenment model of dispassionate reason ... is empirically bankrupt.” [Choi, 2006, p.34]. In addition, another pundit in neuroscience, who is the author of a global bestseller in the field of brain research, Mr. Joseph Le Doux, proves unequivocally in his research that the links from emotion-related brain centres (amygdala, for example) to cognitive systems (neocortex) are better developed and stronger than the reverse neural paths. [Le Doux, 2004, p.19]

In organisational and behavioural sciences, above all in the ‘philosophy’ behind management practices, however, rational utilitarianism rules supreme and unperturbed and what Pasquale Gagliardi calls “collective repression of the pathos”, i.e. the expressive dimensions of organisational life [Gagliardi, 2007, p.331], is widely accepted. The well-known rationalistic research paradigm in OB seems to refuse to take seriously enough a fundamental aspect of human experience: the ways in which we perceive and feel reality; the ways in which attraction and repulsion, pleasure and displeasure, compassion and joy are triggered. There are a large number of reasons that have brought about this specific scientific “blindness” but its roots can be traced back to the dawn of the industrial revolution when organisations, processes and relations within them became subjected to mostly utilitarian-rationalistic interpretations. The distinction appeared between the expressive (aesthetic, emotional reaction) and the impressive (pragmatic, governed by reason, purposeful reaction), a distinction which we find difficult to overcome even today. Furthermore, axiomatically and by default, the former is subordinated to the latter in terms of importance and it started to be perceived as an obstacle to the rationalistic optimisation of organisational reality.

The notion of organisations as mechanisms subject to building and management, on the basis of universal principles, has been reigning all around in western literature until late the 30ies of the 20th century, whilst in countries that happened to be under socialist regimes - until after the World War II in the form of the so-called “scientific organisation of labour”; meanwhile, organisational theories remained primarily normative and dealt with the characteristics an organisation should have, rather than the actual real-life processes and mechanisms of real organisations. Psychological and social aspects of organisations attracted some attention (for example, through

ergonomics) but this again was marked by a deeply simplistic approach and a forced positivism, as well as the utilitarian postulate that an individual would contribute to the achievement of a collective objective only in return for a sufficiently large material benefit. This fundamental attitude failed to change in essence even after the famous Hawthorne experiments. As late as the second half of the 20th century Selznick [Selznick, 1957] stood face to face with the well-known fact that no matter how well an organization is built, based on the rationalistic principles, it gradually loses this “purity” and feelings, ideals, spirituality, etc., become imbued in it. However, Selznick sees this as pathology and perceives the informal organisation as a defence mechanism called upon to absorb ‘tensions’ that cannot possibly be part of formal organisational structures and relations. The 70ies of the 20th century, not earlier times, saw the end of giving an axiomatic, at times even sole, priority to analysing the interrelations between objectively measurable variables in organisational and management research.

The rationalistic normative and positivist paradigm managed to engulf even the powerful wave of research and new ways of thinking in the field of organisational culture that surged after the 70ies of the last century. The cultural discourse was new and revolutionary when it first appeared because it focused on the symbolic and ideational aspect of organisational life and its nature presupposed holistic and interpretational, quality analytical approaches. Here too, though, the cognitivistic slant has left its imprints for decades to come and, besides the insurmountable pursuit of measuring the immeasurable, it has insisted on presenting organisational cultures primarily as structures of thought. The focus was placed on the rationalistic forms of manifestation of cultures such as mythology, language and rituals, whilst culture itself is perceived as a “system of meanings”. Even today the ways in which people reflect

and feel reality, tastes and sensitive knowledge, aesthetics, spirituality and emotionality are still areas of key importance for actual organisational life but are only marginally touched upon by researchers.

This tendency has its exceptions too which, unfortunately, are hardly very pleasing. Here I envisage concepts like the so-called emotional intelligence that enjoy popularity and strong interest but is not more deeply probed into. The good old rationalistic slant has surfaced even in the very name of it, „emotional *intelligence*”, which presupposes a conscious cognitive attitude towards emotions felt and the latter’s logical subordination to the command of the rational.

The concept of emotional intelligence was introduced by Salovey and Mayer in the early 90ies [Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p.185-211], even though similar ideas had been registered even earlier. In this respect we can call to mind Wechsler [Wechsler, 1939, p.229], who, as early as the 40ies of the 20th century, spoke about ‘intellectual’ and ‘non-intellectual’ (effective, personal and social) elements of intelligence. A decade earlier Thorndike had already pointed out intellectual intelligence as a crucial factor to adaptation and success [Thorndike, 1927]. In the area of Industrial and Organisational Psychology as early as the 40ies of the 20th century it was proven that leaders capable of building mutual trust, respect, warmth and understanding with and in the members of their group, were more effective. Again within the same research paradigm and, based on some of Henry Murray’s ideas [Murray, 1938] on the importance of „non-cognitive factors” (social and emotional competencies), the concept of assessment centres has been developed and was first applied in AT&T in 1956.

There are numerous similar examples, but they seem to have fallen into slight oblivion in the 80ies when Gardner started to voice his idea of “multiple intelligences” and introduce it as a ‘new theory of intelligence’. [Gardner, 1999]. Gardner argues that the ‘intrapersonal’ and ‘interpersonal’ intelligences, for example, are at least as essential as the traditional intelligence components measured by classical IQ tests. In this context the widely popular book of Daniel Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence*, and the consequent heaps of follow-ups do not appear in blank space. However, in addition to the fact that these publications offer some indisputably useful vantage points and models, they also continue to raise and, go even deeper, into some methodological issues of considerable importance which perhaps deserve to be mentioned in this paper.

The tradition of thought speaking about multiple intelligences, as presented at its best in the works of Gardner, is not new either. By all means, however, the question about the precise meaning of intelligence is still very much on the table. This leads to a series of derivative questions, such as why, if we have reasons to talk about social and emotional, even musical intelligence at all, do we never talk about artistic intelligence?

Or do we rather not mean intelligence but relatively autonomous and culturally-specific domains of abilities, habits or skills (and competencies, respectively)? This is why, not surprisingly, the definitions of emotional intelligence with Salovey and Mayer and with Goleman are constantly being changed. One such definition reads as follows: “the ability to monitor one’s own and others’ feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one’s thinking and actions.” [Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p.189]. As Edwin Locke quite rightly points out in one of his protest articles [Locke, 2005, p.425-431], the ability to observe can hardly be classified as

intelligence. The very act of focusing the attention and understanding are elements of the perceptive processes with man whose volitional control is not indisputable and depends on a few factors related both to the subject and object of perception. Strictly speaking, the simple act of listing feelings and emotions as the object of observation is not quite correct, in as much as a few specialists in human emotionality would principally reject the possibility to observe emotions; also, whether an individual is going to use or not his observations in real situations depends on many factors and, in itself, is hardly a matter of any intelligence at all.

Locke is right to argue that even outside this definition Salovey and Mayer [Mayer, 1999, p.50] expanded the scope of the concept of emotional intelligence to include: assessment and expression of emotions inside oneself in a verbal and nonverbal way; assessment and identification of emotions in others in a non-verbal and emphatic way; regulation of own emotions and the emotions of others; the use of emotions for planning, creative thinking, attention focusing and motivation. Bringing together these phenomena, abilities and behaviours under one single conceptual structure is beneath serious criticism. It seems to me that this holds true also of the very understanding about emotions, feelings and how they link with the cognitive, rational part of the human mental machinery. Goleman [Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2002] pinpointed similar elements of emotional intelligence in the following list: selfmotivation and perseverance, ability to look into oneself (introspection), self-control over one's impulses, moods and emotions, empathy, social skills (the ability to build friendships). Without looking for similarities and differences between emotional and social intelligences, we can see how in a later article of his Mayer defined emotional intelligence as: "the capacity to *reason with emotion* (*my italics – MP*) in four areas: to

perceive emotion, to integrate it in thought, to understand it and to manage it.” [Locke, 2005, p.428].

The quoted phrase “to reason with emotion” is a contradiction in terms.

Reasoning is a conscious act of processing sensory information with the aim of integrating it unambiguously into concepts; a process of building and checking knowledge. Emotions, on their part, are unconscious mechanisms for automated, nonvolitional judgement, based on unconscious parts of the memory and on values; they are not aimed at logically unambiguous knowledge about reality but at automated, fast, reactive assessment instead and they serve as motivation for action. To reason with emotion in the sense used in Mayer’s definition is just as impossible as to reason without emotion in the strict sense of the word in as much as reasoning itself is motivated by emotional striving to values such as ideas, the objective, and truth. Either way, our objective here is not to go into details into the concept of emotional intelligence as such; rather, we are interested in the more general picture. In fact, there is one happy aspect of it all and several not so happy ones. The happy aspect is that the issue of human emotions and introspection is beginning to get tribute in research by cognitive psychologists and neuroscientists. A fact of concern, however, is the way in which this issue makes its way into OB and O/I Psychology, not least because of the slow rate at which this is happening. On the basis of the methodologically-not-quite-sound ideas about emotional intelligence, multiple intelligences, etc. the otherwise long delayed interest to the affective components of the organization man in OB and O/I Psychology has again turned trapped in the rationalistic normative and positivistic framework. This time, more exotically so. Recently it has been considered top of the chart by many consultancy companies to

recommend a Daniel Goleman, Richard Boyatzis and Ani MacKee's book called *Primal Leadership: Realizing the Power of Emotional Intelligence* [Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2002]. Effective leadership implies the following features, based entirely on emotional intelligence: objective self-assessment, self-confidence and assurance, moral (honesty and integrity), adaptiveness and flexibility, achievement-oriented motivation, initiative and efficiency, orientation in the organization, consumer-orientation, use of persuasion tactics, developing the skills of one's subordinates, initiating change, conflict management, team building, sense of humour.

Unavoidably, and quite right too, here the reader is left with a sense of some chaos in the approach and a lack of serious grounds both for drawing such a list of characteristics and the distinction among them, and the link of all this with emotions and intelligence. As Locke quite rightly puts it, [Locke, 2005, p.428], there is almost nothing left outside this list, with the exception of intelligence itself in the classical cognitive sense of the word or the intellectual aspect of leadership (for example, strategic vision and analytical skills). In reality, an individual (including a leader) does not embark on anything without emotions and they are an extremely important part of human nature and human communication, including in an organisational context. However, the link between leadership, for example, and human affect could be and should be regarded on more stable and consistent grounds.

Thus, following delay through inertia of OB and O/I Psychology in these areas, there is a risk now that catching up may not take quite the right directions or it may fail to happen in a most convincing way. Undoubtedly, the combination of topics currently falling under the umbrella of the emotional intelligence idea are not unimportant at all,

although what is attempted to bring them together is not very convincing. However, the ancient assumption of the rule of the mind over feelings still has to undergo rethinking, and together with it, the ‘natural’ act of giving priority to the former at the expense of the latter, only because the latter makes a better subject of analysis. Still, the place of the emotional side of human nature in the organisational life of people has not received sufficient attention.

In addition to Le Doux’s findings proving that the links from emotional brain centres to cognitive systems are better developed and stronger than the reverse neural paths modern brain research enjoys a large number of other remarkable findings that gain popularity but remain strangely invisible to OB and I/O Psychology. Actually, these new ideas are not simply the result of the cumulative effect – more or less, they constitute a revolution of sorts and require principally new approaches to a large number of topics related to the organisational life of humans. A good example in this respect is the so-called “mirror neurons” [Iacoboni, 2008].

Human existence and communication is comprised of a huge number of difficult for the rational mind to register, subtly nuanced and dynamic details. For example, our ability naturally and spontaneously to tell a smile from a grimace; to know with certainty that the hand of the other person stretched out to the cup of coffee will not grab it only to hurl it but will take it to his/her lips instead; the ability to feel empathy, *being overwhelmed by* the same feeling as the next person in the cinema hall or in the work place; to get oriented among the countless phenomena of non-verbal communication, etc. Indeed, we rarely ever give this some thought; even more rarely do we try to analyse it in depth; it all looks infinitely ‘natural’, but it is far from natural. In

the last 10 years or so a group of Italian neurophysiologists has discovered and gone ever deeper into explaining these abilities fundamental to communication and human existence: groups of neural clusters allowing our brain to register behavioural intentions and emotional states without intervention on the part of analytical rationality – the so-called mirror neurons. They are triggered when our senses obtain information from the outer world in the same way in which they are triggered when we do or feel something ourselves i.e. to some extent we not only reflect the other person, we *are* him/ her. This specific mind-reading technique builds a bridge between us and the others and helps us build our own self-concept, our cultures and our societies. Mirror neurons are associated with imitation, moral, learning, political affiliations and consumer preferences, with culture, language and philosophy and a number of different aspects of the social cognitive process. The existence and the way of operation of these neurons influence the thinking and research programmes in an increasing number of fields of science within and outside the frame of psychology.

Gerald Huther and his team at the Department of Fundamental Neuro-Physical Research in Göttingen proved the existence of a direct link between brain development (onto- and phylogenetical) and the way the brain is used. It transpires that behaviours leading to the fullest development of this sort are such that manage to combine the classical cognitive intelligence and ‘non-intellectual’ qualities such as humility, empathy and love [Huther, 2006].

These are just some examples in a pool of possible ones that clearly demonstrate the revolutionary findings (in this case in the field of neurosciences) and the changes in researchers’ attitudes towards human emotionality and its role in human

behaviour. The last couple of decades saw, initially more slowly and recently more abruptly and decisively, the classical millennial dichotomisation reason versus emotions, thinking versus feeling, cognition versus affect finally rejected. More numerous and convincing research evidence has been accumulated demonstrating the impact of affective states on cognitive processes, such as learning, memorising, making associations and assessing [Bower, 1981; Fiedler & Forgas, 1988; Forgas & Bower, 1987], and the other way round: the impact of cognitive judgemental information processes on feelings [Zajonc, 2001].

In the frame of OB and I/O Psychology there are centres and individual authors in whose works emotions in an organisational context enjoy recognition. Attention is given, for example, to the feelings of staff, the expression of anger and its relation to aggressive behaviours [Allcorn, 1994; Tavris, 1982]. Also, some interest to the emotional element in the relations with customers and in customer care, including the ability of staff to express positive emotions to consumers, is registered – a process called ‘emotional work’ [Hochschild, 1983]. The largest relative attention as regards emotions (and emotional intelligence, of course) goes to leadership, both in relation to the relationship between the leader and his/her followers and along the lines of effective leadership (for example, ‘transformational leadership’): Yammarino & Bass, 1993, p.81-102]. One of the champions of the idea about the importance of emotions in the field of organisational-behaviour research is Neil Ashkenazi from the University of Queensland, who has put considerable efforts towards this end. Under his guidance and at his initiative several years ago the *Human Performance* magazine prepared an issue devoted to the subject of the link between emotions and performance appraisal [Human Performance, 2004, 17(2)]. The articles in this special edition present definitely a step

in the right direction.

However, perhaps now the time has come for a more systematic coverage of emotions as a topic in OB and I/O Psychology. In this sense it seems appropriate [similarly to Keltner & Haidt, 1999, p. 505-521] that the thinking about the role, place and mechanisms of human emotions in organisations is systematised on the following levels of analysis:

Individual level. At this level there are significant research contributions in relation to the impact of emotions over the assessment components of the perception process, including social cognition, as well as over the memory and behavioural attitudes [Clore, 1994, p.103-111; Frijda 2002; Lazarus, 1991]. Quite a few of the specialists who focused their research on the individual level when analysing emotions, tend to get interested primarily in the intrapersonal changes triggered by emotions. Equally, these intrapersonal changes are often enough regarded as emotional preparation or a response to a social interaction of some sort, which automatically means we are going into the organisational dimension. In fact, we can say that at this level emotions have primarily motivational and cognitive functions. Anger, for example, is closely associated with an individual's judgement about the fairness of a certain event; shame is based on information about the status of an individual in a given group; love is associated with the level of commitment or devotion to another individual or object, including the objectives and values of the organisation or the group. The affective states, such as moods, have been proved to impact the effectiveness of cognitive processes and the direction of assessment or the attitudes related to them. Motivation in the workplace, both in its intrinsic and extrinsic aspect, is

in its essence a judgemental and affective information process resulting in various extents of being attracted to a certain status of existence or way of behaviour.

Diadic level. The interest in research towards emotions as a factor organising bilateral relations and interactions is not to be neglected either. Naturally, in this sense, we talk about expressing emotions facially, vocally, with gestures, as well as about interpretational problems, problems with understanding the emotions and behavioural intentions of others, evoking reciprocal and simultaneous emotions in the perceiver, the regulatory functions of some emotional states, etc. All of these issues should in reality form a series of OB topics – charismatic leadership, empathy, and last but not least, some of the elements of the earlier mentioned emotional intelligence, such as, for example, introspection skills, self-control over impulses, moods and emotions.

Group level. Research interest at this level can be structured in the following directions of importance: collective emotions and how such an emotion affects group members; the emotional context of role interactions (for example, in role conflict or role ambiguity, as well as in cognitive interpretation of role expectations); emotions as an auxiliary mechanism for defining the boundaries of the group and as a groupforming factor (collective ecstasy, for example, as a means to achieve a sense of group unity); the role of humour and laughter; emotions associated with defining group roles and status, etc. Culture-specific dimensions of emotions belong here too; they explain how emotions are influenced by historic and economic factors and how these are built into institutions and social practices, how cultural norms impact the expression of emotions and what affective functions culture itself has in forming cultural systems, etc. More specific directions of research are also the following: the impact of culture on

the self-concept and the emotional statuses associated with it; social structures under which (or in relation to which) emotions are experienced; culture-specific assessment of emotions and the way it is expressed; emotions in the process of socialisation, etc.

By way of recapitulation it can be pointed out that the recent years has proved revolutionary for neurophysiology, sociology and almost all branches of psychology as far as human emotions and their relationship with the classical cognitive functions and behaviour are concerned. Economic sciences have been casting ever so frequent, curious glances towards human-behaviour sciences; a field of science called 'behavioural economics' has appeared and is thriving these days. OB and I/O Psychology should face this challenge and, with no more loss of speed, provide management both with adequate understanding of its material - individuals and groups of people - and with valuable practical means for influencing individual and group behaviour at work. Apparently, this can never happen without a new and modern reconsideration of the affective world of man; equally, this reconsidering should stay as methodologically sound as possible, and it is by far not exhausted by the concept of emotional intelligence which is very much a buzz word today.

II. Organizational Consequences and Individual Antecedents to Emotional Dissonance and Emotional Labor

1. Conceptual background

In the early 1980s, American sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild, introduced the term emotional labor as a core element of a more general concept that later became one of the more promising fields in the contemporary studies of human emotions in organizational contexts. In her seminal book, she discusses that in many professions employees have to face and cope with the differences between felt and expressed emotions. This observation led Hochschild to the following definition of emotional labor: “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display for a wage” (Hochschild, A.,1983, p.17).

The conflict or discrepancy between felt and expressed emotions was not an entirely new topic but previously emotional dissonance was viewed as caused by the demands of the job, from the standpoint of what Hochschild described as commercialization of feelings. In some professions, there are activities that presuppose trust and enthusiasm on behalf of the jobholder (e.g., customer service) while in other professions the employee often meets with distrust and even hatred (e.g., tax collecting). For the sake of effective fulfillment of their duties, employees have to manage different emotions, the mismatch between their felt emotions and requirements of their job, organizationally desirable manifestations of emotions in the workplace, and the results of emotional dissonance.

Emotional dissonance is similar to cognitive dissonance, the latter being an uncomfortable feeling caused by simultaneously holding two contradictory ideas. Regarding the emotion of

feeling uncomfortable, the lack of congruence between felt and expressed emotions may lead to guilt, anger, frustration, or embarrassment. When experiencing such discomfort, one seeks to neutralize or balance the discrepancy. For Hochschild, there are two possible approaches for achieving this: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is a behavioral response where the actor does not go beyond ambition to demonstrate signs of unfeared emotions for the public to observe and interpret. This type of response can be likened to the theatrical concept of Brecht acting. Deep acting, on the other hand, focuses on the deeply felt feelings and includes attempts for internalization of the required, organizationally desirable emotion. This type of response can be likened to the theatrical concept of Stanislavski acting. In this case, one creates or invokes - with the help of imagination - thoughts, reflections, and memories in one's mental world from which the desired emotion is induced.

Hochschild suggests that emotional labor has negative consequences and formulated three scenarios with different implications for the organization and the individual. First, when the identification of the employee with the emotional requirements of the job has been taking place for a long period, the consequences may be burnout, stress, and de-personification. Second, if the employee is capable of distinguishing well enough between himself/herself as a feeling person and the job's requirements, the result may be less burnout. However, in this case, more cognitions about being phony or false can manifest in the individual because of either over-manifestation of a faked feeling or simply a poor acting performance. The third scenario implies self-alienation of the person from his/her own feelings and from the organizational scene, which is harmful to individual commitment, job satisfaction, and morale.

One of the points for which Hochschild has been criticized is the lack of adequate techniques for measuring emotional labor. Instead of addressing this deficiency, she proposed a list of professions that simply consist of considerable amounts of emotional labor.

Ashforth and Humphrey, who tended to focus more on behaviors rather than on underlying emotions, further developed Hochschild's concept (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, pp.88-116).

This behavioral bias is based on the idea that observable behavior has a direct impact on customers and that an employee could just comply with the requirements for the purpose of expressing emotions without having to manage them. These authors stress the importance of rules of expression as a function of organizational and job-related norms, determining what emotional expressions are due in a given work situation. What is really felt by the employee is, to some extent, underestimated here. In fact, the explanation these two authors provide for emotional labor is that it is simply a factual expression of appropriate emotions. Thus, to what is referred to here as Brecht Stanislavki acting, Ashforth and Humphrey add the display of actually experienced emotions that are hardly emotional dissonances. In addition to and unlike Hochschild, Humphrey and Ashforth believe that emotional labor can have positive as well as negative consequences. For instance, if the emotion displayed by the actor is perceived by an audience as sincere, compliance with the rules of expression is associated with success in job performance. To further Hochschild's negative consequences approach, the authors also discuss the case when the customer provokes unrealistic expectations.

Developing Ashforth and Humphrey's concept further, Morris and Feldman conclude that emotional labor is "an effort, planning and control needed to express organizationally preferred emotions during interpersonal interactions" (Morris & Feldman, 1996, p.987). The authors examine emotional labor as a multi-layer phenomenon and interpret it from the point of view of the emotions' social function. They disapprove of frequency as the only measure

of intensity used by previous authors or the weight of emotional labor such as attention paid to rules of expression, diversity, and emotional dissonance.

The generalized explanatory scheme by Morris and Feldman includes their idea about the prerequisites and consequences of emotional labor (Morris & Feldman, 1997, pp 257-275).

These authors espouse four prerequisites including (1) explicitness of rules of expression; (2) routine character of the task (mainly in terms of its repetitiveness); (3) job position autonomy; and (4) relative strength of the role receiver (focal person in the context of the role episode scheme). The consequences of emotional labor in this concept include (1) emotional exhaustion (burnout), (2) job satisfaction (position), and (3) role internalization.

As mentioned earlier, Morris and Feldman are not particularly engaged in proponents of surface and deep acting since they believe that the focus should be on the appropriate expression behaviour as this is what most organisations are interested in. This brings up the question of how employees deal with their own emotions in order to produce the organizationally desired emotional expression in the peripheral part of these authors' interests.

Alicia Grandey proposes a further way of interpreting emotional labor by modifying the works of other authors (Grandey, 2000, pp 95-100). According to her, emotional labor includes the regulation not only of emotional expression but also the feelings themselves, which correspond with Hoshchild's conceptualizations. An interesting element of Grandey's contribution is directing attention toward emotional events as a conceptual prerequisite for emotional labor. Within this conceptual framework, she incorporates elements from contributions of the authors before her: from Hoshchild – the two types of acting; from Ashforth and Humphrey – the rules of expression as a situational prerequisite for emotional

labor; from Morris and Feldman – the frequency, the continuity, and the diversity as pertinent prerequisites.

At almost the same time that Grandey was publishing on the topic of emotional labor, Kruml and Geddes (2000, pp 8-49) published their research based on the idea that emotional labor consists of two factors: emotional tension and emotional dissonance. Drawing on the understanding that the dissonance factor affects the degree to which employees display emotions that are in symphony with felt ones, the authors suggested that higher amounts of this factor lead to more surface acting while lower amounts lead to passive, deep acting or authentic display of emotions. To the contrary, high values of emotional tension can be viewed as a prerequisite for and measure of the active deep acting.

Unlike most of the authors mentioned above, Celeste Brotheridge believes that emotional labor does not necessarily include emotional dissonance. She contends that employees who sincerely feel the requirement for display emotions do not register emotional dissonance and do not experience emotional labor. She points out that this is not an obstacle to the manifestation of dissonance through surface acting on the part of these employees (Brotheridge, 2003). Among the most significant of Brotheridge's contributions is the development and validation of a tool to measure emotional labor.

Research of emotional dissonance and emotional labor remains relatively underdeveloped and authors who are interested in these areas are far from expressing methodological and theoretical accord. Their focus has been on internal states (emotional states and moods), psychological processes (surface and deep acting), external expression of emotions, rules of expression in organizational contexts, personal differences as a factor that brings about

emotional labor, the consequences of dissonance, and labor in organizational and personal plans (Glomb & Tews, 2004, pp 1-23).

From a pragmatic point of view, the following considerations are of greatest significance. The need for control over emotional expression through behaviour, language, and facial expression is the essence of a human civilization mechanism. This is especially evident organizationally where both common institutional and personal interests require compliance with the desirability of one emotional state or another. The experienced feelings and moods, however, are observable to a different degree and can coincide with those desired (rules of expression and adequacy). Attention should be drawn to the fact that there is a considerable difference between emotional tension and emotional labor. Tension represents the intensity of experiences while labor is related to the conscious impact on the experiences. Thus, understanding emotional tension as a phenomenon, prerequisite, and consequence should consider the following options, circumstances, and scenarios:

1. It is possible that the experienced moods match the rules of expression. In this case, emotional tension exists in various degrees related to job requirements and individual characteristics. Emotional labor might be observed in cases when the desired expression intensity differs from the actual experience.
2. It is also possible that what is experienced does not coincide with the rules of expression (i.e., emotional dissonance exists). This presupposes the following two alternatives:
3. Suppressing the expression of what is felt in those cases when it is inadequate. Passive (without action) emotional labor is observed.
4. Displaying feelings and moods that differ from the experienced ones. The emotional labor is active and is expressed in two types of action: surface (only related to the means of expression) and deep (autosuggestion or learning the correct moods and feelings).

5. Differences should be expected in emotional tension in terms of positive/negative character of the experienced, suppressed, and acted emotional states.
6. Resultant feelings and moods are generated either when the emotional labor itself achieves success or results in failure and when the need for such labor is realized. The direction and the intensity of these resultant emotions will depend on the motivational orientation and the individual characteristics of the person.
7. As a whole, the emotional tension is a function of two groups of variables: personality (individual characteristics, motivation, values, and artistic qualities) and the environment (intensity, continuity, and frequency of the emotional dissonance and the strictness of the rules of expression).
8. In organizational and personal spheres lie the consequences of emotional tension; it is not necessary for them to be negative – they can vary from satisfaction on one extreme to burnout and de-motivation on the other. Which one depends on the type of feeling and mood, the structure of the personality, the type and intensity of the emotional labor, and the value and motivational orientation of the employee and others.

2. Major findings of previous research

A review of influential empirical emotional dissonance and emotional labor studies starts with Morris and Feldman (1997, pp 257-275) who suggest a positive relationship between emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion. An interesting attribute in their study is an attempt to find a relationship between emotional exhaustion and the frequency and continuity of emotional labor. However, results did not support their hypothesis. The explanation presented within the framework of the authors' theoretical model points out that, with its own

consequences, emotional dissonance is a construct independent from emotional labor. It seems much more lucrative to reconsider the model, particularly the logical connection between dissonance and labor.

Studying the consequences of emotional dissonance, Abraham (1998, pp 229 -247) suggests a relationship with job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion. The research demonstrates an intermediary function of social support for the relationship between satisfaction and dissonance (i.e., the negligible impact of emotional dissonance on the employees' satisfaction with higher levels of social support). In another study, the same author demonstrates the relationships between job satisfaction, commitment to the organization, emotional dissonance, and behavioural intention to quit (Abraham, R., 1999, pp 441-455).

Brotheridge and Lee (2003) developed and validated an emotional labor scale. In the process of validation, they discovered that emotional exhaustion and depersonalization are correlated with a surface acting sub-scale in their questionnaire. The explanation the authors present includes the idea that effort to conceal actual felt emotions or labor to express actual unfelt emotions comprises the main components of emotional labor. This is in contrast to deep acting where empathy and auto-suggestion result in fewer tension levels. This suggests that attention should be paid to the notions that acting and suppressing emotions are key elements of surface acting.

Given the evidence presented above, it is sufficient to conclude that research conducted so far illustrates a negative impact of emotional dissonance on job satisfaction. This is particularly important since job satisfaction is positively related to the quality of job performance, mainly as labor morale even though it cannot be claimed that this is a motivational determinant. Quite

a few meta-analyses illustrate the importance of this correlation including those by Iaffaldano and Muchinsky (1985, pp 251-273) and Petty, McGee, and Cavender (1984, pp 712-721). In other meta-analyses, Mathieu and Zajac (1990, pp 171-194) and Hackett, Bycio, and Hausdorf (1994, pp 15-23) found a small, positive correlation between company commitment and quality of performance.

Ultimately, if a correlation between emotional labor and satisfaction/commitment were established, this would imply a relationship with the quality of job performance through the facilitating function of satisfaction and commitment. Those emotions, which participate in emotional labor and emotional dissonance, can differ depending on the requirements of the professional field and the type of relationships providing the framework of the desired emotional expressions. A typical research target in this relation is activities such as client service or tax collector. In client service, enough evidence exists to suggest suppressing negative emotions and acting on the positive ones contribute to emotional labor. For other jobs, the opposite may be true; that is, acting on the negative ones and suppressing the positive emotions. In principle, this statement seems logical, but its unconditional acceptance and axiomatic character can result in fallacies related to the difficulty of differentiating between positive and negative emotional states.

An independent topic in these studies is the search for individual differences as an antecedent to the ability to handle emotional labor (Brotheridge, 2003; Kring, Smith, & Neale, 1994; Tews & Glomb, 2003; Vey & Bono, 2003). Many of these studies base the idea of individual differences on the big five personality traits: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. In principle, there is a point to considering individual differences as a predisposition to the frequency and intensity of experienced emotional labor

since the core of emotional dissonance is the incongruity between felt and displayed emotions. Individual characteristics may enhance or lower this incongruity. For example, people can differ from one another in terms of their aptitude to experience the emotions required of them. This gives rise to the idea outlined by many authors (Sutton, & Rafaeli, 1988 pp 461-487; Morris & Feldman, 1996, pp. 986-1010) that studying such criteria for personnel selection leads to better conformity between the requirements of the work place and the personal characteristics of the applicant.

The thrust in the emotional dissonance research area is to determine whether individual differences influence people's ability to handle emotional labor and emotional dissonance (Brotheridge, 2003; Tews & Glomb, 2003; Vey & Bono, 2003). Unfortunately, such studies have been limited to customer service jobs and generally rely on the five-factor model of personality. Whether different personalities result in different emotional dissonance levels across jobs is an important empirical question. This research addresses the question of such individual differences by studying debt collectors. The underlying rationale was this: since emotional dissonance involves incongruence between felt emotion and displayed emotion, personality attributes lessen the incongruence and emotional labor would decrease.

There is a clear need for every business to employ individuals who are well suited to the emotional requirements of the job. It is not difficult to suppose that organizations would do better if they attract and select candidates who are disposed to feel and display required emotions. Selecting employees based on their general tendency to experience certain emotions may lead to a better fit between an employee's expressive behaviors and work role requirements. So far, no extant research suggests a correlation between individual differences and emotional labor. A clear example of a rejected hypothesis of that type includes the

research carried out by Diamond (2005). In that case, the problem does not lie in the lack of meaningful relationship, but rather in the model's parameters applied in studying the individual differences. This idea receives empirical support by the research outlined below.

3. Two empirical studies on some prerequisites and consequences of emotional dissonance

Two studies are reported here. The first, which included the National Agricultural Fund of Bulgaria, focuses on confirming the overall importance of emotional labor for job satisfaction and intention to quit. The second, which took place at the Ministry of Finance of Bulgaria, demonstrates the impact of emotional labor on job satisfaction, commitment, and performance. It further clarifies the role of individual values and cognitive differences as prerequisites to emotional labor.

The first study was conducted in June 2009 as a part of a larger project concerning human resources development, motivation, and strategy at the National Agricultural Fund of Bulgaria, a state agency administering the utilization of European agricultural, forest, fishing, etc. funds in the country. The study included 158 employees (60% men and 40% women). The Discrete Emotions Emotional Labor Scale (DEELS), developed and validated by Glomb and Tews (2004), was used to measure levels of emotional dissonance. The DEELS scale consists of three subscales: genuine expression, faking, and suppression. Since this study focuses on emotional dissonance resulting from differences between felt emotion and

displayed emotion, only two of the three subscales, faking and suppression, were used in the study. Both subscales are comprised of 14 items with each item addressing a certain emotion ranging from irritation to enthusiasm. The DEELS scale has undergone rigorous validity testing. Alpha coefficients, convergent validity, discriminant validity, and criterion-related validity of the instrument have been tested and/or validated (Diamond, 2005).

Satisfaction was measured with four items from the Job Satisfaction Survey (Spector, P, 1985, pp. 693-713; Spector, P., 2001). Using a 1 to 6 Likert scale, this subscale requires participants to indicate their agreement with several related statements. The four questions were summed for an overall measure of job satisfaction.

Intention to quit was measured with three statements requiring participants to assess their level of agreement on a 1 to 5 Likert scale. This three-item measure is based on Weisberg and Sagie's (1999, pp. 333-340) work and were summed for an overall measure of intention to quit.

What this particular study strived to uncover was whether higher levels of emotional dissonance as perceived by the employees predicts lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of intention to quit. The latter is surmised to be influenced - both directly and indirectly - by emotional dissonance, lower job satisfaction, and other factors. More precisely, the hypotheses for this study were

H1: Emotional dissonance is positively correlated with intention to quit.

H2: Emotional dissonance is negatively correlated with job satisfaction

H3: Job satisfaction is negatively correlated with intention to quit.

It is expected that emotional dissonance – if causing high levels of emotional labor – will result in lower job satisfaction and higher intention to quit. Intention to quit is influenced both directly and indirectly by the dissonance through the satisfaction. Some valuable conclusions for human resources management and general management practices may be drawn from these relationships including the high economic price of increased levels of emotional labor. Similar studies typically examine the prerequisites of emotional labor, investigating two major directions: nature of work and individual differences. Researchers work primarily with professions in which traditionally high emotional dissonance is expected such as tax collectors, flight attendants, executive officers, etc. Promoted in this study is the concept that emotional dissonance is present in every organizational (and social) setting and the current research covers comparatively neutral jobs.

As far as individual differences as prerequisites of emotional labor are concerned, researchers' interests so far have focused almost entirely on International Personality Item Pool (IPIP) constructs, specifically on the big five personality traits. The results in these cases are often surprising, contradictory, and far from encouraging (Diamond, 2005). Because the Big Five traits are broad and comprehensive, they are not nearly as powerful in predicting and explaining actual behavior as are the more numerous lower-level traits. Many studies have confirmed that in predicting actual behavior the more numerous facet or primary level traits are far more effective (e.g. Mershon & Gorsuch, 1988; Paunonen & Ashton, 2001).

Shortcoming of many previous research attempts in the field includes the very direction in which individual differences have been conceptualized, ignoring human values and motivation. Provoked by the nature of a profession, emotional dissonance may lead to

different levels of personally experienced emotional labor, depending, for example, on the importance of feeling (vs. thinking) as the judging mechanism in the cognitive process, on valence of emotionality, and on individual preferences for social or power and achievement needs. These would serve as far more productive frameworks for exploring individual differences as prerequisites of emotional labor than the big five model. Due to some organizational limitations, this idea couldn't be explored in the first study; with the second study, these concepts are revisited.

The major findings of the first study can be summarized as follows. Descriptive statistics can be seen in Table 1. Table 2 shows the correlation indices of the variables in the model.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

	Mean	St.dev	N
Intention to quit	7.7051	3.50340	156
Job satisfaction	9.2911	1.68282	158
Emotional labor	0.7469	0.75249	144
- Fake	1.0009	0.85702	140
- Hide	0.4306	0.72620	136

Table 2. Correlations

	Intention to Quit	Job Satisfaction	Emotional Labor	Hide	Fake
Intention to quit					
Pearson Correlation	1	-.710**	.192*	.222**	.081
Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.021	.009	.350
N	156	156	143	139	135
Job satisfaction					
Pearson Correlation	-.710**	1	-.227**	-	-.102
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.006	.257**	.236
N	156	158	144	.002 140	136
Emotional labor (Hide & Fake)					
Pearson Correlation	.192*	-.227**	1	.891**	.856**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.021	.006		.000	.000
N	143	144	144	140	136
Hide					
Pearson Correlation	.222**	-.257**	.891**	1	.517**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.002	.000		.000
N	139	140	140	140	132
Fake					
Pearson Correlation	.081	-.102	.856**	.517**	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.350	.236	.000	.000	
N	135	136	136	132	136

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The most important results of the correlation analyses demonstrate the following: (a) there is a statistically significant negative correlation between overall job satisfaction and employees' intention to quit (-0.710); (b) there is a statistically significant negative correlation between emotional labor and overall job satisfaction (-0.227); (c) there is a statistically significant positive correlation between emotional labor and intention to quit (0.192).

It is also obvious that the intention to quit and job satisfaction and hiding and faking emotions as two forms of emotional labor are not equally significant. Demonstrated here, suppressing felt emotions has a considerably stronger connection with intention to quit and job satisfaction

than expressions of non-existent emotions, possibly due to different frequencies in this particular context.

For assessing the strength of the causal relationships between dependent and independent variables, regression analyses were performed and the results are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Regression analyses

Independent variable	Dependent variable			
	R ²	F	Beta	t
Emotional Labor	Job Satisfaction			
	.051	7.68	-.227	-2.772
Emotional Labor	Intention to Quit			
	.037	5.411	.192	2.326
Job Satisfaction	Intention to Quit			
	.504	156.595	-.710	-12.514
Emotional Labor (managers)	Intention to Quit (managers)			
	-.050	.376	.174	.613
Emotional Labor (experts)	Intention to Quit (experts)			
	.005	1.527	.119	1.236
Emotional Labor (managers)	Job Satisfaction (managers)			
	-.065	.211	-.131	-.459
Emotional Labor (experts)	Job Satisfaction (experts)			
	.032	4.59	-.203	-2.144
Emotional Labor (men)	Job Satisfaction (men)			
	.013	.614	-.112	-.784
Emotional Labor (women)	Job Satisfaction (women)			
	.118	10.681	-.343	-3.268

Results confirm hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 suggesting the existence of a sufficiently strong correlation between the general emotional labor and the general job satisfaction and the intention to quit. The results also substantiate the strong interdependence between job satisfaction and the intention to quit, which other authors suggest. An interesting point that requires particular study is the issue regarding individual motivational orientation as a prerequisite for emotional labor. The conditions of this research did not allow for a

confirmation of this correlation. Regression analyses carried out independently for managers and experts indicated an interesting and significant difference in the intensity with which emotional labor influences intention to quit of these two groups of people. The most important parameters of the results from the regressions of overall satisfaction on emotional labor for managers and experts and intention to quit on emotional labor are shown in Table 3.

Another important issue is how gender impacts the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction. Two regressions carried out by gender illustrate a considerably stronger effect of emotional labor among women than among men. The most important result parameters of the regressions of overall satisfaction on emotional labor intention to quit on emotional labor by gender are shown in Table 3.

There are many factors influencing the climb of an employee up the corporate ladder to a leadership position, but there are several necessary ones such as high levels of intrinsic achievement and power motivation. From this point of view, it is reasonable to expect that it will be easier for employees on managerial positions to live through emotional labor since it is considered less important given the achievement of success and power. Each person's value system influences the way the focal individual accepts and experiences emotional dissonance and the judgment of whether emotional labor is worth the rewards. Value priorities such as power, self-enhancement, and competitive success can attach positive but not negative bias to emotional labor if it ultimately leads to attaining core needs. For people with more altruistic and collective value system who are more concerned about harmony in relationships, being liked, etc., emotional labor may be more harrowing and have an impact on job satisfaction and intention to quit. A difference like that can be expected in connection with Jung's

functions (Jung, C.G., 1971) operationalised, for example, in Myers Briggs Type Indicator (Myers, I. & P. Myers, 1995) or Keirsey Temperament Sorter (Keirsey, D., 1998). The assessment/judgement component in these styles can be implemented mainly through mental or affective criteria (Thinking and Feeling types). For Thinking types, emotiveness and related ethical and aesthetic criteria are less importance than the normative (right/wrong) criteria. It is the opposite for Feeling types, which directly affect the importance with how these two types attach their emotions and, consequently, to emotional dissonance and emotional labor.

The second study was designed and carried out in 2010 in the central administration of the Ministry of Finance in Bulgaria. In addition to job satisfaction and intention to quit as dependent variables, job performance was added as another dependent variable. This was measured by calculating a mean of the last three items given to respondents on the existing performance evaluation system currently in use in the Ministry. The main goal of this second study was twofold: (a) to again examine the most important organizational consequences of emotional labor, and (b) to study the facilitating function that personality plays in respect to the impact of emotional dissonance on performance, satisfaction, and commitment. The main research hypothesis was that power and achievement motivations - the self-enhancing personality value characteristics as well as predominantly thinking judgment function under Jung's cognitive typology - would lead to weaker or even negative effects on the emotional dissonance on the dependent variables and one's belonging to the self-transcendence value domain. In addition, the predominantly feeling portion of Jung's cognitive typology would impart greater impact of emotional dissonance on job performance, job satisfaction, and intention to quit.

Induced by the type of profession, emotional dissonance may lead to different levels of experienced emotional labor in a given respondent depending on how important feeling as a judging mechanism is in his/her cognitive process. This is due to the valence of emotion itself for the individual and whether the respondent gives priority to his/her relationships with people or power/success. This framework of human values would be a much more successful conceptual tool with respect to individual differences as a prerequisite for emotional labor with all its negative consequences.

For studying values, Shalom Schwartz' Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) was used as described in the methodology of European Social Surveys (ESS) (Schwartz, S. 2007). For judging types (Thinking vs. Feeling), elements of Carl Jung's cognitive typology were used similarly to their implementation by the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator and in the Keirsey Temperament Sorter.

PVQ is a short, verbal portrait of different people and it describes goals, desires, and wishes that implicitly represent the importance of one principal value. For example, the assessment, "It is important for him/her to come up with new ideas and be an innovator. He/she loves doing things their own way," describes a person who gives priority to self-direction. "It is important for him/her to be rich. He/she wants to have a lot of money and luxurious and expensive things," describes a person with markedly authoritative values. By describing an individual with the goals and desires he/she pursues, the verbal portraits detect values without necessarily identifying them explicitly from a respondent (Srull, & Gaelick, 1983, pp. 108-121). The 10 values used in PVQ are: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism. For this study, power

and achievement - comprising the self-enhancement index vs. benevolence and universalism as forms of the self-transcendence - are of specific importance.

For each portrait, respondents reply to the question, “whether this man resembles you?,” on a 6-grade scale from “entirely like me” to “nothing like me.” An option was provided for when the respondent does not know the answer or cannot decide.

PVQ consists of 20 items grouped into 10 indices, one for each principal value. The indices are arranged according to the belief that they provide more precise measurement than one single variable. The variables included in one index measure different aspects of the same dimension.

In the case of PVQ, the Cronbach’s alphas calculated when validating the method are relatively low for some of the indices. This is due to two circumstances. First, the indices were selected and constructed in such a way as to cover different conceptual components of the same principal value rather than logically repeat each other as measures of a closely defined concept. For example, the authoritative items include wealth and power while universalism include concern for nature and understanding. If either the power or universalism indices included items that were close in meaning or conceptualization, the alpha coefficients would be higher but the notional width of each type of value would be worse covered. Second, each index includes only two questions, which is insufficient for achieving high alphas unless the questions are nearly identical. When considering the small number of items used to measure each of the ten values and their heterogeneity required in this case, the alphas are sufficiently high. The alpha coefficients for the constructs collected in this study were: self-direction (0.49), stimulation (0.63), hedonism (0.67), achievement (0.69), power

(0.44), security (0.62), conformity (0.58), tradition (0.37), benevolence (0.55), and universalism (0.58).

Corrections related to individual differences are required when using the scales since the totality of such differences ultimately results in the different ways in which respondents use the response scale. Some respondents disperse their answers along the entire width of the scales while others do not. Quite a few respondents tend to channel their answers in one or two directions (agreement – nearly all portraits resemble them, or disagreement – nearly all portraits do not resemble them). To ignore these trends when answering the questions would result in drawing wrong conclusions that all values are essential to some respondents and there is not a single value that is essential to others. What is of interest is the relative importance of the ten principal values for each respondent, his/her value priorities. Since values function in a system, the importance of each value for the respective person or culture should be seen as an absolute, not a relative value compared to the importance of all other values for this person (Schwartz, 1996).

To study the individual characteristics of cognitive styles (as far as the judging function is concerned), Jung's paradigm was used (Jung, 1971), which is widely known and used in research of this kind. This paradigm underlies two recognized tools for measuring individual differences, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers & Myers, 1989,1995) and the Keirsey Temperament Sorter (Keirsey, 1998). Jung's typology contains two functions related to perception (sensing and intuition) and two (thinking and feeling) related to assessment of the information gathered. The judging functions describe the prevailing mechanisms with the help of which an attitude towards the perceived is built. Thinking types ground decision making and their assessment on a distant and impersonal base, relying on what seems reasonable,

logical, consistent, and corresponding with a system of rules. Feeling types carry out the evaluation by identifying themselves with situations and other people, taking into consideration personal dimensions of the situation, and empathizing and looking for harmony and understanding. It should be emphasized that it is not a matter of ability but of preference; we cannot state, for example, that a Thinking type is more capable of showing logic than a Feeling type.

For the purposes of this study, a research methodology was developed to make distribution and collection of the questionnaire a simple matter. Sending out the questionnaires and collecting the completed ones was coordinated and implemented in collaboration with the employees from the human resources department at the Ministry of Finance. Approximately 340 individuals were identified as potential candidates for participation in the study. Of those identified, 241 surveys were returned with 233 surveys completed and included in the final study. Some of the demographics of this survey are shown in table 4.

Table 4. Demographics

Years with organization	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
under 5 years	41	17,6	17,6	17,6
5-10 years	65	27,9	27,9	45,5
11-15 years	43	18,5	18,5	63,9
16-20 years	24	10,3	10,3	74,2
21-25 years	18	7,7	7,7	82,0
26-30 years	18	7,7	7,7	89,7
above 31 years	24	10,3	10,3	100,0
Age				
20-30 years	55	23,6	23,6	23,6
31-40 years	98	42,1	42,1	65,7
41-50 years	42	18,0	18,0	83,7
51-60 years	35	15,0	15,0	98,7
above 61 years	3	1,3	1,3	100,0

Gender				
Male	52	22,3	22,3	22,3
Female	181	77,7	77,7	100,0
	233	100,0	100,0	

In this study, the following hypotheses were tested:

H1a – Emotional dissonance is negatively correlated with job performance.

H1b – Emotional dissonance is negatively correlated with overall job satisfaction.

H1c – Emotional dissonance is positively correlated with intention to quit (i.e. lower commitment).

H2a – There is a weaker influence of emotional dissonance on a strong Thinking type than for a strong Feeling type. For the feeling type, the effect of emotional dissonance would be in the same direction as described in hypothesis 1.

H2b – For subjects scoring high on Power (demonstrating high levels on the power value dimension), the influence of emotional dissonance would be much weaker for a person with low scores on the power dimension.

The hypotheses were tested statistically with analysis of variance (ANOVA). For H1, the dependent variables performance, job satisfaction, and intention to quit were tested with the factor emotional dissonance (two levels – low and high). For H2, a four-factor model was tested. Emotional dissonance (low vs. high), Type Feeling vs. Thinking, Power (low vs. high), and sex (male vs. female) were included as factors. The dependent variables were the same as in H1. Some of the more important findings in this study are summarized below.

Emotional dissonance

The ANOVA demonstrated main effects of the factor emotional dissonance for all three dependent variables.

Dependent variable: performance (Table 5). Performance (3.3) was significantly higher for people with low emotional dissonance than for those with higher emotional dissonance (3.08) ($F_{1, 217} = 5.981, p < 0.05$). This result supports H1a.

Table 5. Effect of emotional dissonance on performance

Job performance				
Emotional dissonance	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
- Low	3.30	.057	3.19	3.41
- High	3.08	.070	2.94	3.22

Dependent variable: job satisfaction (Table 6). Overall job satisfaction was significantly lower (4.25) when emotional dissonance is high than when the emotional dissonance is low (4.50) ($F_{1, 231} = 5.361, p < 0.05$). This supports H2b.

Table 6. Effect of emotional dissonance on job satisfaction

Job satisfaction				
Emotional dissonance	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
- Low	4.50	.063	4.38	4.62
- High	4.25	.090	4.07	4.43

Dependent variable: intention to quit (Table 7). High emotional dissonance was positively correlated with higher tendencies to quit ($F_{1, 231} = 4.025, p < 0.05$). This supports H1c.

Table 7. Effect of emotional dissonance on intention to quit

Intention to quit				
Emotional dissonance	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
- Low	3,05	,081	2,89	3,21
- High	3,30	,096	3,11	3,49

Four-factor model. Independent variables: Emotional dissonance; Feeling/Thinking Type; Power; Gender. Dependent variable: Job performance

The ANOVA analysis suggests a main effect of emotional dissonance as well as main effects of the factors Thinking/Feeling and gender. Thinking types receive significantly higher performance appraisal results than Feeling types ($F_{1, 217} = 8.869, p < 0.01$).

Interaction between Thinking/Feeling characteristics and emotional dissonance (Table 8).

There is a significant interaction between the factors thinking/feeling and emotional dissonance ($F_{1, 217} = 5.008, p < 0.05$). This result supports H2a that there would be a weaker effect of emotional dissonance for the thinking type in comparison with the feeling, where high emotional dissonance led to lower performance figures. The difference between Feeling types with low emotional dissonance and Thinking types with both low and high emotional dissonance levels were very small. For feeling types with high emotional dissonance, employees had considerably lower performance results than the other groups.

Table 8. Interaction between emotional dissonance and T/F – type

Dependent variable: Job performance					
Emotional dissonance	T/F	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
- Low	- F-type	3.168	.115	2.942	3.395
	- T-type	3.262	.111	3.042	3.481
- High	- F-type	2.626	.169	2.293	2.959
	- T-type	3.282	.096	3.093	3.471

Interaction between Emotional dissonance and Power values (Table 9).

There is significant interaction between emotional dissonance and power ($F_{1, 217} = 5.635, p < 0.05$). This result supports H2b - the performance level of employees scoring high on power values was considerably influenced less by emotional dissonance, while people with low values on the power dimension had the typical profile - lower job performance with high emotional dissonance.

Table 9. Interaction between emotional dissonance and power as a value

Dependent variable: Job performance					
Emotional dissonance	Power	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
- Low	- Low	3.32	.135	3.06	3.59
	- High	3.11	.085	2.94	3.28
- High	- Low	2.76	.172	2.43	3.10
	- High	3.14	.090	2.97	3.32

Three-way interaction – Emotional Dissonance - Power – Gender (Table 10).

There was a significant three-way interaction between emotional dissonance, power, and sex ($F_{1, 217} = 6.08, p < 0.05$). In all but one group, there was the tendency for job performance to decrease when emotional dissonance increases. However, men with high values on the power dimension demonstrated just the opposite tendency – higher emotional dissonance was combined with better performance. In addition, men with low values on the power dimension were more influenced by the emotional dissonance factor than women in both high- and low-power groups.

Table 10. Interaction between Emotional dissonance, Power and Gender

Dependent variable: Job Performance						
Emotional dissonance	Power	Gender	Mean	Standard Error	95% Confidence interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
- Low	Low	M	3.333	.251	2.838	3.829
		F	3.314	.100	3.117	3.511
	High	M	2.737	.146	2.450	3.025
		F	3.475	.089	3.301	3.650
- High	Low	M	2.429	.329	1.780	3.077
		F	3.100	.100	2.903	3.297
	High	M	3.050	.146	2.762	3.338
		F	3.238	.106	3.029	3.447

As far as the dependence of job satisfaction and intention to quit on cognitive (judging) type, for value orientation and gender - on any given level of emotional dissonance - no statistically significant results were found. Interestingly, in all cases emotional dissonance was more important through its hiding than through its faking form.

4. Conclusion

The two studies described above warrant the following conclusions:

- High levels of perceived emotional dissonance negatively affect job performance, commitment, and satisfaction
- Individual differences play an important role as prerequisites of emotional labor, thus mediating the effect of emotional dissonance on performance, commitment, and satisfaction. Performance of employees belonging to the Thinking type in Jung's typology and scoring high on Power is less affected by emotional dissonance than performance of Feeling and low-power employees.

Emotional dissonance causes different levels of emotional labor in different personalities and eventually impact motivation and job performance.

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