

Gender Effects on Emotional Labor in Seoul Metropolitan Area

Public Personnel Management

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Abstract

Emotional labor is essential to public service at the street level. And there is evidence that it contributes to job satisfaction. But the interaction of gender with performance of emotional labor remains a conundrum, and more is known about the U.S. context than other cultures. To sort through this in a Confucian culture, we investigate how gender moderates the relationship between emotional labor, job satisfaction, and turnover intent. The study employs a multigroup structural modeling analysis using a survey of local government employees in Seoul, South Korea. Results indicate that for both women and men, authentically expressed emotion contributes to job satisfaction. But when workers must express an emotion they do not actually feel, the level of job satisfaction varies according to gender. While it is not associated with either job satisfaction or turnover intent for men, it affects both for women. Theoretical and managerial implications are discussed.

Keywords

emotive expression, job satisfaction, Korean public service, turnover intent

Public service at the street level, regardless of whether it is performed in the United States or South Korea, is marked by the need for workers to manage their own emotions as well as the emotional state of the citizen. State–agent–citizen interactions are the center of public service delivery and emotional labor is a component of this work. Law enforcement, family and children services, emergency response, public health interventions, and even zoning enforcement and tax offices, find citizens in a

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heightened emotional state. To get the job done, the citizen's affect must be managed along with the actual purpose of the exchange. Despite the silent and uncompensated nature of this work, a number of studies find that emotive work is self-motivating and contributes to job satisfaction (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008; Hsieh, Jin, & Guy, 2012; Lu & Guy, 2014; Mastracci, Guy, & Newman, 2012).

Much remains to be learned about who performs emotional labor, its forms, and whether it is more, rather than less, satisfying. This study addresses one dimension of this conundrum: the effect of gender. Do women and men perceive emotional labor similarly? Is it more trying for one gender than the other? Do different types of emotional labor affect women and men differently? Guy and Newman (2004) demonstrated that the types of jobs that women and men hold require different types of emotion management, with women's jobs predominantly requiring nurturance and men's jobs requiring more toughness. The purpose of this study is to investigate whether emotional labor affects women's and men's levels of job satisfaction and whether it affects their intent to change jobs. The study sample consists of Korean public servants. Cultural nuances make this study of comparative interest because so little is known about whether Confucian cultures and Western cultures result in different—or the same—workplace behaviors. For example, another study of emotional labor in Asian public service showed that Chinese workers respond very similarly to U.S. workers (Lu & Guy, 2014).

Concept of Emotional Labor

Most face-to-face and voice-to-voice jobs demand that an employee convey predictable emotions, such as cheerfulness, empathy, cordiality, confidence, toughness, or compassion. The same job may simultaneously require workers to hide negative emotions they may be feeling, such as irritation, anger, fear, or uncertainty. Guy et al. (2008) described this as the worker's effort to present emotions in a way that is desired by the employer. Each office has implicit display rules regarding emotive expression and what is desirable versus undesirable. Emotional labor requires workers to display the proper emotion while suppressing that which is undesirable; this sort of work is different from what cognitive labor requires. While the former includes sensing one's own emotional state as well as that of the citizen, determining how to respond, and then using body language and voice to express the proper emotion, the latter requires rational decision making involving cognitive knowledge. Only recently has the awareness of the emotive aspect of public service work become the object of scholarship.¹

Arlie Hochschild (1983) was the first to identify and name emotional labor. She described it as the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display. In a similar vein, Morris and Feldman (1996) defined it as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (p. 987). Both of these definitions capture the fact that emotional labor is a form of relational work and requires that workers manage their emotions to accomplish desired ends. In the process, this form of labor often requires workers to elicit desirable emotions and actions from citizens. Although the

management of emotions has always been necessary, this aspect of job performance has only recently been acknowledged.

Managing emotions to conform to work expectations or rules is not an easy task; it requires effort and can be motivating as well as exhausting. This is bound to have consequences for an individual's psychological well-being. Various scholars from Hochschild (1983), Morris and Feldman (1996, 1997), and Grandey (2000, 2003), to Mastracci et al. (2012), Hsieh (2012), and Jin and Guy (2009), among others, have hypothesized relationships between emotional labor and a person's psychological well-being, both focusing on the positive aspects (motivator) as well as the negative (burnout).

Workers manage their emotive response in one of two ways: They either respond by authentically expressing how they are feeling or they mask their emotions and pretend; in other words, they express the emotion that is appropriate at the moment even though it is not how they actually feel. Grandey (2003) thinks of all emotive expression as acting and differentiates these two types of emotive expression by labeling them *deep acting* and *surface acting*. According to this nomenclature, surface acting occurs when an employee regulates or modifies emotional expression or outward displays without changing their inner feelings. For example, an emergency responder may feign cool self-confidence despite actually feeling frightened or disgusted or unsure. Conversely, deep acting occurs when workers perform like stage actors, consciously regulating internal feelings to express the desired emotion. This may involve either changing their perspective of the situation (i.e., cognitive change) or changing the focus of attention (e.g., attention deployment). For example, caseworkers may imagine themselves in the same position as a parent under investigation for child abuse to summon feelings and better convey empathy (e.g., Totterdell & Holman, 2003).

The problem with using the terms *deep acting* and *surface acting* is that both terms connote pretense. Guy et al. (2008) found through interviews with public service providers that they neither experience nor express their emotive response this way. Rather, workers use the term *pretending* to describe incidents where they say that they pretend to feel one way when actually feeling another or when they suppress the intensity of the emotion they feel. In other words, they mask their true feelings. Other than pretending, they report that they are authentic. In other words, they are not acting, not even at a deep level. Instead, they are displaying how they actually feel. Because the intent of this study is to produce research that is useful to those engaged in public service, we believe it is more accurate to use terms that accurately depict how workers' describe their own work. Thus, this analysis uses the term *pretending* to capture what Grandey calls surface acting. And we use the term *authentic expression* to capture what Grandey calls deep acting.

Gender and Emotional Labor

Gender creates different expectations regarding emotional labor (Guy & Newman, 2004; Hochschild, 1983; Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006; Wharton & Erickson, 1995). The subordinate position of women contributes to this. And although true in the

American context, it is even truer in the Korean context, where the glass ceiling causes women not to be able to rise into positions of influence (Choi & Park, 2014). In relationships where women are dependent on men for financial support, for example, they expend efforts to keep negative emotions in check to maintain the status quo (Allan, 2006). Social norms also contribute to the disparity through the gendered association of behaviors. For example, anger and aggression for men are viewed as masculine and positive whereas in women, these are seen as negative and damaging.

Because the work world is a microcosm of cultural values, gender differences imbue organizational experiences just as they color family dynamics. Jobs that are held primarily by women usually require more nurturance than jobs held primarily by men. Consider teaching, social work, and caregiving, for example, compared with jobs in transportation, inspections, and law enforcement. This association between gender and type of job creates a link between gender and emotional labor. Beyond obvious differences, however, is a larger question, and that is whether the management of emotions affects women and men differently. Timmers, Fischer, and Manstead (1998) suggested that men and women have different motivations for regulating their emotions. They suggest that men are motivated to stay in control and display emotions that display power, such as pride or anger, while women are more concerned with relationships and more likely to express emotions that express negotiation. Women have also been reported to engage in higher levels of emotional expressivity than men (King & Emmons, 1990; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). There is also a relationship between gender and emotional dissonance, in that women are more likely to report that they pretend to feel one emotion while they actually feel another (Kruml & Geddes, 1998). The implication is that women are more likely to be stressed because of the emotional dissonance that arises from suppressing their real feelings.

The relationship between emotional labor and gender has several interesting implications. On the negative side, traits associated with women's traditional emotive capacities—willingness to listen, nurturance, concern for others' feelings, and capacity for expressing emotion—tend to be undervalued, overlooked, and undercompensated. This results in lower salaries for jobs that are typically thought of as "women's jobs" (Guy & Newman, 2004). On the positive side, because emotional labor contributes to job satisfaction and productivity, organizations with more women at the "street level," such as the teaching profession, report lower turnover, higher student attendance, and higher performance (Meier et al., 2006).

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is the affective response that employees have for their job. It is based on their comparison of desired outcomes or expectations to actual outcomes or experiences (Cranny, Smith, & Stone, 1992). This is thought to reflect accumulated met or unmet expectations and preferences. When unmet expectations accumulate, job satisfaction declines (see, for example, Egan, Yang, & Bartlett, 2004; Lambert, Hogan, & Barton, 2001; Pearson, 1991;).

Job satisfaction is often used as a proxy for employee well-being at work (Grandey, 2000). Earlier theoretical work on emotional labor (e.g., Hochschild 1983; Pugliesi, 1999) suggested a negative relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction but other work has shown the opposite (Guy et al., 2008; Jin & Guy, 2009; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Wharton, 1993). The cause of the disagreement centers on how emotional labor is conceptualized. When surveys focus on its downside, emotional exhaustion, results show reduced job satisfaction. But when workers are queried about whether their job requires that they manage their own emotions as well as that of the citizen, results show increased job satisfaction. As we learn more about the subject, more sophisticated queries investigate both aspects, resulting in findings that show a statistically significant difference in how pretending versus authentic emotional expression differentially affect job satisfaction (Grandey, 2000; Guy & Lee, 2013; Hsieh et al., 2012; Lu & Guy, 2014).

The Effect of Pretending on Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intent

While both pretending and authentic emotive expression can be related to emotional exhaustion, pretending is believed to have more detrimental effects (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2000, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Pretending involves behaviorally suppressing, intensifying, or faking emotions. For the most part, studies find negative links between it and job satisfaction. For example, Morris and Feldman (1997) found that “emotional dissonance,” a term that captures the experience of expressing one emotion while feeling another, leads to lower job satisfaction. Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) and Chau, Dahling, Levy, and Diefendorff (2009) found that faking emotions is related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and leads to a diminished sense of personal accomplishment. But these studies use U.S. workers. Allen, Diefendorff, and Ma (2014) compared Chinese with U.S. workers who work in private sector service jobs and found that pretending was less harmful for Chinese workers than for U.S. workers. They attribute the difference to the fact that China’s collectivist culture imbues workers with the notion that it is important to accommodate the interests of others.

Pretending works both ways: Sometimes, a worker must mask a negative emotion while expressing a positive one. It also occurs when one must express a solemn emotion, such as empathy or compassion, when actually feeling happy or carefree. Amplification of pleasant emotions is an additional variant and it has been found to increase job satisfaction (Cote & Morgan, 2002; Rutter & Fielding, 1988). Regardless, emotional dissonance is the conceptual link between emotional labor, job satisfaction, and turnover intent (Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1997). When employees pretend, they must endure being in a dissonant state, which reduces their sense of authenticity and erodes their job satisfaction (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). We presume that the uncomfortable experience motivates employees to remove themselves from the situations that cause dissonance.

Considering the association between pretending and the direct and indirect links with job satisfaction (e.g., burnout, emotional exhaustion, internal tension

from emotional dissonance, low job satisfaction, and a lower sense of psychological well-being), it is logical to hypothesize that it would contribute to the employee's desire to leave the job although it remains to be learned whether dissonance acts differently on women and men. We therefore hypothesize that gender does not make a difference regarding the relationship between emotive pretense and job satisfaction and turnover intent:

Hypothesis 1: For male employees, pretending is negatively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2: For female employees, pretending is negatively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3: For male employees, pretending is positively related to turnover intent.

Hypothesis 4: For female employees, pretending is positively related to turnover intent.

Effect of Authentic Emotive Expression on Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intent

Authentic emotive expression on the job has been shown to have positive effects on job satisfaction (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey 2000, 2003; Guy et al., 2008; Hsieh et al., 2012; Jin & Guy, 2009; Mastracci et al., 2012; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). It also increases an employee's sense of personal accomplishment at work (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). The exact mechanism by which authentic emotive expression leads to greater job satisfaction is not explicitly understood but the literature points to two plausible channels by which this occurs: the sense of personal accomplishment that accompanies positive outcomes (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Totterdell & Holman, 2003) and the consistency between how one feels and how one behaves, in other words, emotional consonance (Chau et al., 2009; Grandey, 2000, 2003).

The links between authentic emotive expression and job satisfaction (e.g., better sense of accomplishment, better job satisfaction, less tension from emotional dissonance, among others) provide a compelling case for extrapolation to a negative relationship with turnover intent. Employees are less likely to quit jobs that give them positive experiences. Research done by Chau et al. (2009), for example, confirms that authenticity is indirectly negatively associated with turnover and that turnover intent mediates the relationship between the two variables. We therefore propose the following hypotheses to test whether the effects are the same for women and men:

Hypothesis 5: For male employees, authentic emotive expression is positively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 6: For female employees, authentic emotive expression is positively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 7: For male employees, authentic emotive expression is negatively related to turnover intent.

Hypothesis 8: For female employees, authentic emotive expression is negatively related to turnover intent.

Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intent

“Turnover intent” is defined as a conscious and purposeful disposition to leave the organization (Tett & Meyer, 1993). This intention is the final cognitive step in the decision-making process of voluntary turnover (Steel & Ovalle, 1984). Consistent with early studies of behavioral intentions (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), turnover intent has been empirically validated as a consistent precursor to, and as the best single predictor of, actual voluntary turnover (e.g., Abrams, Ando, & Hinkle, 1998; Lambert et al., 2001; Lee & Mowday, 1987; Steel & Ovalle, 1984).

Job satisfaction is a significant variable in many models of turnovers (e.g., Hom & Kinicki, 2001) and research has shown a consistent inverse relationship between job satisfaction and voluntary turnover (Locke, 1976; Trevor, 2001). Lambert et al.’s (2001) study of a national sample of American workers found that job satisfaction is both a mediating variable between the work environment and turnover intent as well as being an antecedent of turnover intent. Egan et al.’s (2004) study of information technology professionals in the United States, for example, found that turnover intent was negatively influenced by job satisfaction and that the effect of job satisfaction on turnover intent was strong.

The theory of work adjustment stresses the importance of “congruence” and “self-realization.” The concept of congruence stresses the importance of the relationship between an employee and the work environment, including his or her suitability, consonance or agreement, and reciprocal/complementary relationship. The concept of self-realization, on the contrary, pertains to the capacity to develop one’s talents, resources, meanings, and social relations. Accordingly, people will seek jobs that are congruent with their needs and where they can grow. Thus, job satisfaction and turnover intention should be negatively related. That is, employees will be less likely to intend to leave jobs that give them satisfaction. To discern whether there is a difference between women and men in this regard, without consideration for the performance of emotional labor, we pose these hypotheses:

Hypothesis 9: Male employees’ job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover intent.

Hypothesis 10: Female employees’ job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover intent.

Method

With a population size of about 10 million, Seoul Metropolitan Government is composed of 25 districts. Each district, or *gu*, collects property tax and elects a mayor and

council members. A *Gu* is similar to New York City's boroughs. In 2009, there were 893,793 employees working in all Korean governments, central as well as local (Armed Forces personnel not included). Thirty-one percent (278,303) of these were employed in local governments throughout Korea. The portion of local government workers who worked in Seoul was 47,360. Table 1 shows demographic characteristics of this segment of government employees.

The sample for this study is from a survey of 219 local government employees from three districts, or *gu*, in the Seoul metropolitan area. Of these, 137 participants (62.6%) were male and 82 (37.4%) were female. Table 2 summarizes demographic characteristics of the sample. In comparison with the general population, the sample used in the study is roughly proportional to the population.

Administration of the survey was carried out in 2009 by visiting each local government and distributing questionnaires to employees. For the survey, we contacted personnel managers of the *gu* offices to schedule our visit. In our visit, we gave survey questionnaires to personnel managers and asked them to randomly distribute the survey to workers in their *gu* office. Completed surveys were collected by the personnel managers. A week later, we revisited the personnel managers to receive the completed surveys. Respondent names and other identifying information were not asked to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. We organized the completed questionnaires into two groups. The first group was composed of male respondents. The second group was composed of female respondents.

Survey items are displayed in Table 3.

Multigroup Structural Equation Modeling

This study compares two groups of respondents (males and females) on four theoretical constructs—emotive pretending, authentic emotive expression, job satisfaction, and turnover intent. To test the moderating effects of gender, multigroup structural equation modeling analysis was performed using Amos.

The prerequisite for comparing groups is that the instruments designed to measure the relevant constructs should be invariant across groups. Measurement invariance is “whether or not, under different conditions of observing and studying phenomena, measurement operations yield measures of the same attribute” (Horn & McArdle, 1992, p. 117). To make a valid comparison between groups, the measurement should be equivalent across the groups. If the instrument does not measure the same construct in both groups, differences cannot be meaningfully compared across groups. In the absence of measurement invariance, cross-group comparison may be meaningless.

Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998) recommended that three levels of measurement invariance models be tested to establish adequate cross-group equivalence. The three models include configural invariance, metric invariance, and scalar invariance. Configural invariance is to test whether the basic model structure is equivalent across groups. This is the baseline model and is the first step to establish measurement invariance. Metric invariance is to test whether different groups respond to the items in the same way. It is tested by constraining the loadings to be the same across groups. Scalar

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Population of Local Government Employees in Seoul.

Variable	Category	Number	Rate (%)
Gender	Male	32,849	69.4
	Female	14,511	30.6
Age	Less than 20	1	0.0
	20-29 years	5,643	11.9
	30-39 years	12,765	27.0
	40-49 years	17,983	38.0
	50-59 years	10,881	23.0
	60 or more	87	0.2
Class ^a	Grade 1	5	0.0
	Grade 2	21	0.1
	Grade 3	42	0.1
	Grade 4	350	0.9
	Grade 5	2,086	5.3
	Grade 6	7,554	19.0
	Grade 7	14,083	35.5
	Grade 8	10,731	27.0
	Grade 9	4,685	11.8
	Grade 10	161	0.4
Length of employment	Less than 6 years	9,872	20.8
	6-10 years	3,446	7.3
	11-15 years	7,055	14.9
	16-20 years	13,517	28.5
	21-25 years	7,279	15.4
	26-30 years	3,752	7.9
	31 or more	2,439	5.1

Source. Ministry of Security and Public Administration (MOSPA; 2010).

Note. A total of 7,642 noncareer civil servants (e.g., politically elected or appointed positions) are not included.

^aIn the Korean Civil Service, civil servants are classified into nine grades. Grade 1 is the highest level. Grade 10 was the lowest level when the survey was conducted. (It was abolished in 2013 so now Grade 9 is the lowest level.) Grades 9, 7, and 5 are entry level positions. As a general rule, Grade 9 is for high school or 2-year college graduates; Grade 7 is for 4-year college graduates; and Grade 5 is for graduate school graduates. The exam for Grade 5 is highly competitive and Grades 1 through 4 are considered high-ranking managerial posts in the national government. In local governments, Grades 1 through 5 are considered as managerial.

invariance is that the item intercepts are the same across groups. These three models are nested and should be tested in hierarchical order (Hong, Malik, & Lee, 2003; Milfont & Fischer, 2010; Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998).

Maximum likelihood estimation method was used in the analysis of the multi-group structural equation modeling. Three indicators were specified to load on the

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents.

Variable	Category	Number	Rate (%)
Gender	Male	137	62.6
	Female	82	37.4
Age	Less than 20	1	0.5
	20-29 years	21	9.6
	30-39 years	63	28.8
	40-49 years	93	42.5
	50-59 years	40	18.3
	60 or more	1	0.5
Class ^a	Grade 5	10	4.6
	Grade 6	43	19.6
	Grade 7	82	37.4
	Grade 8	53	24.2
	Grade 9	25	11.4
	Grade 10	1	0.5
	No response	5	2.3
Length of employment	Less than 6 years	55	25.1
	6-10 years	17	7.8
	11-15 years	31	14.2
	16-20 years	47	21.5
	21-25 years	42	19.2
	26-30 years	20	9.1
	31 or more	6	2.7
	No response	1	0.5

^aIn the Korean Civil Service, civil servants are classified into nine grades. Grade 1 is the highest level. Grade 10 was the lowest level when the survey was conducted. (It was abolished in 2013 so now Grade 9 is the lowest level.) Grades 9, 7, and 5 are entry level positions. As a general rule, Grade 9 is for high school or 2-year college graduates; Grade 7 is for 4-year college graduates; and Grade 5 is for graduate school graduates. The exam for Grade 5 is highly competitive and Grades 1 through 4 are considered high-ranking managerial posts in the national government. In local governments, Grades 1 through 5 are considered as managerial.

turnover factor. Four indicators were specified to load on the other three factors each—emotive pretending, authentic emotive expression, and job satisfaction. Covariance among the four factors was freely estimated. We conducted three phases of tests: Test for invariance of measurement, test for latent mean differences, and test for equivalence of causal structure. The first phase is the test for invariance of measurement, and it includes three steps: configural invariance, metric invariance, and scalar invariance. The second phase is the test for the latent mean differences, which compares mean values of the variables across male and females. The third phase is the test for the equivalence of causal structure, and this is the main analysis of the study.

Table 3. Survey Items.

Variables	Survey items
Emotive pretending	<p>I cover or manage my own feelings so as to appear pleasant at work.</p> <p>My job requires that I pretend to have emotions that I do not really feel.</p> <p>My job requires that I hide my true feelings about a situation.</p> <p>My work requires me to deal with unfriendly people.</p>
Authentic emotive expression	<p>In my work, I am good at dealing with emotional issues.</p> <p>I am good at getting people to calm down.</p> <p>I try to actually feel the emotions that I must display.</p> <p>I help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work.</p>
Job satisfaction	<p>My coworkers are friendly and nice.</p> <p>I think my salary is appropriate.</p> <p>I think I have my social status and honor.</p> <p>Overall, I am satisfied with my job.</p>
Turnover intention	<p>I sometimes consider quitting my job.</p> <p>I want to work forever in the current workplace.</p> <p>I think my future is stable.</p>

Results

Test of Configural Invariance

The initial step in testing for invariance is the testing for the multigroup configural model. This test requires only that the same number of factors and the factor loading pattern be the same across groups. No equality constraints are imposed on any of the parameters. It incorporates the baseline models for males and females within the same file. The multigroup configural invariance test conducts invariance tests across the two groups simultaneously. This means that the parameters are estimated for both groups at the same time, and the analysis yields only one set of fit statistics for overall model fit (Byrne, 2010).

All of the indicators loaded statistically significantly on their respective factors. The model fit indices for each group indicated a reasonable fit of the model to the data. Indices for the configural invariance test are: $\chi^2(df = 168, N = 219) = 241.550, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.438$, comparative fit index (CFI) = .918, Tucker–Lewis index (TLI) = .897, root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) = .045. Thus, configural invariance is achieved. This means that the pattern of fixed and nonfixed parameters is identical across gender.

Table 4. Fit Indices for the Measurement Invariance Test.

	χ^2	<i>df</i>	TLI	RMSEA	CFI
Configural invariance (baseline model)	241.550	168	.897	.045	.918
Metric invariance	250.399	179	.906	.043	.920
Scalar invariance	272.192	194	.905	.043	.913

Note. TLI = Tucker–Lewis index; RMSEA = root mean square error approximation; CFI = comparative fit index.

Test of Metric Invariance

The metric invariance test was performed based on the model used in the configural invariance test. This is a baseline model that is estimated separately for the male and female groups. The chi-square value for the baseline model is the sum of the two chi-square values that were obtained from each group. The chi-square statistic for the baseline model was $\chi^2(df = 168, N = 219) = 241.550, p < .001$. The metric invariance model is nested within the baseline model.

For the metric invariance test, factor loadings should be constrained to be equal across the groups. This constraint increased the chi-square value from 241.550 to 250.399, and the degrees of freedom changed from 168 to 179. A chi-square difference test was performed. The chi-square difference of 8.849 with 11 degrees of freedom was not statistically significant at the .05 level. Thus, metric invariance was supported. The CFI increased from .918 to .920. The CFI difference value is .002, which is less than the .01 cutoff point proposed by Cheung and Rensvold (2002). This means that the model is invariant and metric invariance is supported. The values of TLI (.906) and RMSEA (.043) showed acceptable model fit, confirming metric invariance across the groups.

Test of Scalar Invariance

Once the metric invariance model test was completed, the next step was the scalar invariance test. This was performed by constraining the intercepts of the 15 indicators to be the same across the two groups. A chi-square difference test was performed comparing the scalar invariance model and the metric invariance model.

The chi-square difference of 21.793 with 15 degrees of freedom was not statistically significant at the .05 level. Thus, the scalar invariance was supported. The CFI decreased from .920 to .913. The CFI difference value was .007, which is less than the .01 cutoff point proposed by Cheung and Rensvold (2002). This means that the model is invariant and scalar invariance is supported. The values of TLI (.905) and RMSEA (.043) showed acceptable model fit, confirming metric invariance across the groups. Table 4 summarizes fit indices for the measurement invariance test.

Table 5 provides the results of the chi-square difference tests.

Test for the latent mean differences. After the assumptions of configural, metric, and scalar invariance were satisfied, the latent mean analysis was performed. The mean of

Table 5. Result of Chi-Square Difference Tests for Measurement.

	χ^2 difference	df difference	Decision
Test of metric invariance	8.849	11	Accept
Test of scalar invariance	21.793	15	Accept

Table 6. Result of Latent Mean Analysis.

	Estimate (male)	Female estimate (female)	p value
Pretending	0	.162	.068
Authentic	0	.059	.477
Job satisfaction	0	.072	.200
Turnover intent	0	.053	.668

the latent variable cannot be directly estimated in latent mean analysis. However, the difference between the means of a construct across the groups can be estimated by fixing one of the construct means to zero (Hancock, 1997).

In this study, the male group was used as the reference group with its latent mean parameters fixed at zero. The latent mean parameters for the female group were not fixed and estimated freely. The model fit indices for the latent mean difference test indicated a reasonable fit of the model to the data. Model fit indices for the latent mean difference test are as follows: $\chi^2(df=190, N=219) = 266.859, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.405, CFI = .914, TLI = .905, RMSEA = .043$.

Table 6 shows the latent mean parameter estimates. The female group's mean scores were slightly higher than those of the male group's. However, the estimated female group mean scores for the four constructs were not statistically significant. It appears that there is little difference between male and female groups on the perceptions of emotive pretending, authentic emotive expression, job satisfaction, and turnover intent.

Test for the equivalence of causal structure. We tested the equivalence of the causal structure. The structural model included four latent variables and multiple observed variables for each latent variable. The baseline model is a configural model for which all parameters are estimated for the male and female groups simultaneously. No parameters are constrained equal across groups. The model fit indices for the baseline model indicated a reasonable fit of the model to the data. Model fit indices for the baseline model are as follows: $\chi^2(df=168, N=219) = 241.550, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.438, CFI = .918, TLI = .897, RMSEA = .045$.

Prior to the main analysis, we conducted a test to confirm the measurement invariance of the causal structure. For this, all factor loadings for the indicator variables

Table 7. Fit Indices for the Causal Structure Equivalence Test.

	χ^2	<i>df</i>	TLI	RMSEA	CFI
Configural invariance (baseline model)	241.550	168	.897	.045	.918
Measurement invariance	250.399	179	.906	.043	.920
Cross-group equivalence	260.111	184	.903	.044	.915

Note. TLI = Tucker–Lewis index; RMSEA = root mean square error approximation; CFI = comparative fit index.

were constrained to be equal across the groups. The model fit indices for the measurement model indicated a reasonable fit of the model to the data. Model fit indices for the measurement model are as follows: $\chi^2(df = 179, N = 219) = 250.399, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.399, CFI = .920, TLI = .906, RMSEA = .043$. Computation of the chi-square difference value between the configural model and the measurement model yields a difference of 8.849 with 11 degrees of freedom. This chi-square value is not statistically significant at a probability of less than .05. Based on these results, we can conclude that all factor loadings are operating equivalently across the two groups. The CFI increased from .918 to .920. The CFI difference value was .002, which is less than the .01 cutoff point proposed by Cheung and Rensvold (2002). Thus, measurement invariance is supported.

To test the cross-group equivalence for our main analysis, all causal paths were constrained to be equal across the two groups. The model fit indices for the structural model indicated a reasonable fit of the model to the data. Model fit indices for the structural model are as follows: $\chi^2(df = 184, N = 219) = 260.111, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.414, CFI = .915, TLI = .903, RMSEA = .044$.

Computation of the chi-square difference value between the measurement model and the structural model yields a difference of 9.712 with 5 degrees of freedom. This chi-square value is not statistically significant at a probability of less than .05. Based on these results, we can conclude that all causal paths are operating equivalently across the two groups.

The CFI increased from .920 to .915. The CFI difference value was .005, which is less than the .01 cutoff point proposed by Cheung and Rensvold (2002). This means that the model is invariant and structural invariance is supported. Table 7 displays fit indices for the test for the equivalence of causal structure.

Table 8 shows the results of the chi-square difference tests.

For the male group, authentic emotive expression was positively related to job satisfaction and job satisfaction was negatively related to turnover (Figure 1). Emotive pretending has no statistically significant effect on job satisfaction or turnover. Moreover, authentic expression has no significant effect on turnover.

Table 8. Result of Chi-Square Difference Tests for Causal Structure.

	χ^2 difference	df difference	Decision
Test of measurement invariance	8.849	11	Accept
Test of cross-group equivalence	9.712	5	Accept



Figure 1. Causal paths for male workers

For the female group, pretending is positively related to turnover, as expected, but it is positively related to job satisfaction, also, which is not expected (Figure 2). We had hypothesized that pretending would decrease job satisfaction. Authentic emotive expression is positively related to job satisfaction, as anticipated but it has no effect on turnover, which is not anticipated. As expected, job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover.

Discussion

Table 9 displays the results of hypothesis testing. Of the 10 hypothesized relationships, 5 were supported and 5 were not. For both women and men, authentic expression of emotion enhanced job satisfaction and had no effect on turnover intent. This finding in regard to performing emotional labor is consistent with findings of U.S. public servants. In addition, regardless of the presence or absence of emotional labor demands, higher levels of job satisfaction for both men and women are associated with lower levels of turnover intent.

Authentic emotive expression had a significant positive effect on job satisfaction for both men and women. This is similar to the findings by Brotheridge and Grandey (2002), Brotheridge and Lee (2002), Grandey (2000, 2003), Guy et al. (2008), Hsieh

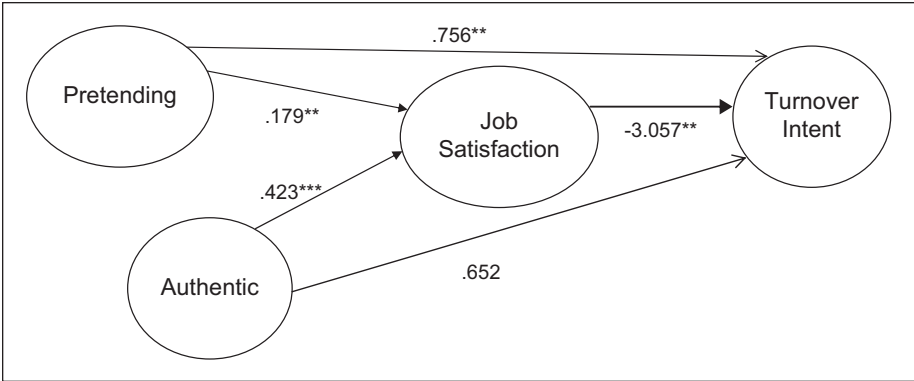


Figure 2. Causal paths for female workers.

Table 9. Results of Hypothesis Tests.

Hypothesis 1: For male employees, pretending is negatively related to job satisfaction.	Not supported
Hypothesis 2: For female employees, pretending is negatively related to job satisfaction.	Not supported
Hypothesis 3: For male employees, pretending is positively related to turnover intention.	Not supported
Hypothesis 4: For female employees, pretending is positively related to turnover intention.	Supported
Hypothesis 5: For male employees, authentic emotive expression is positively related to job satisfaction.	Supported
Hypothesis 6: For female employees, authentic emotive expression is positively related to job satisfaction.	Supported
Hypothesis 7: For male employees, authentic emotive expression is negatively related to turnover intention.	Not supported
Hypothesis 8: For female employees, authentic emotive expression is negatively related to turnover intention.	Not supported
Hypothesis 9: Male employees' job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover intent.	Supported
Hypothesis 10: Female employees' job satisfaction is negatively related to turnover intent.	Supported

et al. (2012) and Totterdell and Holman (2003). In this case, gender appears to cause no significant difference in the outcome. And authentic expression does not have a significant direct effect on turnover intention for either men or women.

The findings also show that for Korean public employees, job satisfaction is significantly negatively related to turnover intention. This is consistent with extant research and the findings of Hom and Kinicki (2001), Trevor (2001), Lambert et al. (2001), and Egan et al.'s (2004), among others. The results are statistically significant for both men and women, suggesting that gender does not significantly affect the relationship of the variables.

Then come the findings that differentiate women and men in the Korean public workforce: For men, the expected relationship between pretending and job satisfaction and turnover was not supported. Findings indicate that having to express an emotion they do not actually feel, or having to suppress an emotion they feel, does not affect male workers' level of job satisfaction or their intent to change jobs. But for women, both types of emotional labor, pretending as well as authentic expression, are positively associated with job satisfaction. Unlike for men, however, pretending for women is also associated with higher levels of turnover intent. These results indicate that, at least in the Korean context, gender plays a moderating role when pretense is involved: It is immaterial for men but matters for women.

Why do these findings show a gender difference? Perhaps they demonstrate that women employees are more sensitive to pretense than men but see it as an inevitable part of their job. Thus, emotive expressiveness is a positive, regardless of its nature, although pretense wears thin. The fact that the relationship is statistically significant but the direction of the effect is opposite our original hypothesis runs counter to the findings of studies of U.S. workers (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Chau et al., 2009; Grandey, 2000, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). These Western studies find that pretense decreases job satisfaction, but they did not differentiate women from men and they employed private sector samples.

One possibility that may account for this counterintuitive finding may be cultural differences between the Korean public sector and Western populations. Korean society is strongly influenced by Confucian values and prescribes a different set of norms from the more individual-focused Western societies. Although customs are changing, it remains a more hierarchical and more male dominated society than the United States or even of its regional neighbor, Taiwan (Kim & Shirahase, 2014). At the risk of overgeneralizing, Korean women are expected to be more submissive than U.S. women. And we know that in interpersonal dynamics, the person in a subordinate role is more likely to mask personal feelings to fulfill expectations. In other words, it is possible that women are more likely to wear a false face, masking their true feelings while expressing the "appropriate" emotion. Research by Choi and Park (2014) demonstrates that although the glass ceiling persists in U.S. public service, it is even thicker and harder to break in Korea. Dealing with this is frustrating for women in both nations, but it may be a complicating factor that amplifies the energy that is required to pretend in the Korean context. Consequently, the finding that women who must suppress their true feelings and pretend in the Korean workforce are more likely to want to escape the job they are in.

Implications and Conclusion

This study contributes to our understanding of emotional labor and the difference that gender makes in the context of the Korean public sector. Findings reveal that the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction are in many ways similar to that of American public service workers but in some ways differ: (a) Consistent with other studies, we reaffirm that emotional labor is not a one dimensional construct, but rather is multidimensional. Different dimensions of emotional labor have different effects on organizational behavioral variables. (b) Pretense and authentic expression have similar impacts on job satisfaction (i.e., positive) for women but different impacts in the case of men (i.e., not significant with pretense but significant with authentic expression). (c) For women, the positive association between pretense and job satisfaction runs counter to studies of Western workers.

This study also confirmed the moderating effect of gender in that it has a substantial impact on how pretense affects job satisfaction in the case of Korean women, which is counter to findings of Western studies. In consideration of this, we posit an additional possibility that if gender has a significant influence, other demographic and socio-economic variables might also be involved. For instance, might it be that gender is a surrogate variable for rank, in that employees lower in rank take pretense as a given in the work context? In addition, it is possible that cultural context may play a substantive role in how emotional labor is perceived and carried out and it may moderate effects on other behavioral variables.

This study also reaffirms differentness among employees. As the arguments of King and Emmons (1990); Kruml and Geddes (1998); Guy and Newman (2004); Rafaeli and Sutton (1987); and Timmers et al. (1998), among others, imply, men and women respond differently to emotional labor. Thus, gender-sensitive considerations should be factored into staffing decisions, human resource development and training, and capacity building. This will help mitigate the negative effects of emotional labor and contribute toward a better job-worker fit.

There are two primary cautions in the interpretation of results. First, the survey data were collected from mostly nonmanagerial level employees. It is possible that managers and frontline workers may differ in their perception of emotional labor and this will be a fruitful area for further study. Second, these findings are nation-specific and not necessarily generalizable to other Confucian cultures or to Western cultures. Comparisons from different countries will provide a better explanation of the impact of culture on the performance of emotional labor. This point is especially salient after the research of Kim and Shirahase (2014), which compared pay inequity and job segregation in three Confucian cultures: Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. Their results indicate that the gender culture in Japan and Korea is more traditional, with higher levels of pay inequity and job segregation, than in Taiwan. And the study that Lu and Guy (2014) conducted in mainland China indicates no significant difference in the performance of emotional labor on the job, which is consistent with findings among U.S. public service workers (2014). Thus, national culture—whether east or west—is a variable that must be taken into account when studying gender differences.

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Note

1. Kiel and Watson (2009) puzzle over the absence of an appreciation for the emotive side of public service delivery. They report that after reviewing the website for the accrediting body for Master of Public Administration programs, the Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA), that “Under NASPAA’s curriculum standards, we did not see any reference to ‘developing emotional labor,’ ‘emotional labor,’ or ‘soft skills.’ While NASPAA may hope these skills emerge as part of the master of public administration curriculum, it is clear the curriculum components that NASPAA stresses fall predominantly, if not solely, on the cognitive side of the skill ledger. This is, of course, interesting given that one could argue that learning the POSDCORB elements of the curriculum may be easier than developing emotional labor skills. . . . [T]his would seem to be an area ripe for curricular innovation. It is a paradox that we often test for emotional skills at the front line of service, but we do not adequately prepare future managers and organizational leaders for these competencies in our graduate programs of public affairs and administration” (Kiel & Watson, 2009, p. 24).

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