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Fake it till you make it: Emotional labor, burnout, and the mediating role of perceived organizational support among school teachers in coastal Karnataka

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Abstract

Introduction: Burnout, which occurs as a prolonged response to chronic interpersonal pressures on the job, is becoming more common in human service professions such as teaching. All of these human service jobs have one thing in common: continuous interpersonal contact. This direct contact with people leads to the performance of emotional labor, which is defined as the regulation of feelings in the workplace in order to conform to organizational regulations, which contributes to employee burnout. Perceived organizational support, according to Job Demands and Resources Theory, can be a protective factor for employees by acting as a job resource that buffers the negative effects of numerous job demands, such as emotional labor, and minimizes burnout. Objective: To study emotional labor, burnout, and the mediating role of perceived organizational support among teachers. Method: The descriptive, correlational, cross-sectional study was conducted among 101 school teachers, from Mangaluru between the age groups of 25-45 years, including both men and women. The study was done using a questionnaire approach and the scales used were the Emotional Labor Scale, Oldenburg Burnout Inventory, and Survey of Perceived Organizational Support. Results: The result of the study suggests that there is a significant negative relationship between deep acting and burnout among teachers (r = 0.202; p-value = 0.043) and between surface acting and burnout (r = -0.211; p-value = 0.034). Perceived organizational support is partially mediated between surface acting and burnout as well as deep acting and burnout among teachers. No significant differences in the usage of surface acting or deep acting emerged with respect to work experience and gender. Conclusion: This study sought to bring awareness to emotional labor as an integral part of teaching and how it can contribute to burnout. It aids in understanding the antecedents of burnout and how school management can mobilize organizational resources to improve employees' perceptions of organizational support, which will help in dampening the negative impact of burnout.

Keywords: Burnout, deep acting, emotional labor, perceived organizational support, surface acting, teachers.

Introduction

Burnout is described by Maslach, Leiter, and Schaufeli (2001) as "a psychological syndrome that arises as a

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prolonged response to chronic interpersonal stressors on the job". The prevalence of burnout has become common among employees due to a global shift in focus from the manufacture of high-quality products to the provision of good customer service. It is a frequent occurrence among human service providers because of the nature of their work, which necessitates regular face-to-face interactions with people, both other employees and customers. As such, employment demands a deep and ongoing interpersonal connection between the employee and clients, burnout research has primarily been undertaken in the care and service industries.

Demerouti, the inventor of the Oldenburg Burnout Inventory, found burnout to occur because of demanding job characteristics such as time constraints, a negative work environment, and unsupportive

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supervisors, particularly in the absence of resources (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner & Schaufeli, 2001), or motivating job characteristics such as supportive coworkers, autonomy, and career opportunities. Excessive job demands might result in repeated periods of overstraining and feeling emotionally and physically fatigued (Demerouti, 2015).

Burnout has a tremendous detrimental influence on the entire organization, not just the individual person. It is considerably more common in human service occupations and particularly prevalent in teachers (Bakker, Demerouti & Schaufeli, 2001). This is because, apart from the usual classroom activities of preparing lessons, interacting with students, and marking papers, teachers also have to attend to their students' physical and emotional well-being, offer them support when needed, control unruly students, and not let their personal issues be noticed by students or the management (Brouwers, Tomic, & Bolujit, 2011; Fernet, Guay, & More, 2012). Educators experience emotional exhaustion when they feel worn out and fatigued. This occurs because of emotional energy depletion (Mukundan & Ahour, 2011). Worn out educators have their emotional and physical resources spent; the instructor may feel physically and psychologically weary, leading to ineffective classroom interactions, poor relations with students and coworkers, as well as how their students approach the learning situation (Mukundan & Ahour, 2011).

This brought about the emergence of the concept of emotional labor. Emotional labor was first coined by Arlie Hochschild (1984) in her book, *The Managed Heart*, as "The expression and regulation of affect/feelings in the workplace in order to conform to professional and organizational rules".

Emotional labor refers to a form of workplace emotion management in accordance with employer expectations, according to Hochschild and Russell (1940). Emotional labor is mostly seen in employment that demands face-to-face/voice-to-voice contact with clients as well as the induction of an emotional state in another person (DeCastro, Agnew, & Fitzgerald, 2004). This is because work performance in such jobs refers to the worker's ability to display emotions that adhere

to social, occupational, and organizational standards. Human service professions, such as teaching, meet this criterion, and therefore, emotional labor is an important part of the work role. Teaching is characterized by intensive emotional activity (Fernet, Guay, Senécal, & Austin, 2012). This necessitates effective management of personal emotions as well as the ability to induce the desired emotional state in others (Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011). On this premise, the teaching profession can be said to be emotionally charged in varied ways, as along with ensuring their students' mental and physical well-being (Brennan, 2006), teachers are expected to demonstrate excellent emotional regulation in a variety of scenarios, including empathizing with students while quashing any sentiments of hostility or dissatisfaction (Beatty, 2000). Teachers are increasingly expected to exercise emotional control in much the same way as professionals in the service industry do (Hebson, Earnshaw, & Marchington, 2007).

Organizations regulate which emotions are to be displayed and which ones are to be hidden through display rules. These can be implicit, where they are not clearly stated but rather meant to be understood through experience and socialization practices or they can be explicitly mentioned in the organization's policy. Emotional labor is not limited to suppressing or faking emotions but also to inflating the latter. Emotional labor entails two strategies: (i) surface acting: mimicking unfelt emotions; modifying external emotional displays to conform to organizational requirements. (ii) deep acting: seeking to experience the opposing emotions; attempting to change internal sensations, so that they correspond to the exterior emotional expression. Both strategies can be utilized independently or in tandem, forcing employees to exert energy in order to repress or change genuinely felt emotions. (Gosserand & Diefendoroff, 2005)

Surface acting is response-focused, in that it can be utilized while the employee is in a situation that requires them to display certain emotions (Grabarek, 2009). This translates into a classroom scenario where the teacher must maintain a calm and composed demeanor, even when they are feeling frustrated and angry, while dealing with disruptive students. Grabarek (2009) found that

deep acting is antecedent-focused, where it needs to be performed before entering the situation. Using this approach implies talking to oneself through unpleasant or harsh emotions so that the teacher can instill sentiments of tranquility and control in themselves. According to contemporary research, surface acting is capable of negating the positive effects of deep acting with females being more likely to engage in emotional labor than their male counterparts (Fouquereau, Alexandre, & More, 2018), and surface acting has more adverse outcomes than deep acting, where it results in workers feeling detached from their own emotions, leading to emotional exhaustion and decreased job satisfaction (Kim, Yoo, Cho, & Hwang, 2022). The negative impact of surface acting may be explained by the fact that it involves more effort because the emotion is already present (Kanfer & Kantrowitz, 2002) and also because the public show must be dynamically changed while the inner experience remains constant (Grandey & Brauberger, 2002). This suggests that educators have already experienced a specific emotion but are unable to express it. They can only change the visible signs, which may incur charges. However, in deep acting, the instructor modulates the emotional antecedents such that when the emotion is felt, the inner sensations match the observable behavior.

However, emotional labor-driven burnout could be lessened by employees' perceptions of organizational support (Yan, 2010), as it can significantly increase employees' tolerance scale, effectively reduce the accumulation and spread of employees' negative emotions, and reduce the gap between employees' true inner emotions and the needed positive emotions in serving customers, thereby reducing employees' faking emotions.

The contacts that employees have with the organization's representatives result in assumptions about those members that are then generalized to the entire company, from which inferences are drawn about the organization's commitment. This commitment is concerned with how well the organization meets its social and emotional needs, recognizes, values, and rewards their efforts, and looks after their physical and psychological well-being (Eisenberger, Huntington, & More, 1986).

Grandey (2000) pointed out that those employees who perceive high coworker and supervisor support are less likely to experience the adverse effects of emotional labor, as it assists them in regaining emotional resources that are depleted when they engage in emotional labor, aids in the production of pleasant feelings based on the support and understanding of co-workers and supervisors, and affirms one's own abilities (Li & Zhou, 2012).

The present study was conducted to fulfill the following objectives:

- To identify the relationship between deep acting, surface acting, and burnout.
- To assess whether Perceived Organisational Support (POS) significantly mediates the relationship between surface acting and burnout and deep acting and burnout.
- To assess differences across work experience in the employment of surface and deep acting.
- To investigate gender disparities in the employment of surface and deep acting.

Materials and Methods *Sample*

A cross-sectional study design was utilized, where school teachers from various government, government-aided, and private schools in coastal Karnataka (Mangaluru, Udupi, and Manipal), aged 25-45 years, were considered the target population. The purposive sampling method was employed, where 101 participants {using the formula, $n = ([z_{1-\alpha/2} + z_{1-\beta}]^2)/c$ } $(z_{1-\alpha/2} = 1.96$ is a standard normal value at 5%level of significance; $z_{1-\beta} = 0.0.84$ is a standard normal value at 80% power; c = correlation coefficient = 0.5 ln [= 0.388) were selected based on a specific criterion. The study duration was from March 2022 to March 2023. The study was granted ethical approval by the Institutional Ethical Committee (IEC KMC MLR 04-2022/147) on 21 April 2022.

The investigator made a list of the schools in Mangaluru and then collected their contact details using a search engine. The Heads (Principals) of those different schools were approached for permission either through email or by directly visiting the school in person with an official letter through the proper channel. The purpose of the research was explained orally as well as

mentioned in the official letter assuring confidentiality regarding participant data or the identity of the school. Upon obtaining permission from the heads of the school to collect the data, the investigator requested the email IDs of the teachers, if they wished to provide the same. If the school was not willing to provide the contact details of the teachers, then the school was requested to circulate the Google forms among their teachers by themselves. Once again, confidentiality was assured orally with the consent provided by the concerned school authority. The concerned school authority was informed that they are not liable for any of the teachers not returning the online forms filled out completely. In cases where the investigator was unable to get the contact details of the teachers of the school personally, the battery of standardized self-report questionnaires was circulated either through email along with the online informed consent form. Dillman's total design method was followed, where after mailing the survey links to the teachers, non-responders were followed up 1 week after the initial mail-out with a reminder and then again 3 and 7 weeks after the initial mail with the survey link. Completed questionnaires were taken into consideration for the study.

Sampling Criteria

In order to be included in the study, school teachers should be Indian residents and full-time employees. School teachers who were special educators, headmasters/headmistresses, had a physical disability, or had been diagnosed with a mental illness were excluded.

Instruments

Four measures were used in this study:

- Sociodemographic Datasheet. Initials, age, gender, education, marital status, nature of school, type of teacher, and work experience.
- 2. Emotional Labor Scale (ELS) (Curbow & Spratt, 1988).
- 3. Survey of Perceived Organizational Support (SPOS) (Eisenberger, 2002).
- Oldenburg Burnout Inventory (OLBI) (Demerouti & Nachreiner, 1998).

Results

IBM SPSS was employed for data analysis. A correlational analysis is used to find out the association between the independent variable (emotional labor) and the dependent variable (burnout). Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), using IBM SPSS AMOS, was utilized to find out the predictive association between the independent and dependent variables as well as to determine if perceived organizational support mediated this relationship.

The sample included 101 school teachers from various schools in Mangaluru. Data analysis was done using IBM SPSS AMOS, which concluded the Spearman r test, Kruskal-Wallis test and Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to test the relationship between the study variables. Preliminary analysis with the use of descriptive statistics such as means, standard deviation (SD), skewness, and kurtosis was conducted to test assumptions underlining the use of the aforementioned test statistics.

Table 1A Summary of Demographic Characteristics of the Research Respondents

N = 101

		N = 101
Variable	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Female	81	80.2
Male	20	19.8
Education		
Graduation	18	17.8
Dostava duation	81	80.2
Postgraduation	2	2
Doctorate		
Marital status		
Married	80	79.2
Unmarried	21	20.8
Nature of school		
Government		F O
Government	6	5.9
aided	11	10.9
Private	84	83.2
1111410		

Variable	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Teacher in		
Pre-primary	3	3
Primary	13	12.9
Secondary	85	84.2
Work experience		
Less than/equal	12	11.9
to 5 years	14	13.9
6-10 years 11 years/more	75	74.3

Table 1 shows an analysis of the demographic characteristics of the study respondents, which include age, gender, education, marital status, nature of school, type of teacher they are, and work experience. The majority of the respondents (80.2%) are females, implying that teaching is a female-dominated profession. Similarly, 80.2% of the respondents are postgraduate degree holders, 79.2% are married, 83.2% teach in private schools, 84.2% are secondary school teachers, and 74.3% have more than 11 years of experience.

Table 2A Summary of the Descriptive Statistics for the Study Variables

				1	N = 101
	SA	DA	EL	Burnout	POS
Median	27.000	21.000	46.000	34.000	26.000
Mean	25.386	19.594	44.980	34.099	26.158
Standard Deviation	7.031	4.535	10.379	5.572	4.747
Skewness	-0.420	-1.056	-0.553	-0.094	0.061
Standard Error of Skewness	0.240	0.240	0.240	0.240	0.240
Kurtosis	-0.394	0.853	-0.484	-0.031	0.971
Standard Error of Kurtosis	0.476	0.476	0.476	0.476	0.476
Minimum	10.000	6.000	21.000	21.000	13.000
Maximum	40.000	25.000	65.000	50.000	39.000

In Table 2, skewness and kurtosis values for each of the study variables indicate they are not normally distributed.

Table 3

A Summary of the Correlation Matrix between the Study Variables: (Surface Acting, Deep Acting, Emotional Labor, and Burnout

Variable Variable		SA	DA	EL	Burnout
1. Surface	Spearman's				
Acting	rho	_			
Tremis	<i>p</i> -value	_			
2. Deep	Spearman's	0.500			
Acting	rho	0.599			
O	<i>p</i> -value	< 0.001	_		
3. Emotional	Spearman's	0.944	0.813		
Labor	rho	0.944	0.613	_	
	<i>p</i> -value	< 0.001	< 0.001	_	
4. Burnout	Spearman's	-0.211	0.202	-0.248	
	rho	-0.211	-0.202	-0.240	_
	<i>p</i> -value	0.034	0.043	0.012	

Note. Surface acting: r=-0.211; p-value= 0.034 Deep acting: r= -0.202; p-value= 0.043

Emotional labor: r = -0.248; p-value = 0.012.

Further, statistical test was conducted to test the relationship between the study variables as presented in Table 3. The correlation matrix in Table 3 indicates that surface acting (SA) is negatively related to burnout [r=-0.211, < 0.05]. Deep acting (DA) was also found to have a negative relationship with burnout [r=-0.202, p < 0.05]. The table also reveals that in the study population, emotional labor (EL) was negatively related to burnout [r=-0.248, p < 0.05].

Table 4

A Summary of the Kruskal-Wallis test for Testing the Difference in Usage of DA/SA in terms of Work Experience

Factor	Statistic	df	Þ
Experience-Deep Acting	0.048	2	0.976
Experience-Surface Acting	0.862	2	0.650

Note. Degrees of freedom= 2 p-value= 0.976 for Deep acting and 0.650 for surface acting with work experience.

Kruskal-Wallis test results enumerated in Table 4 revealed that no significant differences exist in the usage

of deep acting [H=0.048, p > 0.05] and surface acting [H=0.862, p > 0.05] in terms of work experience.

Table 5A Summary of the Mann-Whitney U-Test for Testing Difference in the Usage of DA/SA in terms of Gender

Null	Test	Level of	Decision
Hypothesis		Significance	
The	Independent-		Retain
distribution	Samples	0.986	the null
of Surface	Mann-		hypothesis.
Acting is the	Whitney		
same across	U-Test		
categories of			
gender.			
The	Independent-		Retain
distribution of	Samples	0.851	the null
Deep Acting is	Mann-		hypothesis.
the same across	Whitney		
categories of	U-Test		
gender.			

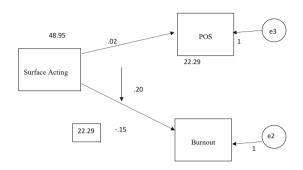
Note.Level of significance Gender-Surface acting= 0.986 Gender-deep acting= 0.851

Mann-Whitney U-Test results enumerated in Table 5 revealed that no significant differences existed in the usage of SA/DA in terms of the participants' gender at a significance level of 0.05.

Structural Equation allows the comparison of different competing models and in evaluating which model best fits the empirical data. It was carried out to understand the mediation effect of Perceived Organizational Support (POS) between the independent and dependent variables. Path analysis considered the relationships between the scale scores of deep acting and surface acting respondents obtained in the Emotional Labor Scale, constituting the independent variables, and those obtained in the Oldenburg Burnout Inventory, constituting the dependent variable. Perceived Organizational Support had a partially mediating effect on the relationship between Surface Acting and Burnout (two-tailed significance = 0.039). (Figure 1)

Figure 1

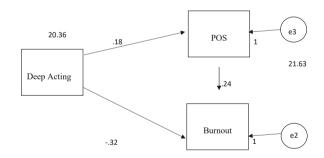
Path Analysis Depicting the Mediation Effect of POS between Surface Acting and Burnout



In the relationship between Deep Acting and Burnout, Perceived Organizational Support had a partial mediation effect (two-tailed significance=0.014). (Figure 2)

Figure 2

Path Analysis Depicting Mediation Effect of POS between Deep Acting and Burnout



Discussion

Zapf (2002) explains that a significant negative association between deep acting and burnout can be related to the fact that, in the former, the person tries to actively influence their feelings to conform to emotional display rules set by the organization. The conservation of resources (COR) theory acts as a theoretical base for examining how emotional labor impacts burnout. Totterdell and Holman (2003) propose that deep acting encourages employees to actively experience the emotions needed to be displayed, which prevents a loss of employee resources. It requires employees

to engage in emotion management, which involves actively bringing about a change in their emotional perception, cognition, and perspectives. With the passage of time, employees naturally display positive emotions at their jobs, which enables them to eliminate negative emotions through the internalization of positive perspectives and cognition. This result acts as empirical support for previous studies that suggest that certain dimensions of emotional labor can exert a positive influence on employees.

The significant negative relationship between surface acting and burnout contradicts empirical studies. These results reflect an inconsistency with the Conservation of Resources Theory (Hobfoll, 1989), which posits that surface acting consumes more resources than deep acting as it requires emotion suppression, resulting in greater cognitive investment. Such contradictions can be attributed to the approaches used in studying these variables, which include the use of different instruments to measure the variable where past studies have differed in which instrument, they have used for measuring emotional labor and the use of the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) for measuring burnout, not OLBI. Kristensen (2005) explains that the former measures burnout in terms of a theoretically distinct phenomenon that should be studied separately.

Other studies that explore predictors of teacher burnout have found self-efficacy, a variable that sustains itself (Bandura, 1977), to lead to resilience formation and help them be driven when dealing with challenges (Benight & Cieslak, 2011; Ee & Chang, 2010; Peixoto, Wosnitza, & More, 2018). Self-efficacy is conceptualized as a protective factor and a psychological strength (Mansfield, Beltman, & More, 2012) that increases teachers' adaptability to change in both organizational and personal life, enables them to maintain positivity and makes it less likely for them to experience burnout.

Inconsistency in results, when compared to previous studies, can be due to the cross-sectional study design that has been used to explore burnout, which has been suggested by Rozbowsky, Semeraro, & More (2000)

to be dynamic in nature, with burnout referred to as a process rather than an endpoint.

Perceived Organizational Support partially mediated the relationship between deep acting and burnout and surface acting and burnout. As a mediator, POS reinforces employees' desire for emotional support by implying that help and understanding would be provided to deal with stressful events at work (Armeli, Eisenberger, & More, 1998). This suggests that enhancing perceived organizational support will protect teachers from burnout. Relying on the substitution hypothesis of COR theory, employees treat resources as interchangeable to meet the demands created by a loss or threat of a loss of resources. Employees will compensate for the loss caused by the depletion of one resource with another. Employees suffering a depleted job-related energy resource might draw from another work-related resource, such as POS (Hobfoll, Freedy & More, 1990).

Caplan's (1974) buffering hypothesis suggests that POS can buffer the adverse effect that job-related stressors (such as surface acting) have on employee well-being and health but has no significant effect when stressors are low. The JD-R (Job-Demands & Resources) model posits that when employees are overburdened by workplace obligations, they prefer to rely on such job resources, and their availability fosters favorable job attitudes. Thus, employment resources can mitigate the negative impacts of job demands and even mitigate the latter's impact on burnout, as well as strengthen and augment the positive effects of deep acting. In accordance with the JD-R model, POS can act as a job resource that will be able to mitigate the negative influence of emotional labor on burnout in the study population, that is, teachers.

Wen, Huang, and Hou (2019) think of emotional labor and its two strategies as job demands that take a toll on an employee's mental resources. Conceptualizing along the same lines, POS can act as a resource that enables employees to generate positive emotions due to organizational support and understanding as well as acknowledgment of abilities, thus reinforcing positive emotions. Rhoades & Eisenberger (2002) suggest that, based on the principle of reciprocity, if workers

perceive that their organization is committed to their well-being, they are more likely to devote their efforts towards their organization's well-being, in return.

The results of the current study indicate that employees do not differ in the usage of surface or deep acting in terms of work experience. Exploration into this domain has been limited in the available literature.

The results indicate that employees do not differ in the usage of surface or deep acting in terms of work experience. Exploration into this domain has been limited and inconsistent in the available literature, where some studies found females to engage in higher emotional labor whereas others did not.

Limitations of the Study

- The study included a sample that was concentrated in Mangaluru and skewed in terms of gender, work experience, and the grades that they teach.
- The sampling method used was purposive sampling, which has reduced the sample's representativeness.
- The scope of this research was limited to the general public, but not inclusive of those with diagnosed mental illness or physical disability, special educators, or those who did not fall in the prescribed age range.
- Burnout has been described as a process that is dynamic in nature. A cross-sectional study, like the present study, is frozen in time.
- The study did not take into consideration personal characteristics such as resilience and self-efficacy that can counter workplace burnout.

Scope for Further Research

A future study with a sample that is representative of the pan-Indian teaching population and examines the effect of self-efficacy and resilience in mitigating burnout would provide richer data and a more comprehensive picture of how Indian school teachers tackle burnout. Imminent research can include a population that is more balanced in terms of demographic characteristics. The data could also be collected at different time points using a longitudinal design to characterize burnout as a dynamic process.

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