# MASTERARBEIT | MASTER'S THESIS

Titel | Title

## Emotion Work and Identity – How Willingness to Engage in Unpaid Labor Manifests in the Workplace.

verfasst von | submitted by

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**Table of contents**

# 1  Introduction

Being friendly with a coworker and smiling at a customer, although one does not feel that way, is common and expected in most workplaces (Diefendorff et al., 2013; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2012). Similarly, bringing "the right" attitude to work, thus trying to motivate oneself to authentically feel excited about the workday, is part of many people's daily routines (Hochschild, 2012). Behavioral norms at work extend not only to how one should act but also to how one is supposed to feel and express emotions (Diefendorff et al., 2013). When expectations do not match the felt reality, emotion management and regulation of feelings - emotion work - might be employed (Grandey, 2000).

Emotion work refers to regulating one's feelings and emotional display in interactions to align with both broader societal norms and more specific workplace demands (Hochschild, 2012). The above-mentioned examples describe two distinct emotion work strategies, which Arlie R. Hochschild (2012), the founding figure of emotion work research, identified as *surface acting* and *deep acting*. The former describes the display of an emotion that is not felt, while the latter implies the regulation of feelings to authentically display the expected emotional goal. From a broader societal perspective, contextual demands refer to societal norms prescribing individuals to feel and express their feelings a certain way (Brody, 2000; Hochschild, 2012; Thoits, 2004). For example, emotion norms for women*[1] encourage a pleasant, empathetic, and nurturing expression. Female-socialized individuals are considered and socialized into good caretakers who prioritize the community over the self, encouraging "motherly" displays of emotions and behaviors (Brody, 2000; Chodorow, 1979; Thoits, 2004). On the other hand, emotion norms for men* encourage assertiveness and demonstration of authority and are considered and socialized into their "provider" role focused on success (Connell, 1995; Eagly, 1987; Hochschild, 2012).

Emotion norms are also present within smaller contexts, like the workplace (Diefendorff et al., 2013; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2012; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Interactions at work are integral to most occupations, thus employers require their employees to present in a professional manner and follow the appropriate decorum and interactional customs. This includes the affective and emotive expression of employees (Hochschild, 2012). What is deemed professional and appropriate can vary depending on the industry (Grandey, 2000); however, the

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[1] The asterisk (*) indicates that this thesis considers women* and men* as a socially constructed categories and includes everyone who identifies as such, including cisgender women/men and transgender women/men.

majority of corporate cultures tend to call for emotions like amiability, calmness, and congeniality (Wingfield, 2010). Specific jobs require additional emotion work, which is considered an integral part of one's role and then referred to as emotional labor - explicitly part of one's responsibilities and remunerated through a wage. For example, sales personnel often need to amplify emotional displays to convey excitement and enthusiasm for the product or service they sell (Diefendorff et al., 2013). Sometimes, a role requires suppressing emotions such as judges are required to do, when fulfilling their obligation to impartiality (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Nurses are expected to enact a nurturing, empathetic tone and vocabulary vis-à-vis their patients (Hochschild, 2012). Similarly, retail personnel are trained on how best to guide customer support conversations (Grandey, 2000). Thus, affective requirements at work are an integral part of many jobs and have inspired numerous research projects (Butler et al., 2007; Diefendorff et al., 2013; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Wharton & Erickson, 1993) to understand (potentially negative) consequences of emotional labor.

The consequences of emotional labor and emotion work are often studied based on the type of emotion regulation strategy being employed (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Hochschild, 2012; Johnson & Spector, 2007), with surface acting, compared to deep acting, having the most academic consensus on its negative impact on employees. Several meta-studies have associated surface acting with stress and negative effects on employee well-being due to faking emotions (Bono & Vey, 2005; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). These findings support Hochschild's (2012) initial investigation into American flight attendants and bill collectors from the 1980s. She claimed that both emotion regulation strategies may be harmful to employees' mental well-being, linking burnout and depersonalization to intensified emotion regulation at work. However, due to the complexity of emotions, human behavior, and their consequences, there is no clear, overarching agreement that all emotion work is universally negative, with some researchers arguing for positive side effects for employees' well-being (Humphrey et al., 2015). Emotion regulation has also been shown to foster bonds between interaction partners and, for individuals highly skilled in emotional regulation, contribute to a sense of accomplishment (Humphrey et al., 2015). However, there is consensus that emotion management is an intrapsychic process that requires effort and thus draining employees' energy levels (Grandey, 2000). Consequently, there is an underlying assumption that the more employees engage in emotion regulation, the higher the energy investment (Grandey, 2000). Thus, there is a greater potential for negative outcomes,

such as emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, inauthenticity, and a reduced sense of personal achievement (Maslach et al., 2001). Considering these potential negative effects invites the question of who predominantly engages in this work.

Exploring who largely provides emotion work in society is tied to society's divisions of status and power (Thoits, 2004). Industries that require large amounts of emotional labor – emotion work formally required as part of a role – such as childhood education, nursing, the service sector, and retail women*, working-class individuals, and people of color are predominantly overrepresented (eurostat, 2023e, 2023b, 2023a; Hochschild, 2012). These industries are often characterized by low wages, understaffing and high turnover rates. Additionally, the provision of emotion work is not limited to certain industries, and two factors highlight that across most industries and roles, emotion work demands disproportionally affect low-status individuals (Harlow, 2003; Jones, 2008; Ross-Smith et al., 2007; Thoits, 2004; Wingfield, 2010).

Firstly, to navigate the contradiction of emotion norms dictated by role-requirements and broader societal emotion norms, certain individuals must engage in additional emotional regulation (Harlow, 2003; Jones, 2008; Ross-Smith et al., 2007; Thoits, 2004; Wingfield, 2010). For example, women*-executives must navigate societal expectations that encourage empathetic, kind, and diplomatic emotional displays, with role expectations of assertiveness and authority (Ross-Smith et al., 2007). Similarly, people of color, such as Black women*, face stereotypes that label them as "angry", requiring them to regulate their emotional display to heightened levels of pleasantness (Harlow, 2003; Wingfield, 2010).

Secondly, emotion regulation norms are intertwined with individuals' status positions (Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978), placing higher stakes on low-status individuals to regulate their feelings and emotional display when defying norms. Theodore D. Kemper's (1978) Social Interactional Theory posits that the way emotions are expressed in social interactions is fundamentally influenced by the status and power individuals hold vis-à-vis their interaction partners. Subsequently, emotion norms are gendered and intertwined with status, dictating that those with less status regulate their emotional experiences thus engaging in emotion work for the benefit of those higher in the societal hierarchy and holding more power (Hackman, 2023; Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978; Thoits, 2004).

Hochschild (2012) conceptualized this idea through the concept of a so-called *status shield,* which provides individuals of higher status with protection from potential negative consequences when defying emotion regulation norms. It also shields them from the unfiltered emotions of others, since individuals with lower status are expected to regulate their emotions for the benefit of the higher-status individuals. In patriarchal societies, women* hold a weaker status shield than men*, and therefore learn to fear repercussions when not regulating their emotions. From an intersectional perspective, upper-class women* hold a stronger status shield than women* or men* with a lower socio-economic status and are socialized to be less concerned with regulating their emotions or expression thereof when interacting with them.

Thus, built upon the understanding that low status, as expressed through a combination of gender, socio-economic categories, or racial/ethnic minority belonging, is associated with increased provision of emotion work and its formalized version, emotional labor, the question arises: Are individuals engaging in this work willingly, and how does their identity play a role? Additionally, considering the potential negative (mental) health consequences that emotion work entails, as well as the low remuneration and valorization of industries that require large amounts of emotional labor, further questions arise. Specifically, it could be asked: Are there certain values or cultural aspects that influence whether someone does this willingly? Thus, the following questions guide this research project: **"To what extent does one's identity - comprised of gender, socio-economic status, and racial/ethnic identity - influence the willingness to provide emotion work?"**, **"Are there differences between traditional and non-traditional women* and men* in their willingness to provide emotion work?"**, and **"Are there cultural, cross-country differences in the willingness to provide emotion work?"**.

Answering these questions will shed light on potential workplace inequities by examining who is more willing to engage in unpaid, resource-draining tasks. These insights can be incorporated into corporate diversity and awareness training when educating about inequities in the workplace. Exploring this from a national and cross-cultural perspective will provide additional understanding of this complex behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

I aim to contribute to the study of emotion work in multiple ways. First, I adopt an intersectional understanding of identity that is comprised of multiple socially constructed categories, such as gender, socio-economic status, and racial/ethnic minority membership. Emotion work literature often focuses on studying the impact of identity categories, such as gender, in isolation from

other aspects of identity and assume these as homogenous identity groups (Diefendorff et al., 2013; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2012). This approach overlooks the intersectionality of these socially constructed identity categories that additionally differ across countries and value identifications, such as tradition and religion. By exploring multiple identity categories at their different intersections, across different cultural cross-country contexts, and traditional value identification this research project challenges the traditional approach that assumes these as fixed. Secondly, exploring emotion work beyond specific industries, such as service industries (Bulan et al., 1997; Hochschild, 2012; Johnson & Spector, 2007) or care-giving industries (Humphrey et al., 2015; Lewis, 2007), and examining it across industries and varying cultural cross-country contexts adds additional nuance and insights. Thirdly, to my knowledge, the majority of emotion work research explores this behavior within a U.S. (Diefendorff et al., 2013; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2012) and Asian (Cheung & Lun, 2015; Ko et al., 2018) labor context, thus my approach looking within the European labor market will add to this literature. Thus, my analysis adopts an approach that allows for a nuanced examination of how different aspects of one's identity relate to behaviors such as emotion work, across different European countries and industries contributing to the existing literature.

The European Social Survey (ESS) forms the data foundation for this thesis. It contains individual-level data from 39 countries across 11 research waves collected up to 2024. During its 10th research wave, collected in 2020 and 2021, a variable was introduced to capture individuals' willingness to take on extra responsibilities without remuneration (ESS ERIC, 2022). This aimed to understand organizational behavior and more specifically Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCBs), which are defined as extra-role behaviors of employees provided at their own discretion thus not remunerated (Organ et al., 2006). OCBs and emotion work share key characteristics. Both are not explicitly demanded by superiors or the organization, but implicitly expected through norms and are considered valuable yet are not remunerated. Thus, the willingness to perform in OCBs - discretionary deemed behaviors that benefit colleagues and/or the broader organization - serves as a gauge for the willingness to engage in emotion work. This variable was included through a rotational segment added to the core questionnaire and recorded in 31 countries, for a total of 24,326 respondents. It allows me to analyze, through multivariate linear regression analysis, how willingness is impacted by different identity characteristics from both a national and cross-country representative perspective, while controlling for and investigating the role of other factors such as value perceptions, socio-economic status and racial/ethnic minority belonging, employment relations,

industries, and organizational justice. The ESS data set captures the identity category gender as a binary construction, proposing respondents to choose between a female and male gender identity. Thus, although this thesis considers gender as a social construct that exists beyond a binary, the empirical analysis is restricted to this limited gender composition of two opposing binaries of women and men.

Feminist theory conceptualizes identity as composed of different culturally constructed categories that are not as fixed as conventionally presumed but are instead reenacted through everyday interactions, that can include emotion work. Therefore, I propose that individuals might draw from different aspects of their identities, when considering engaging in emotion work. Thus, different hypotheses are tested, which are built upon Social Role Theory (Eagly, 1987), Expectation States Theory (Berger, 1972), Conservation of Resources Theory (Hobfoll, 2001), and the psychological conceptualization of self-schematic beliefs (Markus, 1977), which argue two opposing stances. One position argues a higher willingness to engage in emotion work, due to role socialization, while the opposing position argues a decreased willingness due to lack of resources linked to their low-status in society.

Having tested different identity categories defined by their gender identification, socio-economic-status, racial/ethnic minority membership and traditional/religious value identification, the results indicate that these play a significant role in individuals' willingness to take on unremunerated additional tasks and responsibilities at work, which could include emotion work. Cultural context, considering both country of residence and ancestry also plays a significant role, mediating these effects. Women[2], for example, demonstrate a significantly lower willingness (1% to 3%) compared to men to engage in emotion work across the European region. This effect is especially strong (4% to 7%) when women identify with Western European ancestry compared to other European ancestries. This results suggests, women are not willing to adhere to their socialized roles as being supportive and caring and rather consider their already taxed resources as subjugated individuals in patriarchal society. In contrast, women that live in uncertainty-avoiding countries (such as Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Montenegro, or Slovenia), characterized as holding on to traditional norms, demonstrate a higher willingness (4% to 5%) than women living in countries that report to be less concerned by uncertainty (such as Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, or Slovakia). This suggests that

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[2] Here referred without the asterisk (*) as the analysis is built upon data, capturing gender as a binary construction.

women in uncertainty-avoiding countries might rather draw from their socialized role prescribing them to being supportive than considering their comparatively lower resources as subjugated individuals in society.

A low socio-economic status is also significantly correlated with a lower willingness, with low-income individuals (2% to 8%) demonstrating the most pronounced effect. This effect is especially strong, when living in success-oriented countries (8% to 11%) (such as Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, or Ireland) compared to the least success-oriented countries (such as Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania, or Slovenia). This suggests individuals with a low socio-economic status to predominantly consider their lack of resources, when considering engaging in emotion work at work. Individuals that identify to be part of an ethnic or racial minority report, across Europe, an increased willingness (3% to 5%) to engage in emotion work compared to individuals that are not. This suggests that their socialized roles might imply a deferent and accommodating position. However, this effect varies across cultural contexts and individuals of racial/ethnic minorities that live in individualistic countries (such as The Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium, Slovenia, or Norway), demonstrate a significant lower willingness (8% to 10%) compared to living in collectivist countries (such as Montenegro, North Makedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, or Italy). Lastly, a stereotypical gender performance in both women (5% to 14%) and men (8% to 12%), is linked to an increased willingness to engage in emotion work compared to non-gender stereotypical women and men, suggesting that socially prescribed roles to be dominant, when considering engaging in emotion work at work.

This thesis is structured into five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two is structured into two parts. Firstly, it provides the theoretical background building upon Butler's (2007) performativity theory and West and Zimmerman's (1987) conceptualization of "doing gender", introducing how identity categories, such as gender, are understood and how this unfolds in behaviors at work, including emotion work. The second part defines emotion work, introduces its study across sociology, organizational research and psychology to subsequently situate how the study of emotion work within a Gender Studies framework builds upon these fields. Lastly this chapter provides an overview of current emotional labor and emotion work provision. Chapter Three, drawing from sociology and psychology, addresses the overarching research questions by examining two opposing perspectives that could explain different reasons to be willing to engage in emotion work. Chapter Four outlines the empirical strategy, the data used and details the two regression models with its variations that are being applied to test the

proposed hypotheses. The Fifth and final chapter demonstrates the results, concluding with limitations and implications of this research project.

# 2 Conceptional background and Literature

This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach central to gender studies and integrates theories from sociology, psychology, and behavioral research. In this section I establish the theoretical foundation to understand gender as a socially constructed identity category that functions as a behavioral script and an organizing principle, assigning status that manifests in everyday interactions and differs across cultures. I apply a gendered lens to an emotion culture that unfolds in everyday human interactions and more specifically in this research project, interactions at work. The provision of emotion work is presented to provide the necessary differentiation that this thesis is taking, exploring more specifically the willingness to provide emotion work.

## 2.1 Performativity of Gender and Identity

*"Gender is not something that one is, it is something one does, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (Butler, 2007, p. 34).*

This research projects builds upon an anti-essentialist view of gender, positing that assigned sex characteristics at birth do not equate into a gender identity (Beauvoir, 1988). Thus, a differentiation is made between biologically defined sex characteristics assigned at birth and gender, the cultural interpretation of these characteristics. These interpretations differ across time, regions and are subsequently a socially constructed identity category and not mere biological fact (Beauvoir, 1988).

French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir prominently articulated in the early 20th century in her seminal work "The second sex" that one rather 'becomes' a woman* than is born one (Beauvoir, 1988). She questioned the notion that biological sex characteristics prescribe roles, traits and social responsibilities assigned to men* and women*. She instead argued the influence of culturally informed socialization processes to hold greater influence when observing

differences between men* and women*. Hence at the heart of anti-essentialist thought, lies the argument that gender, distinct from biological sex, is a socially constructed identity characteristic.

More recent theorizations on gender as a social construct were popularized by Judith Butler (2007) proposing gender as a performative act. Butler argues, like de Beauvoir, that gender is not an innate quality and additionally suggests that individuals engage in repeated actions and performances dictated by social norms, thus 'performing' gender rather than 'being' gender. Gender is thus an identity characteristic constructed through the repeated performance of gestures, acts and behaviors linked to the social prescriptions of what is considered feminine* and masculine*. However, not every person follows the social prescriptions to the same extent and this conception allows to understand variation across individuals that are faced by the same behavioral norms. This performative conceptualization additionally allows for gender to be understood rather on a spectrum than two binary categories opposing one another (Butler, 2007). Building on this anti-essentialist, performative perspective of gender, this thesis additionally understands gender as a dynamic process that is continuously reaffirmed through individual actions and interactions. West and Zimmerman (1987) refer to "doing gender" when explaining that gender is not a static but rather dynamic process that needs to be constantly reaffirmed. This speaks to gender being a dynamic accomplishment, that is constantly constructed and reconstructed in everyday life such as interactions at work.

Gender identity and gender performance are not homogenous experiences and other identity characteristics like for example race and class intersect with gender (Crenshaw, 1991). Similar to the way individuals perform their gender, race and class identities are learned through socialization (Butler, 2007). Thus, identities are shaped by various different social categories intersecting with one another that inform human behavior (Crenshaw, 1991) and speaks to the status they hold in society. Within a patriarchal context sexism, classism and racism function as distinct systems of oppression that impact individuals at the intersections of their identities, creating diverse human experiences of power or lack thereof.

To summarize, I and this research project understand gender, race and class as culturally constructed identity characteristics, that are continuously performed and observable in everyday life through actions and interactions, rather than mere biological consequence.

### 2.1.1  Gender and Identity Performance influences Behaviors and Emotions

*"The stereotype of the "emotional woman" and the "rational man" was fueled by the increase of sex segregation in the public and private realms which went hand in hand with the industrialization of Western societies from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards"* *(Fischer & Manstead, 2000, p. 1).*

As gender and identity are shaped by cultural norms,  behaviors are equally shaped by these norms in patriarchal societies (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 2007; Eagly, 1987). Exploring behavior within a patriarchal context, requires consideration of how identities are faced with interlocking systems of oppression, valuing male*/masculine* over female*/feminine*, white over colored and higher socio-economic status over lower status.  In this section, I explore how gendered identity performance shapes behaviors in both the so-called private and public sphere including how individuals feel and express their emotions. I use this distinction between the private and public sphere for analytical purposes only. I understand these spheres are interconnected that conitnously influence one another but this approach helps for the purpose of exemplifying different behaviors in varying social contexts.

Within the private sphere, patriarchal society prescribes nurturing, caring and motherly roles to women*, whereas men* are given the role of the provider and protector (Eagly, 1987). Women* are considered as the allegedly "naturally" more suitable primary caretaker for family members and children, due to their supposedly "innate" qualities of care and empathy. Men* however are prescribed the provider and protector role requiring behaviors of financial success and physical dominance, tasked to provide protection. The adherence to these traditional gender norms however varies and depending on one's gender and identity performance, will influence for example the choice of partner, type of relationship, and parenthood. Although traditional gender norms still exist in many societies, these roles are not fixed and through feminist movements, political policies and economic pressures, these roles are slowly being redefined. However, societies often experience, during times of crisis a retrenchment of traditional gender roles and which can be seen in the current rise of conservative and traditional political parties across the European region.

The roles prescribed in the so-called private sphere, translate into the so-called public sphere and can be observed through the gendered nature of the labor market composition. The types

of industries individuals choose to train for is one example. Service work, childcare and health care professions is a particular example, where majority of employees are women*, fulfilling their nurturing and motherly roles. Construction, manual and so-called blue-collar jobs in contrast are predominantly held by men*, fulfilling their stereotypical role of the protector through physical strength. Beyond the type of industries, the type of labor participation is also gendered, with large gender disparities in part-time labor participation due to childcare responsibilities. Across the European region, women* are three times more likely to be working part-time compared to men* due to child/family-care responsibilities (eurostat, 2023c).

The level of adherence to the socially prescribed role depends on the so called "self-schematic" believes of oneself (Markus, 1977). Depending on which identity characteristics are deemed as an important factor of one's identity (for example race, class, or gender), will influence how resistant to changes of these socially prescribed norms one is. If someone's self-schematic believes of gender are central to one's identity, traditional gender norms might be more likely to hold importance. The upholding of gender stereotyped roles is built upon these mechanisms of self-identity, constantly (re)constructing gender norms within oneself but equally placing expectations upon others. If others present and perform gender in a normative deviant way, this behavior will represent a threat to one's identity, if self-schematically built upon gender (Markus, 1977). Thus, gender as performance holds the potential to continuously be reinstated to protect one's self-schematic ideas one has about oneself and equally reinforces societal gender norms. However, not all individuals are primarily self-schematic on gender and other aspects of one's identity is felt as also important, like belonging to a certain class or ethnicity.

Self-schematic believes help to explain variation between individuals socialized into the same roles. Roles are part of one's identity and the self, however as individuals we are more than just our gender role but hold other roles that intersect with one another. Self-schematic believes refer to which schema or reference category is very important for an individual's identity. This could mean that the reference category gender could be for one individual more important whilst the reference group class is more salient to another, although they are both socialized into a female* gender role. Hence depending on what role is stronger in terms of the identification of the self, suggests being more prominent in the influence of behavior.

Similarly, how certain roles are prescribed by gender, which emotions are felt and how these are expressed is culturally normed (Hochschild, 2012; Pyke, 1996; Thoits, 2004). Subsequently,

it is considered more appropriate for men* to feel and express anger, frustration and aggression compared to women*. In contrast emotion norms consider feelings and their expressions of fear, empathy and joy more suitable for female socialized individuals (Brody, 2000). Emotion norms from a gendered perspective are additionally particular in the sense that it is not just that certain emotions are deemed more appropriate for certain genders, emotions are also contingent within a binary construction of Emotion versus Logic, where the former is gendered female* and the latter gendered male* and culturally more valued  (Fischer & Manstead, 2000). Hence emotions overall are prescribed to female socialized individuals and are simultaneously instrumentalized to keep the structure of female* subjugation in place, by devaluing emotion over logic. The ability to suppress and control emotions is associated to male*/masculine* identities, granting male identities bias towards objectivity and logic, uninterrupted by emotions. In contracts, the ability to express, communicate and experience emotions is associated as a female*/feminine* capability, thus subjecting women* to an inferior position.

### 2.1.2   Gender and Identity reflect Status

*"Gender is not simply a system of classification by which biological males and biological females are sorted, separated, and socialized into equivalent sex roles. Gender also expresses the universal inequality between women and men. When we speak about gender we also speak about hierarchy, power, and inequality, not simply difference"* (Kimmel & Kimmel, 2000, p. 1).

Gender, race and class as already stated can be understood as socially constructed identity characteristic and this construction also serve a function by relegating status (Pyke, 1996; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Within patriarchal societies it serves as an organizing principle situating women* and all feminine* deemed in a subjugated, lower-status position (Lorber, 1994).  Race and class categories are equally utilized to position individuals within a hierarchy, with working-class and colored identities being subjugated.

Status, as sociologist Cecilia Ridgeway (2014) suggests is a concept built upon the social agreement of what and who is perceived as deserving to hold higher status. It is bestowed upon individuals based on a combination of identity characteristics and achievements, including but not limited to gender, academic accomplishments, professional success and personal achievements (Ridgeway, 2014). Gender as a status construct is not experienced by all

individuals the same way and is modulated through additional social identity constructs, like race and class. Patriarchal societies, relegate women* to lower-status position compared to men*, however when considering racial privileges, white women* will be bestowed a higher-status, than black/colored/ethnic men*. Referring to the above-mentioned societal roles, these are intertwined with social status, all prescribing different roles (Pyke, 1996).

With status also comes power - the ability to shape and influence others (Blau, 1964). This hierarchical relegation of status on a macro level influences interpersonal dynamics at a micro level (Pyke, 1996). Thus, individuals holding higher status within a society will also hold the potential to use their power to position individuals with less power into a deferential role (Fiske, 2010). With the above-mentioned self-schematic believes of one self's identity come expectations of others within that same identity characteristic (gender, race or class) to present and perform that identity the same way, otherwise their behavior would represent a threat to one's identity. Thus, behavioral expectations are placed upon individuals from higher status to lower status individuals on a continuous basis to reconfirm their own identity (Eagly, 1987). Thus, building upon the above-mentioned gender conceptualization as performative, differences informed by socially prescribed roles, status needs to be considered when trying to understand influencing factors of behaviors.

### 2.1.3 Gender and Identity Performance differ across Cultures

*"Culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11).*

As suggested above, individuals across different groups, organizations, countries and regions have different interpretations and value associations to identity characteristics (Kimmel & Kimmel, 2000). As such, how characteristics like gender, race and class are utilized as differentiating factors, relegating status and power, varies. Different groups will prescribe distinct norms, creating differing conceptualization of gender stereotypes, from one place of the world to another. As Hofstede's (2011) words above describe, these norms can be understood as form of 'collective programming' that functions as an organizing mechanism, creating an 'in'-group and 'out'-group, thus becoming also a part of one's reference of self-identity. The definition of the reference group can be, one's circle of friends (group), place of work or volunteer organization (organization) or place one refers to as 'home' (country/nation/region).

These different reference groups are diverse in their pervasiveness of informing one's identity. Hofstede (2011) argues that it is likely easier to adapt to a different work culture compared to adopting a new, distinct culture of one's 'home'. Through early childhood socialization, national, country culture often reside in unconscious values that are more resistant to change as they hold a stronger importance to one's identity than a work culture does (Hofstede, 2011).

As mentioned, gender norms vary across cultures and countries and almost all societies hold assumptions about gender differences (Kimmel & Kimmel, 2000). Thus, being read as a woman* in one place calls upon very different assumptions and expectations of what is considered feminine* when being read as such somewhere else. What is considered feminine*, or masculine* additionally changes across other identity characteristics like race and class, creating difference within the same gender category. Norms of parental labor participation for example differs between women* in France and women* in Austria, creating a social and structural reality in which female parents in the former return to the fulltime labor force more (26% part time labor participation) than the latter (50% part time labor participation) (eurostat, 2023d). This suggests that norms of care responsibilities are organized differently, with French mothers arguably defying social norms around working mothers less compared to Austrian fulltime working mothers.

Culture, understood on a national, country level can be one reference point to explore what constitutes the unifying aspects creating an in-group and will be one of two ways, how cross-culture differences will be explored and operationalized in this research project. I utilize Hofstede's (2011) cultural dimensions to explore possible differences of norms and its prescriptive power on individuals, informing behavioral differences in the performance of one's identity. The intersection of different identities with different cultural contexts lay the foundation of this exploration. Hofstede (2011) defined six cultural dimensions through which countries can be compared with which he deducted from his own survey that captures individuals' values and sentiments across over 50 countries. Hofstede interprets these cultural value statements into organizational management recommendations, translating country-level cultural sentiments into an organizational culture. Numerical scores for each of the following six dimensions are allocated  that can be used through a comparative tool, to compare societal and organizational culture (Hofstede, 2011). These six cultural dimensions are as follows:

*1. Power Distance*

This dimension speaks to the acceptance and expectations of the less powerful members of a group, that power is unequally distributed. Its defined upon the perspective of those not holding power and is considered as an indication of a society's acceptance of the unequal distribution of power. Countries scoring high on this dimension consider power as an innate part of society, irrelevant to question. Within a European context, countries scoring high on this dimension are situated in the east and include but are not limited to Slovakia, North Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

*2. Uncertainty Avoidance*

This dimension refers to the level of a society tolerating ambiguity and spontaneity of situations. Traditions and normative prescription play an important role, as these facilitate to reduce uncertainty. Countries scoring high on this dimension will prescribe strict behavioral codes and disapprove of deviant behavior. These codes are based upon the assumption that there is an absolute truth, which needs to be followed. Countries scoring high are spread across the European region and include Portugal, Greece, Belgium, Serbia and Poland.

*3. Individualism versus Collectivism*

This dimension speaks to the degree to which a society constitute the individual or group as key reference. Individualist societies will expect that everyone needs to look after themselves and immediate family as opposed to collectivist societies will expect a group responsibility. Collectivist societies are described with a 'we'-consciousness versus an 'I'-consciousness in which harmony is valued more over privacy. On a global comparison, western countries tend to score high on Individualism as opposed to nations in the east. However, within the European region, the focus of this thesis, variations exist with Belgium, Iceland and the Netherlands, scoring the highest on this individualist dimension.

*4. Motivation towards achievement and Success (former Masculinity versus Femininity)*

This dimension refers to a society's focus on decisiveness versus cohesion. Decisiveness is understood as socially valuing success, competition and achievement as opposed to valuing consensus, valuing the care for others and one's own quality of life. Hofstede suggests that comparisons between genders need to be conducted within the same cultural dimension with gender differences to be higher within achievement focused cultures. Hofstede subsequently

argues that [cis-]women[3] in consensus-driven ("feminine") countries are similarly caring as [cis-]men[4]. As opposed to success-driven ("masculine") countries [cis-]women are somewhat assertive/competitive/success-driven but not as much as men, hence the difference between genders (based on a binary construction) is much more pronounced in success-driven countries. German speaking countries and Italy score high as English speaking countries score relatively lower with Nordic countries demonstrating the lowest scores.

### 5. *Long Term versus Short Term Orientation*

This dimension refers to societal values within a temporal frame, differing between putting more value on the present and past or the future. Short term-oriented societies hold traditions very high and are guided by universal believes of good vs bad. Stability is very important, and change can represent a threat. Countries scoring high on this dimension include Latvia, Estonia, Netherlands and Finland.

### 6. *Indulgence versus Restraint*

This dimension can be considered as an extension of dimension five and describes how societies conceptualize gratification. Restraint societies control gratification with strict social norms, put lower importance on leisure and place stricter sexual norms. Within the European region Sweden, Great Britian, Iceland and Netherlands score high as indulgent countries.

The second cultural identifier will be based on individuals self-identified ancestry, which respondents of the ESS survey respond to and is comprised of Western European (Belgium, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Ireland and Netherlands), Southern European (Greece, Italy, Portugal), Southeastern European (Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Slovenia), and lastly Eastern European (Czech Rep, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania and Slovakia).

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[3] Hofstede's conception of gender is based on a binary construction and not clarifying gender to be a fluid identity that individuals become, along a spectrum between, outside or neither of the category female and male. Thus, cis is added for clarification and no * used in this instance.
[4] Same as above.

## 2.2 Gender and Identity Performance in the Workplace

Cultural norms creating gender, race and class identities permeate into all aspects of society influencing identity performance in all aspects of life. This performativity unfolds in different behaviors that occur in different social situations within families, peer groups and workplaces (Butler, 2007). This thesis focuses on how gender and identity performativity unfold in behaviors within the workplace.

The workplace can be seen as a mirror of society (Hofstede, 2011) and identities are performed in all behaviors guiding social interaction (Butler, 2007). Gender and identity are performed within the workplace when individuals self-select themselves into training for certain industries that are considered appropriate for their class identity (McGinn & Oh, 2017). This performance extends to the consideration which jobs to apply for (Coffman et al., 2024; Fluchtmann et al., 2024; Nicks et al., 2022). Evidence shows that women* systematically underestimate themselves, downplaying their skills (Exley & Kessler, 2019) and are less likely to apply for a position when their profile does not fully fit the demands, compared to men*, who apply, even if their profile is not a perfect match (Coffman et al., 2024; Fluchtmann et al., 2024; Nicks et al., 2022). Gender and identity are performed when a person withholds a justified critique of a work colleague as this would be read as aggression rather than a constructive critique. Evidence shows that people of color are faced with stereotypes of being angry, rather than providing critique in the workplace, which forces them to regulate their emotional display to not risk negative consequences (McCormick-Huhn & Shields, 2021). This regulation of emotion is a day-to-day behavior everyone engages in at work to some extent. Contextual demands require for appropriate behavior, which includes the expression of the appropriately deemed emotions. If these emotions are not actually felt, norms require individuals to regulate their emotions and engage in emotion work.

### 2.2.1 Definition of Emotion Work

Emotion work refers to the process of regulating one's feelings and one's emotional display to adhere to contextual demands, which include both societal and situational norms at work (Hochschild, 2012). This regulation can equally refer to the amplification or suppression of emotions. From a broader societal perspective, contextual demands mean societal norms, prescribing certain individuals to feel and express their feelings according to their multi-facetted

socialized identity (Thoits, 2004). Emotion norms for women*, for example, encourage a pleasant, empathetic and nurturing emotional expression. Female-socialized individuals are considered as and socialized into good caretakers who prioritize the community over the self, encouraging "motherly" displays of emotions and behaviors (Brody, 2000; Chodorow, 1979; Thoits, 2004). Conversely, emotion norms for male-socialized individuals are focused on goal-oriented and self-focused behaviors. These norms encourage men* to exhibit emotions and behaviors that demonstrate their assertiveness, authority and drive for achievements (Connell, 1995).

These gendered norms are additionally influenced by intersecting factors like racial and class identity (Kang, 2003). Building upon performativity theory, individuals thus also perform their multi-dimensional identities through the emotions they feel and express (Brody, 2000; Butler, 2007; Thoits, 2004). A regulated expression of emotions is for example more encouraged in middle- and upper-class milieus, compared to working-class milieus. Working class emotion norms are focused on comparatively unfiltered and unregulated expression of emotions (Bourdieu, 2010; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). People of color are often confronted with the stereotype of being overly angry and aggressive, thus must subsequently navigate the societal expectation that this anger needs to be regulated and suppressed (Wingfield, 2010). Overall, all these emotion norms inform which emotions are expected to be felt and/or displayed, informing emotion regulation processes and the type of emotion work; suppression or amplification; to engage in.

Emotion norms are also present within a smaller contexts, like the workplace (Diefendorff et al., 2013; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2012; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Interactions at work are integral to most occupations, thus employers require their employees to present in a professional manner and follow the appropriate decorum and interactional customs. This includes the affective and emotive expression of employees (Hochschild, 2012). What is deemed professional and appropriate can vary depending the industry (Grandey, 2000) but corporate cultures tend to call for emotions like amiability, calmness and congeniality (Wingfield, 2010). However, depending on the specific roles emotion work demands vary. Emotion work demands for sales personnel for example often require to amplify emotional display to convey excitement and enthusiasm for the product or service to sell (Diefendorff et al., 2013). On the other hand, contextual demands may require suppressing emotions as for example judges are required to do, when fulfilling their obligation to impartiality (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Nurses are trained

how to enact a nurturing, empathetic tone and vocabulary vis a vis their patients (Hochschild, 2012). Similarly, retail personnel are trained on how best to guide customer support conversations (Grandey, 2000). Thus, employees are often trained to follow a script during work interacting, that also dictates which emotions to express.

Arlie R. Hochschild, considered as the founding figure of emotion work research, distinguishes within these contextual demands between *feeling rules* and *display rules*, with the former prescribing the norm to regulate felt emotions and the latter referring to the mere regulation of the expression. Hochschild proposes two strategies or techniques employees utilize to adhere to these demands. Firstly, *surface acting*, which describes the process in which individuals fake a certain emotion by only influencing the emotional expression (according to the display rules), without feeling the expressed emotion. This is sometimes referred to as emotion work in "bad faith" as there is no intent to feel the way norms expect and is linked to the majority of negative consequences of emotion regulation (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011). The second emotion regulation technique, referred to as *deep acting*, goes as step further as individuals try to influence the feelings that they are feeling (according to the feeling rules), and when successfully done so, authentically express that emotion. This is sometimes referred to as emotion work in "good faith" as individuals try to regulate their inner reasonings to truly feel, what is normatively expected of them. In both circumstances, the contextual demands require individuals to engage in emotion regulation work. A third emotion work process has been proposed, referring to the instance of demonstrating genuinely felt emotions, without having regulated feelings or expression of them. This last emotion regulation technique suggests that not all emotion work necessarily entails as effortful internal regulation process (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011). Within organizational research this last emotion regulation strategy applies when there is a good employee-role fit, as the emotions felt and displayed are in accordance with the roles demands (Diefendorff et al., 2013).

The above-mentioned display rules are further differentiated in three ways, which is particularly relevant from a gendered perspective as they reveal a societal status depending on valorization and I will delve into this aspect in more detail in chapter 2.2.3., when discussing the provision of emotional labor. Firstly, *integrative display rules*, encourage to display emotions like friendliness, empathy and helpfulness and are aimed to make someone feel included and 'integrated'. These rules are expected in most jobs but are integral and particularly important in certain industries like the service sector, retail, nursing, early education or sales. These jobs

are done by predominantly female employees, are comparatively less remunerated and considered low status. Secondly, *differentiating display rules* conversely encourage an emotional display of hostility or anger so that the employee is perceived as threatening or holding authority vis à vis a customer or interaction partner. This can be observed in roles like bouncers, bill collectors or combat soldiers (Sutton, 1991). And lastly *masking display rules* demand of employees to focus on hiding most emotional expression to portray a sense of neutrality and authority. This is often the case in roles within the legal system, like judges and lawyer but also include doctors that are trained to keep a neutral and distant emotional display when for example delivering difficult medical results to their patients (Sternross & Kleinman, 1989). Especially roles demanding masking display rules are comparatively well remunerated and considered higher status, than roles demanding integrative displays. Differentiating display rules are also considered higher in status then roles requiring an integrative display but usually less remunerated than roles demanding masking displays.

Having touched upon how display rules are gendered and intertwined with certain types of rules that are linked with status, who engages in emotion work is equally status stratified (Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978). Hochschild conceptualized this through the metaphor of a "status shield" that provides protection to individuals of a higher status from potential negative consequences if defying emotion regulation norms. Thus, individuals with a higher status can, when interacting with someone that they read and consider of lower status, will be less pressured to regulate their emotions and emotional expression. Conversely, individuals with a weaker societal status shield will be faced with more pressure to regulate their emotions and emotional display for the benefit of those having a stronger status shield.

Women* hold a weaker status shield than men*, thus male* socialized individuals are socialized to be less concerned to regulate their emotions or display thereof in interactions with women*. From an intersectional perspective, upper-class women* hold a higher status shield than women* or men* with a lower socio-economic status, thus are socialized to be less concerned to regulate their emotions or expression thereof, when interacting with them. Similarly, Theodore D. Kemper's (1978) "social interactional theory" posits that the way emotions are expressed in social interactions is fundamentally influenced by the status and power individuals hold vis a vis their interaction partners. Subsequently, emotion norms can be considered as gendered and intertwined with status, dictating those with less status to regulate their emotional experience, thus engaging in emotion work, for the benefit of those higher in

the societal hierarchy and holding more power (Hackman, 2023; Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978; Thoits, 2004).

Emotion work researchers (Diefendorff et al., 2013; Hochschild, 2012) make a clear distinction between emotional labor (EL) and emotion work (EW). According to Hochschild, emotion regulation is emotional labor when provided at work, as an integral part of one's role, thus provided in exchange for a wage and specifically trained for and supervised. Emotion regulation provided within a private sphere is considered emotion work, as not explicitly remunerated, but still holding value and enforced through norms. Hochschild describes for example emotion work provided by women* in heterosexual partnerships, because of their economic dependency to their male partners. This dependency forces them to mitigate potential conflict with their male partners through for example not voicing their grievances (i.e. suppression of emotions and/or display thereof) or exaggerating their interest and concern (i.e. amplification of emotions and/or display thereof) to not threaten their source of economic stability. Hochschild acknowledges intersectional differences with lower income couples having weaker dependency relationship, due to the higher probability of female labor participation. Additionally, times have changed since Hochschild provided this argument in the 1980s and female labor participation in married and partnered couples is increasing (Prieto-Rodríguez et al., 2003). However, economic disparities between male* and female* individuals persist still persist across the majority of countries (World Economic Forum, 2024).

Exploring a more recent sociologist voice on emotional labor, Miliann Kang (2003) describes emotional labor at work as a "survival strategy" and applies an intersectional perspective to the concept. In her ethnographic study of immigrant women* working in different New York nail salons, Kang exposes how emotional labor demands differ through the intersections of gender, race and class are not a homogenous experience for all women*. Depending on the academic field and subsequently differentiating interests, the approach to studying the emotional labor and emotion work differs and the subsequent chapter will explore key academic fields that contribute to the field, to situate how this thesis approaches studying this behavior.

### 2.2.2 Studying Emotion Work across Academic Fields

Emotion work research has continuously increased (Grandey, 2000) since its inception by Arlie R. Hochschild in the 1980s and various academic disciplines have placed different lenses on this concept (Diefendorff et al., 2013). To further elaborate on how emotion work is studied, and to understand where gender and identity performance occurs through emotion work, it is useful to explore different definitions and approaches studying emotion work (EW) and emotional labor (EL).

Sociology, Organizational Behavior research and psychological perspectives are key academic fields studying emotion regulation and each apply different foci (Diefendorff et al., 2013). Building upon the meta-analysis provided by Diefendorff and colleagues (2013) the below Table 1 illustrates the definitions, outcomes, and key literature from the respective research fields. I have extended the table to include the overarching question of each field, considered how gender and identity performance unfold, and added how this thesis, situated within the field of gender studies, approaches the study of emotion work.

*Table 1 – "Viewing Emotional Labor (EL) Through Three Focal Lenses"[5]*

|  | EL as Occupational Requirement | EL as Emotional Display | EL as Intrapsychic Processes | [ EW as (Gender/Identity) Performance] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Field] | Sociology | Organizational Behavior | Psychology | Gender Studies |
| [Key question] | Who does EL? | What is the purpose of EL? | What does EL do to a person? | What influences willingness of EW provision? |
| EL Definition | Jobs that require managing feelings to create an emotional display in exchange for a wage | Expressions of work role-specified emotions that may or may not require conscious effort | Effortfully managing one's emotions when interacting with others at work | Emotion work provided through the performance of one's identity, impacted by norms, reflecting power dynamics for the benefit of someone else or organization |
| Measurement Approach | Qualitative (interviews, | Observer ratings of expressive behaviors | Actor's self-reports | Actor's self-reports on willingness |

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[5] All additions are highlighted in [ ] and represent interpretation and suggestions by me.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | observation); O*Net[6] [ESCO][7] | | | |
| **Proposed Outcomes** | EL is functional for the organization but dysfunctional for the employee | EL is functional for the organization and employee; only dysfunctional if display is highly effortful and inauthentic | EL as deep acting is functional to organization and employee; surface acting, and dissonance are dysfunctional | EW is a form of gender and identity performance observed through behaviors<br><br>EW is dysfunctional for those holding subjugated positions in societies |
| **Key publications** | Hochschild (1979, 1983), Wharton (1993) | Rafaeli & Sutton (1987, 1989), Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) | Morris & Feldman (1996), Grandey (2000) | Butler (2007), West and Zimmermann (1987), Eagly (1987), Hobfoll (2001), Kemper (1978), Markus (1977) |
| **[ Gender & Identity Performance]** | Gendered, racialized, class stratified emotion norms encouraging self-selection into industries that align with identity and emotion norms learnt through socialization. | Same corporate position requires different display rules depending on gender e.g. Female* managers tasked to compensate higher status role through nurturing female behaviors Male* nurse tasked to compensate lower status job through focus on more "executive "-tasks | Capabilities of emotion regulation as the intra-psychic internal regulation process, higher in women*. Sensitivity to anticipate the need to regulate emotions higher in subjugated individuals. | Self-reports calling upon self-schematic beliefs, informing gender and identity performance.<br><br>Gender definition intersecting with other power characteristics, informing differences within gender |

Note: Adapted from (Diefendorff et al., 2013, p.6, Table 1.1.).

*Sociology*

The first lens on emotion labor is exploring the perspective sociologists take. It is fundamentally based on the assumption, that emotional labor is an occupational requirement. This perspective is guided by the question of "Who is doing emotional labor?". Key to this perspective, as mentioned in the previous chapter above, is the differentiation between emotion work and emotional labor, contingent on the context provided (work or home), value attached (exchange or use) and circumstances of control/training (supervisors or societal norms). The focus lies

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[6] O*Net is the United States primary source of occupational information cataloguing data on role descriptions (U.S. Department of Labor & Administration, n.d.).

[7] In a European context, this information would be found within the ESCO (European Skills, Competence Qualifications and Occupations).

upon understanding which professions and those individuals working in those, will have to provide emotional labor as an integral part of their responsibilities. Subsequently, certain industries and jobs are identified as emotional labor jobs (EL-jobs) and others as not (Hochschild, 2012; Wharton, 2009). El-jobs based on this definition, include roles within the service industry and practically all roles that entail some level of customer, client and patient interaction (Hochschild, 2012). This approach utilizes official job description taken from O*Net in the US or ESCO in the EU to define EL-jobs and EL-industries by identifying specific mentioning of emotion work duties. The focus lies upon the employee regulating felt emotions or emotional display to meet job requirements and is always considered as an effortful and strenuous undertaking potentially negatively impacting mental and physical well-being, compensated through a salary. Gender and identity performance unfolds through the self-selection of individuals into certain industries in accordance with the 'type' of emotion work being prescribed in that industry that is congruent with the gendered and identity emotion norms.

*Organizational Behavior*

Exploring the second lens on emotional labor research, organizational behaviorists (OB) emphasize the display of emotions and are led by trying to understand it from a functional point. The key guiding question is, "What is the purpose of EL?". This approach extends the scope of EL by additionally considering inter-organizational interactions with for example colleagues, superiors and subordinates moments where EL is provided. This perspective expands the assumption beyond certain industries or roles, suggesting that all roles to some level require EL in organizational interactions (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Humphrey et al., 2015; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Organizational research utilizes observational methods to study metrics like frequency, duration and authenticity of emotional expressions in interactions to deduct the provisions of emotional labor. OB research introduces the notion that not all emotional display must require emotion regulation. When felt and expressed emotions are in line with what is expected, emotions are expressed authentically. This speaks to an "emotional harmony" and is proposed to be a positive and rewarding experience for employees. Subsequently, OBs deviate from the sociological perspective in as such, that not all forms of EL provision must be a strenuous endeavor that negatively impacts employees health (Humphrey et al., 2015). This field blurs the clear distinction of EL and EW as all interactions at work are considered to potentially entail emotion work although not specifically communicated within a job description, nor specifically remunerated and or trained for but still expected. Subsequently,

gender and identity performances are present in all interactions, and this is central for this thesis' approach, building upon the assumption that emotion work is provided at work to various interaction partners. Gender and identity performances can be identified when for example female socialized individuals, holding high-level executive positions are compensating this high-status, socially male-prescribed position, through demonstrating an "empathetic" leadership style, demonstrating female-prescribed behaviors (Ross-Smith et al., 2007). Gender is being performed when male socialized individuals working as a nurse, a female-prescribed role, compensate this lower status job through focusing on executive, managerial tasks within that role, to reinstate a masculine association of authority (Lewis, 2007).

*Psychology*

The third lens on emotional labor research, is exploring the psychologists' perspective (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Grandey et al., 2020; Morris & Feldman, 1996) which is mainly interested in the intrapsychic processes of emotion regulation. The key question guiding this stream of emotion work research is "What EL is doing to a person?". Psychologist are focused on the internal aspects of emotional regulation, when feelings and contextual demands are not inline and its negative consequences for individuals' mental well-being. This is built upon the assumption that engaging in this regulation is always effortful (Diefendorff et al., 2013) impacting mental health and well-being. This approach explores this through asking individuals about their experiences and utilize self-report data to understand the consequences of emotional labor and emotion work. Gender and identity performances are thus at play when individuals are asked about their emotion work experience, thus falling back on their self-schematic beliefs (Markus, 1977) guiding the interpretation of those emotion work experiences (Butler, 2007; Hochschild, 2012). When individuals respond about their emotion experiences, their response gives an indication about what they consider as being normal for them. Consequently, what is considered as part of one's gendered, identity role, might thus be less likely identified as strenuous and considered "normal". Female socialized individuals might for example perceive caring, considerate, helpful, community-centered emotional display and behavior as "normal" and thus less inclined to label this as a strenuous activity. In contrast male socialized individuals, culturally trained and expected to feel and express emotions less, might perform their gender through underreporting emotion regulation processes as not registering these as such.

*Gender Studies*

Situating this research project within the interdisciplinary field of gender studies I build upon all three research perspectives to explore my key research question "What influences the willingness to engage in emotion work?". I understand emotion work as a form of behavior through which individuals perform (Butler, 2007) their identity and is thus fundamentally shaped by norms. Both the sociological and OB perspectives will provide me with the necessary literature to understand who provides emotional labor and emotion work currently. Building upon OBs perspectives, considering all interactions as potential circumstances of emotion work provision helps me to explore emotion work at work, which is not specifically spelled out as part of a role-responsibility but still potentially provided. It is this notion of not being specifically prescribed (as it is in a job description) that invites social norms to unfold, and performativity of identities can unfold. Through this, I can explore power dimensions directing the responsibility of providing emotion work for the benefit of another interaction partner. This lies the foundation for my exploration of factors influencing this provision of emotion work at work. I draw on different theoretical concepts (Eagly, 1987; Hobfoll, 2001; Kemper, 1978; Markus, 1977) to explain why employees would want to engage in unremunerated emotion work at work. I formulate hypotheses that I will test by using self-report data on individuals' willingness to engage in unremunerated emotion work at work to explore what factors might drive their willingness. Utilizing the psychological perspective on emotion regulation and its potential of negative health consequences for employees, provides me with further insights to understand why individuals might engage in such work, although holding the potential of negatively impacting their health.

### 2.2.3    Provision of Emotional Labor and Emotion Work

This chapter examines who primarily provides emotional labor and emotion work to subsequently explore possible explanations. I will first present, utilizing Hochschild's classification, in which industries most EL-jobs are represented and who is predominantly employed in these. I then adapt this into the current European labor market context. I subsequently explore how most roles entail some level of emotion work, the unremunerated and less formalized version of emotional labor, when considering emotions norms shaped by gender, race and class. Building upon the distinctions between EL and EW, I will provide evidence on emotion work provision across roles. Lastly, I will review literature on the psychological consequences of emotional labor and emotion work.

**Emotional Labor Provision through EL-jobs**

One way of looking at who provides emotional labor is looking at who is predominantly employed in occupations that require emotional labor. Hochschild claimed that most jobs that require high levels of emotional labor are industries in which women* are overrepresented. By utilizing the US census' classification of occupational groups, she identified those industries that require emotional labor to subsequently identify which gender is overrepresented (Hochschild, 2012). She identified that out of the 12 occupational groups captured in the survey 6 can be classified as EL-jobs. These occupational groups include professional and technical workers (e.g. librarian, nurse, lawyer, therapist, teacher, physician), managers and administrators, sales workers, clerical workers and service workers including both, services provided in domestic contexts and out of home (e.g. bank teller, cashier, secretary, telephone operator, receptionist, flight attendant). Based on this analysis, utilizing US census data from the 1970s labor market, women* were in fact overrepresented as Table 2 below demonstrates. Over half of employed women* were holding positions within these industries, compared to a quarter of men* (Hochschild, 2012).

*Table 2 - Summary Estimates of Jobs Most Calling For Emotional labor*

| Occupation | Female | Male | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional, technical and kindred[a] | 3,438,144 | 2,666,188 | 6,104,332 |
| Managers and administrators[b] | 1,013,843 | 5,125,534 | 6,139,377 |
| Sales workers[b] | 1,999,794 | 3,267,653 | 5,267,447 |
| Clerical and kindred[c] | 4,988,448 | 863,204 | 5,851,652 |
| Service workers excluding private household[d] | 3,598,190 | 1,367,280 | 4,965,470 |
| Private household workers[b] | 1,053,092 | 39,685 | 1,092,777 |
| Total number of jobs calling for emotional labor | 16,091,511 | 13,329,544 | 29,421,055 |
| Total size of employed labor force over 14 years of age | 29,170,127 | 48,138,665 | 77,308,792 |
| Jobs involving substantial emotional labor as a percentage of all jobs | 55.2% | 27.7% | 38.1% |

Note: Reprinted from Hochschild 2012, Appendix C, Table 1.

Adapting this into the European labor market and ESCO (European Skills, Competencies, Qualifications and Occupations) occupational classification, I suggest that 5 out of 9 occupational groups fall into Hochschild's classification of EL-jobs. Not all criteria of an EL-job completely fit these occupational groups and depending on whether the frequency of interactions or the level of scriptedness or autonomy of these interactions will create variation in this classification. My aim with this examination is to provide a first overview of emotional labor provision across occupations and how that differs across gender to understand if Hochschild's conclusions still hold in the current European labor context.

Building upon Hochschild's definition of emotional labor jobs, I propose that, EL-jobs are present following ESCO classifications; clerical support workers (e.g. secretary, bank teller, receptionist), service and sales workers (e.g. flight attendant, cashier, childcare, health care assistant), professionals (e.g. health professional, teaching professional, legal professionals, librarian) and technician and associate professional (e.g. nurse, social worker), managers (e.g. senior government official, CEO, senior hospitality manager). Utilizing recent employment statistics by the European bureau of statistics, Eurostat, across all 5 occupational groups women* are, on average, overrepresented and represent 53,7% of employees across the occupational groups. There is variation across the different groups and women* represent only 34,7% of within managers (eurostat, 2024).

*Figure 1 - Summary Estimates of Female Labor Participation by ESCO Occupational Group*



Female employment by major group of occupations in EU, Q3 2023 (in % of total employment aged 15-64)
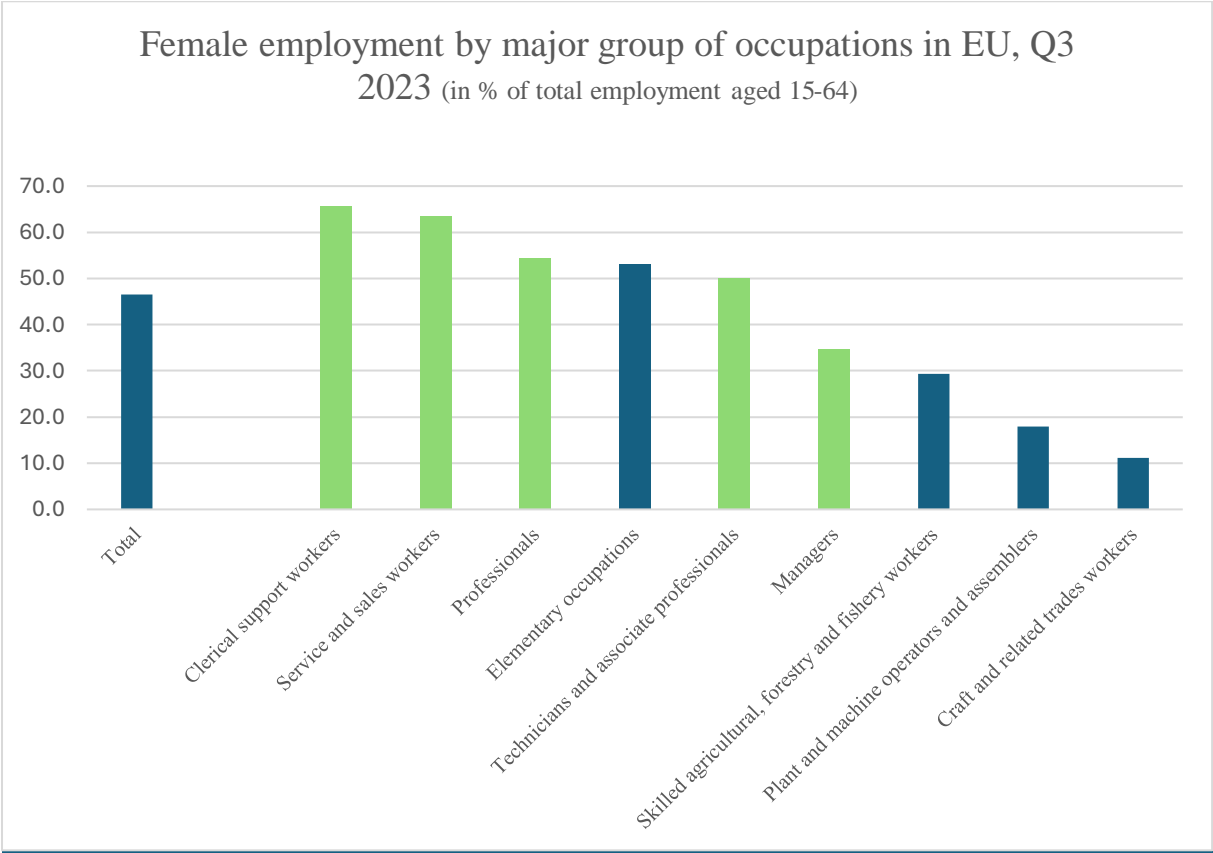
Note: Armed forces, and non-response categories were excluded due to low data reliability. Reprinted from Eurostat 2024.

When looking at more specific jobs within these groups that require high levels of emotional labor like childcare workers and teachers' aides the gender divide is far greater, with over 92% of employees being women*. The same goes for secretaries (89%), early child hood teachers (88%) or nursing and midwifery (86%) (eurostat, 2024).

A caveat in exploring the provision of emotional labor as above, is that it oversimplifies the emotional labor demands by assuming it as a homogenous experience for all employees in those roles (Kang, 2003; Lively, 2013; Wingfield, 2010). Today's labor market is comprised of changing gendered lines and female executives or male nurses or flight attendants aren't as novel as 50 years ago, when Hochschild provided the above examination. Considering female judges for example, that need to navigate masking display rules to portray neutrality (suppressing emotional expression), demanded by the role, while at the same time portraying an empathetic and kind display, expected by societal gender norms. Male nurses, conversely, are expected to display an empathetic and nurturing demeanor, expected by the role, but are at the same time expected to navigate societal norms of male strength and authority. Extending

this gendered analysis to an intersectional perspective additionally complicates the homogenous assumption of EL-jobs. As a result, exploring emotion work provision across roles allows for a more comprehensive and intersectional analysis. To reiterate, this relies on extending the interactions from just client/patient/customer to inner-organization and practically all interactions, where emotion work demands and thus provision can occur, which I wall explore in the subsequent section.

**Emotion Work Provision across roles**

Another approach to examining the provision of emotional regulation at work is to look at inter-organizational interactions where emotion work is provided, as organizational behaviorists (OBs) often do. Building upon the previous elaborations about how OBs explore the regulation of emotions within organizations, I will subsequently provide examples that demonstrate that women* and other socially subjugated individuals face higher demands of emotion work then more privileged individuals. I explore this disparity through two dimensions. Firstly, marginalized individuals faced by intersecting systems of discrimination are often confronted with multiple, contradicting emotion norms (Harlow, 2003; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Jones, 2008; Ross-Smith et al., 2007; Wingfield, 2010), such as the expectation for women* executives having to portray both empathetic and assertive emotional displays at work (Ross-Smith et al., 2007). Secondly, status differences in interaction partners dictate who must engage in emotion work and who is protected by a "status shield" allowing for a freer more authentic expression of emotions (Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978).

*Contradicting emotion norms*

Across industries gender divides have blurred, but with these shifts, additional emotion work demands due to contradicting emotion norms follow. In law firms, for example, studies have shown, women* paralegals are expected to perform supportive roles, whereas male* paralegals are more likely to be able to focus on executive tasks. These supportive tasks often include dealing with a difficult client, cheerleading superiors and helping colleagues. Thus emotion work is provided through these tasks and additionally through masking any potential disagreement with this division of roles (Jones, 2008). This double bind also unfolds when studying women* executives and the expectation of being assertive to be taken seriously while at the same time being expected to be warm and kind, to be likeable (Ross-Smith et al., 2007). This double bind is not only experienced by women* and as mentioned, male employees working in traditionally female-considered industries, like early childhood education or

nursing, are also faced with contradicting norms (Lupton, 2000; Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). However, these instances are over all fewer. Only 15% of all nurses within the European Union are male (eurostat, 2023b) and just 4% of all early childhood educators are male (eurostat, 2023e). Additionally, the backlash that men* experience working in feminine-deemed occupations is less harsh than women* working in male-considered occupations. This can be explained due to the intersection of men* holding higher status position overall which is often referred to as the "glass escalator", describing an over appreciation of male participation in female-deemed occupations (Dill et al., 2016). The underlying assumption is, that these tasks are considered so low that men* need to be additionally incentivized to do them, as it is normal for women to do these low-esteemed jobs.

This double standard of appreciation is another expression of this double bind of emotion norms. It exposes how women* are penalized for engaging in behaviors that are considered male (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Heilman and Okimoto explored the social penalties women* face when demonstrating assertiveness and ambition at work. Women* are perceived as less likeable and cold when demonstrating agentic behaviors like competition and self-promotion. The consequence of this double bind has been described as a " no-win" situation (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Adhering to traditional gender norms, allowing for higher chances of likeability, increases the chances of being considered incompetent, too soft or emotional. However, adhering to corporate emotions norms, allowing for higher career development, increases the chances of being considered too strict and ultimately disliked, that leads to socio-economic penalties.

Considering the double-bind from a racial perspective, Wingfield (2010) explored how emotional expression at work is centered around privileging white employees and disproportionally disadvantaging individuals of color. She exposed how the expression of the same emotion is perceived differently, when performed by a white or person of color (Wingfield, 2010). Anger expressed by white employees is more likely to be interpreted as being assertive, constructive and reasonable, whereas anger expressed by employees of color is more likely to be considered as inappropriate and unconstructive. This leaves individuals of color to engage in additional emotion work, to adhere to these expectations. Similarly Roxana Harlow (2003) exposed these dynamics within academia by exposing how black professors are faced with additional emotion management fueled by the stereotypes, questioning their authority and intellectual capabilities (Harlow, 2003).

Exploring this double bind of emotion norms at the intersections with class, the corporate expectation for a downregulation of emotional expression (Hochschild, 2012) places individuals socialized in a working-class context, which tends to emphasize emotional expression, in a position where they must engage in greater emotional regulation, compared to individuals socialized in middle-class or upper-class contexts (Hochschild, 2012).

*Status difference*

Turning to examples of disparities in emotion work provision due to status difference of interaction participants (Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978). One way to reveal the status hierarchy of an interaction is by identifying which participant exhibits more interpersonal sensitivity (Snodgrass, 1985). Sara Snodgrass (1985) explored how women*, due to their lower status, develop heightened development of emotional regulation skills. They do this to anticipate and subsequently circumvent any potential negative consequences of defying emotion norms towards a higher status interaction partner. This is however not unique to women* and Snodgrass exposed that it is the status position that influences this interpersonal sensitivity and not gender. She demonstrated that women* of higher status did not demonstrate this sensitivity towards other women* of lower status. Applying this framework to understand which occupations are considered as low status, exposes thus another avenue to unequal division of emotion work to subjugated individuals. Returning to the above-mentioned Figure 1, that describes female labor participation across occupational groups within the European Union, one group falls out of Hochschild's EL-job classification: elementary occupations. These are occupations requiring little training and include jobs like cleaning personnel, garbage collectors and kitchen helpers. These roles are defined by requiring little education and characterized with a female* overrepresentation of 61%. However, considering emotion work targeted towards inter-organizational this occupational group requires emotion work. Taking the examples of cleaning personnel in a corporate environment; these types of interactions predominantly require the suppression of any emotional expression, trying to be as little noticeable to others while cleaning the office space (Costas, 2022). Costas (2022) illustrates how cleaning personnel, for instance, are expected to suppress emotional expression to blend into the background, making their emotional labor focused on minimizing presence rather than displaying friendliness or enthusiasm, as seen in other EL-jobs.

To conclude, women* as low status individuals are predominantly responsible for providing emotional labor and emotion work. This experience is not homogenous and how the regulation of emotions impact individuals varies by their intersecting identity characteristics.

*Consequences of emotion regulation*

The consequences of employees regulating their emotions at work have been researched on an individual level focusing on mental health outcomes, and on an organizational level impacting job satisfaction and turnover rates (Diefendorff et al., 2013). I will be focusing on the former and will draw on literature that discusses the current discourse on the negative consequences of emotion regulation at work and present evidence suggesting the opposite and emotion work to be having positive consequences for employees. Building upon the above-mentioned status dimensions, that unfold during interactions (Hochschild, 2012; Kemper, 1978) suggests that the consequences of emotion work are equally relegated in relation to one's status.

The majority of studies exploring the consequences of emotion work at work explore employees engaged in interactive work, which is predominately found within the service sector (Bulan et al., 1997; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Hochschild, 2012; Johnson & Spector, 2007; Zapf & Holz, 2006). Building upon the assumption that interactions also include inter-organizational interactions, these consequences are indicative, that these consequences are also present in roles, that are not within the service sector as the same mechanisms are at play when interacting with colleagues, subordinates or superiors (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002).

There is no clear overarching agreement that all emotion work is negative or positive for employees well-being, however there is consensus that emotion management as an intrapsychic process, requires effort and energy, as one must firstly learn, interpret and subsequently react to the feeling rules at play in a work environment. Subsequently, the underlying assumption is that the higher the frequency of interactions, requiring more energy as more emotion regulation has happened, the higher the potential for negative outcomes for employees. The negative outcomes on employees are focused on studying burnout which is comprised of three elements: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and a reduced sense of personal achievement (Maslach et al., 2001).

Consequences of emotional labor and emotion work are often studied by the type of emotion regulation strategy being utilized (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Erickson & Ritter, 2001;

Hochschild, 2012; Johnson & Spector, 2007) with deep acting compared to surface acting, having the most academic consensus on its negative outcomes on employees. Several meta-studies have linked surface acting with stress and negatively influencing employee well-being (Bono & Vey, 2005; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013) solidifying Hochschild's (2012) initial investigation into American flight attendants and bill collectors identifies in which she claims, both emotion regulation strategies to be holding the potential for negative consequences. Hochschild linked surface acting or emotional dissonance to higher levels emotional exhaustion and deep acting to inauthenticity but warned that especially deep acting to be posing a great psychological risk as it increases the potential of losing a sense of self. Due to the repeated regulation of felt emotions to adhere to contextual feeling rules, the connection to one self's true feelings is weakened.

Erickson and Wharton (1997) studying specifically the relationship between feelings of inauthenticity at work, a proxy measure for identifying surface acting, and depressed feelings have found similarly negative results. The more employees reported to feel inauthentic at work the greater their depressed mood was (Erickson & Wharton, 1997). Similarly, Zapf and Holz (2006) have found that emotional dissonance, meaning faking felt emotions (i.e. surface acting), to be linked to greater levels of emotional exhaustion. In their analysis they differentiate between the expression or suppression of either positive and negative emotions, indicating that not all type of emotion regulation to be holding the same potential strain and concluded that particularly the suppression of negative emotions to have a negative impact (Zapf & Holz, 2006). In a later study from Erickson and Ritter (2001), a similar result is suggested. They found that the suppression of feelings of agitation (anger, irritation and nervousness) to influence burnout compared to negative (sad, guilty, helpless, ashamed) or positive (happy, calm, proud) emotions (Erickson & Ritter, 2001). Contrasting these findings Glomb and Tews (2004) found that emotional exhaustion is linked to the suppression and faking of any emotion, regardless of being positive or negative. There is some but far less evidence on the positive effects of emotion regulation but Humphrey and colleagues ( 2015) have connected deep acting with beneficial effects for employee well-being.

To conclude, the provision of emotional labor - emotion work considered as an official part of the job - and emotion work that goes beyond formal requirements - implied through individuals identity - falls predominantly on the shoulders of women* and other socially marginalized groups. Jobs requiring emotional labor are industries that society values from a moral

standpoint, but this does not translate this into adequate remuneration or working conditions. EL-jobs are characterized by being generally underpaid, understaffed and faced by high turn-over rates. Individuals at the intersections of gender, class and race – such as women*, working-class individuals and people of color - are mostly overrepresented in these industries. Considering the potential negative mental health consequences that emotion work entail, the low remuneration and valorization, the question arises, why are individuals engaging in this work and why are they willing to do this?

# 3   Explaining Willingness to engage in Emotion Work at Work

Having established that emotion work is predominantly provided by individuals occupying subjugated positions in society, in this section I explore the factors that may drive individuals' willingness to do so. I focus explicitly on emotion work as an unpaid, yet implicitly required behavior, driven by cultural norms and is connected to employees' identities, in contrast to emotional labor, typically formally compensated.

Building upon chapter 2.2.2. in which I establish different approaches studying emotion work, I utilize the same structure and lenses on emotion work to specifically identify their stances to explain why individuals might be more or less willing to engage in emotion work. Firstly, I present how socio-economic factors have been studied by sociologists to understand individuals willingness. Secondly, I present how organizational aspects like working conditions, leading to job (dis-)satisfaction has been studied by organizational behaviorists and lastly, provide the psychological perspective that has identified certain personality traits to impact willingness. I conclude by I exploring how gender as an identity category has been utilized to predict emotion work at work to subsequently argue, that taking an understanding of gender as a performative and dynamic identity construct, represent a gap in this literature that my approach is filling.

## 3.1   Existing Explanations and Literature Review

As mentioned above, sociologists have studied emotion work and its formalized version, emotional labor, predominantly by trying to ask who provides it. Thus, providing extensive insights into understanding the provision of this work. Central to sociologists research is looking at factors like education, income and occupation as aspects shaping individuals' behaviors. Thus, dissecting more specifically the sociological argumentation to why individuals are engaging in emotion work, leads to looking at the socio-economic status of those who provide it. Through Arlie R. Hochschild (2012) seminal work in which she interviewed both male and female flight attentats about their work experiences in terms of emotion regulation at work, identified how their status position played an important role. Hochschild introduced the concept of a status shield (see "status shield" section 2.2.1) through which she explained that individuals with a higher status are relatively more protected of defying societal norms, thus impacting their willingness to regulate less. Conversely, individuals with a lower socio-economic status, who are not protected from these societal expectations, might feel a greater

obligation to comply to societal, thus demonstrate a greater willingness, to avoid potential social or economic penalties for non-compliance. Women, as holding a lower status in society, would thus demonstrate a higher willingness to engage in emotion work, do circumvent potential backlash from deviating from societal norms.

Organizational behaviorists, studying emotion regulation at work from a functional perspective are led by understanding the purpose of this behavior. Their stance on influencing factors of one's willingness is thus more specifically focused on factors within the organization. Subsequently, factors like working conditions that influence for example employees' level of job satisfaction (Casu et al., 2021; Diefendorff et al., 2013; Grandey, 2000) has been studied to significantly impact someone's willingness to engage in emotion work. Employees that are satisfied with their role and responsibilities are linked to feel more positively connected with their work environment and thus more implied to engage in additional emotion work. This includes how much autonomy individuals (Casu et al., 2021) have at work or how many overtime hours need to be done, impacting job satisfaction, which subsequently impacts willingness to engage in extra, unremunerated work, like emotion work. Thus, overall how just an organization is treating it's employees (Moorman, 1991; Thompson et al., 2020) has been shown to have an impact how willing an employee is willing to give extra, without being paid for, a key tenant of emotion work at work.

Building upon the psychological perspective that predominantly concerns itself with the questions of what emotion regulation does to individuals, factors personality and mood to impact different levels of willingness. Psychologists have identified how individuals with certain personality traits seem to experience fewer negative consequences due to emotion work compared to other personality traits. Personality traits like expressiveness or extraversion (Tornau & Frese, 2013) have been suggested to impact individuals willingness' to engage in integrative emotion work at work, as it is congruent with their personality (Bono & Vey, 2007). Psychologist have also explored how moods impact emotion work by suggesting that the choice of the emotion regulation strategy used (deep acting or surface acting) to be linked to one's mood (Liu et al., 2008). Thus, surface acting has been linked to negative affectivity or depressed moods. Emotional intelligence in this context has been studied as a resource, shaping individuals' willingness to engage in deep acting emotion work (Grandey, 2000; Liu et al., 2008) has been linked to heightened willingness to engage in emotion work. It is suggested that individuals with high emotional intelligence are more equipped to regulate their emotions, thus

less energy is needed to engage in emotion work. Subsequently, those individuals are more willing to engage in emotion work as their personality equips them find it easier to fulfill emotional requirements.

All three perspectives explore aspects that are crucial parts of one's identity. Socio-economic factors that dictate one's status position in society, working conditions that shape how just employees feel treated and personality traits speak one a person's ability of emotion regulation are important factors, when understanding the willingness to engage in this behavior. Gender, as an important aspect of one's identity has been studied to understand is link to emotion work. However, how this identity category is understood and subsequently applied is in my view limiting the understanding of these complex behavioral dimensions and thus represents a gap in this literature, which I will explore in the subsequent chapter.

### 3.1.1 Gender and identity in emotion work research

Many have explored gender as an influencing factor for emotion work (Bulan et al., 1997; Hochschild, 2012; Johnson & Spector, 2007; Jones, 2008; Lively, 2013; Pugliesi & Shook, 1997; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Most studies however focus on exploring gender by assuming it as a fixed identity characteristic, comparing differences between a binary construction of gender comprising of cis-women and cis-men. There is consensus about the cultural construction of gender as an identity category, impacting how individuals are socialized into different roles shaping behaviors, however, assume these identities as fixed. To my knowledge, there is no literature that utilizes gender in relation to emotion work, built upon the above definition of gender as an identity category that is performed through interactions, intersected by other identity categories questioning this fixedness. Utilizing Butler's performativity arguing the performative nature of gender in combination with West & Zimmermans description of gender being continuously reconstructed through an interactional doing, I question this fixedness.

To account for this, I propose two avenues to explore how different identities varying by their gender, socio economic status and racialization impacts their willingness to engage in unformalized, unremunerated emotion work at work. Through the understanding of gender as status construct, I apply this status framework, to explore other subjugated position based on class and race individually and at their different intersections. Depending on what aspects of

one's identity, socialized role or resources is drawn from, when contemplating to engage in emotion work, I argue will yield different results.

To support this approach, I draw from sociological and psychological theories that posit on the one hand one's social role and on the other hand one's resources as shaping individuals' willingness or conversely unwillingness. I formulate hypotheses that present two opposing perspectives and view both as potentially valid explanations for driving this behavior. I argue that the performative nature of identity enables individuals to draw from different aspects of their identity, when asked about engaging in this behavior. I further explore how a traditional gender performance might impact the willingness examining heterogeneity within the same role socialization and additionally, introduce literature speaking to cultural variations impacting demands placed upon different identities.

### 3.1.2 Thesis contribution

With this thesis I seek to contribute to the study of emotion work in several ways. Firstly, through the adoption of a performative and intersectional understanding of gender and identity, I challenge the traditional approach, assuming, these categories as fixed. Drawing from theories of Butler's (2007) performativity and West and Zimmerman' (1987) "doing gender", I propose an identity conceptualization that is culturally constructed and context dependent. Through exploring different identities, comprised of gender, socio-economic status and their racial/ethnic group belonging, I consider multiple identity categories and explore these at their different intersections. I additionally explore these identities across different cultural contexts by analyzing cross-country variations impacting the willingness to engage in emotion work at work. I additionally explore heterogeneity within the same gender identity by considering variations of traditional and religious values held. Secondly, this thesis contributes to emotion work literature by exploring it beyond specific industries such as service industries or care giving industries and examine it across industries and varying cultural contexts. To my knowledge the majority of emotion work research is exploring this behavior within a US and Asian labor context, thus my approach, looking within the European labor market will contribute and add nuance from a cultural perspective. Finally, with my analysis I take an approach that allows for a nuanced analysis to understand how different aspects of one's identity influence behavior. Drawing from Social Role theory (Eagly, 1987) and Conservation

of Resources of theory (Hobfoll, 2001) I account for different aspects of identities that individuals might draw from, when considering to engage in emotion work.

## 3.2 Willing because of one's social role

In this section I draw from social role theory and expectation states theory to develop hypotheses which posit that subjugated individuals are more willingness to engage in emotion work due to the role they take in society. With these I argue that, when individuals consider engaging in emotion work, they draw from their self-concept in terms of their social role that they have been socialized into.

### 3.2.1 Social Role Theory

Social role theory, as proposed by social psychologists Alice Eagly and Wendy Wood (2011) posits that behaviors and attitudes are fundamentally shaped by the social roles individuals occupy in society. These roles draw from cultural norms and subsequently prescribe behaviors to different categories such as gender, socio economic status and race (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Eagly and Wood (2011) suggest that individuals internalize these norms via socialization processes, which subsequently shape their identity to be aligned with these roles (Wood & Eagly, 2015). Individuals, according to social role theory derive a sense of self through this role identification (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Consequently, these role identifications shape identity and individuals' behaviors, including at the workplace. Applying this for example to gendered behaviors would explain that through the socialization of women* to adopt roles that emphasize nurturing and communal behaviors and emotional expression, aligns with the societal expectations of what is considered feminine (Brody, 2000). Thus, identity understood through this lens of occupying a social role, can be understood as a motivator of how individuals engage with others, including at work. Applying this to behaviors at work, would suggest, that individuals would be more willing to engage in behaviors that are in accordance to their social roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

As established above, emotion work entails the regulation of ones feelings and their display thereof to conform to contextual demands. As women and individuals of racial minorities are socialized to fulfill supportive and accommodating roles (Hochschild, 2012; Wharton, 2009) they might also feel a greater sense of obligation or willingness to engage in behaviors that are

fulling their role identity (Grandey, 2000). Thus, women or other identities socialized into deferent roles, would be exapted, in order stay true to their role, to express a greater willingness to engage in emotion regulation in contextual demands.

### 3.2.2 Expectation States Theory

Expectation states theory (Berger, 1972), originally formulated to explore status dynamics in social interactions has been applied as a framework, to understand how status also affects emotion and its regulation thereof (Lively, 2013). Similarly to social role theory, expectation states theory, suggests, that individuals' behaviors are shaped by societal norms, that are linked to one's status held in society. It however specifically focuses on social interactions and thus, when someone occupies a low-status position the societal expectation encourages to conform to take on supportive and accommodating roles for the benefit of the interaction partner holding a higher-status position (Ridgeway, 2001). The difference to social role theory lies within the reasoning behind conforming to this expected behavior. Social role theory would suggest individuals want to fulfill their roles, that at the same time represent their identity, whereas expectation states theory would suggest that it is rather their sense of obligation to adhere to these norms. Applying this to the willingness to engage emotion work in the workplace, would also suggest a higher willingness to engage in such emotion regulation work, however due to fulfilling expectations rather than fulfilling a role. This ties into Hochschild's conception of a status shield, mentioned above that equally indicates the responsibility of emotion work provision according to perceived status in society (Hochschild, 2012). Thus, both theories suggest that identities are linked with roles that society projects on them, with however expectation states theory suggesting that the adherence is out of obligation rather than want to fulfill ones identity role.

### 3.2.3 Hypotheses (1/2/3)

Thus, drawing on both Social Role Theory (Eagly, 1987), which suggests that individuals' behaviors align with culturally prescribed roles, and Expectation States Theory (Berger, 1972), that suggests hierarchical positions in group dynamics and behaviors, I hypothesize that subjugated individuals will report a higher willingness to engage in emotion work. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

*H1: "Female\* identifying individuals will report a higher willingness to engage in emotion work at work then male\* identifying individuals."*

*H2: "Individuals from a low socio-economic class will report a higher willingness to engage in emotion work at work than individuals from a higher socio-economic class."*

*H3: "Individuals from racial/ethnic minority groups will report a higher willingness to engage in emotion work at work than individuals who are not."*

## 3.3    Unwilling because of one's resources

Conversely, using Conservation of Resources Theory (Hobfoll, 2001) and Kemper's Interaction Theory (Kemper, 1978), which suggest that behaviors are shaped by the resources available and desire to protect them, I formulate alternative hypotheses, that grounds on the assumption that individuals' willingness to engage in emotion work is linked to the resources available to them. This suggests for individuals, faced by social inequalities and overall subjugated positions in society, to demonstrate lower willingness to engage in additional work at work, including emotion work.

### 3.3.1    Conservation of Resources Theory

Originated within the field of psychology exploring stress, Conservation of Resources (COR) theory provides a framework to explore the willingness to engage in emotion work from a resources perspective. COR states that individuals seek to obtain, keep, protect and nurture those resources and thus impacts their behavior (Hobfoll, 2001). Resources are broadly defined as encompassing objects, health, financial assets and extended personal energy levels, which is relevant for emotion work (Halbesleben et al., 2007). Thus, considering this within the workplace, employees would abstain from doing additional tasks that would drain their resources without any return, like a good job performance evaluation, promotion or raise. Emotion management which is required when engaging in emotion work requires mental and physical resources. The depletion of resources is especially relevant for individuals that are already experiencing stress due to their subjugated position in society, as women\*, working-class and individuals of racial minorities are. Consequently, considering subjugated individuals that are already taxed by structural oppression, as women\* for example are, would suggest lowering their willingness to engage in additional resources draining activities that are not remunerated (Cheung, 2007; Crenshaw, 1991).

### 3.3.2 Kemper's Interaction Theory

Kemper's interaction theory (Kemper, 1978) posits emotions arise in relation to one's access to power and status. Power in this context refers to the level of influence one holds to control others and status to prestige and respect one receives. Within a work context, individuals hold different levels of power and status, impacting individual's emotional responses. Kemper suggest that in social interactions, in which individuals feel a lack of power or status, negative emotions are likely to arise, influencing those subjugated individuals willingness to comply with societal expectations that would reinforce this position. The power imbalances of status hierarchies thus would suggest to impact how willing an individual is to abide to contextual demands, as emotion work requires. Women*, working class individuals or individuals of racial/ethnic minorities are faced by holding a lower status position, lacking access to power to change this. Kemper argues, if individuals identify in this lower status position, behaviors that would reproduce that position would be less likely engaged in. Emotion work, defined by its under valorization, implied through norms, provided by those holding a lower status shield, would fall into behaviors that would reproduce this low status position. Subsequently, individuals willingness to engage in this behavior would suggestibly be lower.

### 3.3.3 Hypotheses (4/5/6)

Thus, drawing from Conservation of Resources Theory and Kemper's Interaction Theory, I hypothesize, that individuals situated in subjugated position, will demonstrate a lower willingness to engage in emotion work at work, due to their already taxed resources and the potential additional drain this work would entail. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed, opposing those based on social role theory and Expectation states theory:

*H4: "Female* identifying individuals will report a lower willingness to engage in emotion work at work then male* socialized individuals."*

*H5: "Individuals from a low socio-economic class will report a lower willingness to engage in emotion work at work then individuals from a higher socio-economic class."*

*H6: "Individuals from racial/ethnic minority groups will report a lower willingness to engage in emotion work at work then individuals that are not."*

Exploring this from an intersectional perspective, both positions suggested above can be applied. Considering women at the intersection of their socio-economic status and racialization will either predict lower or higher levels of willingness to engage in emotion work, compared to individuals not positioned in these categories. Depending on what aspects of one's identity are being drawn from the following variations of the above hypotheses are proposed:

*H1a/H4a: "Women\* from a low socio-economic class will report a higher/lower willingness to engage in emotion work at work then individuals that are not."*

*H3a/H6a: "Women\* belonging to racial/ethnic minorities will report a higher/lower willingness to engage in emotion work at work then male\* socialized individuals."*

## 3.4 Cultural Variation

Considering how gender and identities are contextual and shaped by cultural norms, different cultural context can be expected to shape individuals'' willingness to engage in emotion work. In this section I draw from Hofstede's research into different cultural dimensions impacting work behaviors to develop variations of the above hypotheses.

Applying Hofstede's cultural dimensions of *Power Distance* (indicating the acceptance of unequal division or power), *Individualism* (indicating the importance of the individual over the collective), *Uncertainty Avoidance* (indicating the importance of traditional norms) and *Success Orientation (*indicating competition over community and social cohesion), as presented in chapter 2.1.3. will guide identifying variations of individuals' willingness due to the cultural context they live in. This is built on the assumption, that the performance of identity, is shaped by cultural context and thus potentially predicting variation between the same role socialization and position of resources, depending on where individuals live.

Power distance indicates the acceptance of unequal divisions of power in a society from the perspective of those having comparatively less access to power. Thus, low status individuals living countries scoring high in this dimension can be expected to be more accepting of their position and being more willing to engage in accordance with their social role, compared to

individuals living countries scoring lower. This will however vary, what aspect of their identity respondents draw from, when surveyed as outlined above.

Individualistic countries as mentioned above, put the emphasis on the individual rather than collective, thus can be assumed to have an impact on behaviors at work including one's willingness to engage in emotion work. An individualistic country norm could therefore suggest that individuals are less willing to engage in behaviors benefitting others over the self. Again, depending on what aspect of one's identity is drawn from, answer will vary. Country specific cultural norms about the importance of the individual over the collective likely influences how individuals are contemplating their willingness to answer to someone else's needs. The "west" is, in a global comparison, described to be more individual focused then collectivist like for example India or China (Hofstede, 2011). Within Europe however also large variations exist in the level of individualist versus collectivist focusses suggesting that individuals within the European region will show variations depending their cultural emphasize on the individual or collective. Individuals living in countries where the culture prescribes the collective to be more important than the individual, suggests for a higher willingness to engage in discretionary deemed behaviors like OCBs, then in societies holding individualism higher, regardless of other identity characteristics. Thus differences between or within gender needs to be explored within similar cultural notions of collectivism versus individualism (Fischer & Manstead, 2000).

Countries scoring high on the dimension of avoiding uncertainty are considered more traditional, more resistant to norms changing and thus utilized as a measure to identify cultures, in which gender norms might be more conservative. This dimension could indicate if individuals living in countries scoring high, might be drawing more from their role, supporting social role theory, rather than their resources.

Valuing success over the communal well-being, is also relevant when considering willingness to engage in emotion work as it can, similarly to individualism, impact how individuals apply this at work and their willingness to engage in actions that are not specifically remunerated but benefit the organization.

### 3.4.1 Hypotheses Variations

Thus, building upon the above hypotheses 1 to 6, drawn from social role theory and conservation of resources theory, the following variant hypothesis are proposed, exploring cultural variations:

**Women**\*

*H1b/H4b:" Women\* living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Power Distance will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Power Distance."*

*H1c/H4c:" Women\* living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Uncertainty Avoidance will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Uncertainty Avoidance."*

*H1d/H4d:" Women\* living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Individualism will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Individualism."*

*H1e/H4e:" Women\* living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Success Valorization will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Success Valorization."*

**Socio economic status**

*H2b/H5b:" Individuals with a low socio-economic status, living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Power Distance will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Power Distance."*

*H2c/H5c:" Individuals with a low socio-economic status, living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Uncertainty Avoidance will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Uncertainty Avoidance."*

*H2d/H5d:" Individuals with low socio-economic status, living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Individualism will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Individualism."*

*H2e/H5e:":" Individuals with low socio-economic status living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Success Valorization will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Success Valorization."*

## Racial/ethnic minority belonging

*H3b/H6b:"Individuals of racial/ethnic minorities, living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Power Distance will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Power Distance."*

*H3c/H6c:" Individuals of racial/ethnic minorities, living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Uncertainty Avoidance will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Uncertainty Avoidance."*

*H3d/H6d:" Individuals of racial/ethnic minorities, living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Individualism will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Individualism."*

*H3e/H6e:" Individuals of racial/ethnic minorities, status living in a country scoring high on the cultural dimensions Success Valorization will be more/less willing to engage in emotion work at work than women\* living in countries scoring low on Success Valorization."*

## 3.5 Traditional Gender Performance – Heterogeneity Through Self-schematic Beliefs

In this section, I build upon social role theory and integrate psychological understandings of self-schematic beliefs to explore how different aspects of one's identity influences behavior. Self-schematic beliefs refer to aspects of identity, or "schemata", that one utilizes to categorize oneself, based on socially prescribed characteristics, like gender (Markus, 1977). I utilize this to explore how certain aspects of one's identity might be more dominant than other categories, leading to heterogeneity within the same role socialization. I showcase this on the identity category of gender and develop hypotheses positing, that individuals that demonstrate a comparatively more traditional gender performance will demonstrate a different willingness to engage in emotion work, compared to individuals that do not, due to their socialized role adherence.

### 3.5.1 Self-schematic Believes and Traditional Gender Performance

From a psychological perspective, the adherence to the socially prescribed role depends on the so called "self-schematic" believes of oneself (Markus, 1977). Depending on which identity characteristics are deemed as an important factor of one's identity (for example race, class, gender), will influence how resistant to changes of these socially prescribed norms one is. If someone's self-schematic believes of gender are central to one's identity, traditional gender norms are more likely to hold importance. The upholding of gender stereotyped roles is built upon these mechanisms of self-identity, constantly (re)constructing gender norms within oneself but equally placing expectations upon others. If others present and perform gender in a normative deviant way, this behavior will represent a threat to one's identity, if self-schematically built upon gender (Markus, 1977). Thus, gender as performance holds the potential to continuously be reinstated to protect one's self-schematic ideas one has about oneself and equally reinforces societal gender norms.

Combining social role theory with self-schematic believes, is one avenue that can explain why not all individuals socialized into a certain role, will adopt it the same way, or behave the same way. Thus, building upon social role theory that proposes that behavioral differences between women* and men* are adopted through socialization processes, those individuals, that strongly identify gender- stereotypical values, can be expected to stereotypically perform their gender. Subsequently, women that strongly identify with helping as part of their identity, compared to

women that do not, can be considered to stereotypically perform their gender. Similarly, men, that strongly identify with success as part of their identity, compared to men, that do not identify that strongly, can be considered to perform their gender more stereotypically.

Subsequently, building upon the assumption that some individuals report to hold traditional values high, in combination with reporting to hold gender stereotyped values of helping for women* and success for men*, will report different willingness to engage in emotion work at work than individuals of the same gender socialization being less traditional and not holding these values.

### 3.5.2   Hypotheses (7/8)

Drawing on Markus's (1977) concept of self-schematic beliefs, which suggest identity categories as self-identification reference points, in combination with social role theory, I will propose the following hypothesis, implying variations within same gender role socialization:

*H7: "Women* that stereotypically perform their gender are more willing to engage in emotion work at work compared to women* not performing their gender stereotypically."*

*H8: "Men* that strongly identify with traditional & success and competitiveness values, are more willing to engage in emotion work at work compared to men* not identifying with these values."*

# 4 Empirical strategy

Central to emotion work research is how it is operationalized. Thus, I start this section by presenting how I build upon the concept of Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB), which shares key tenants of emotion work, to measure individuals' willingness to engage in it. Firstly, I provide an introduction into the concept overall and conclude how it can serve as a proxy measure for my analysis. This chapter continues by detailing the research method applied, the data used and concludes with an explanation of the regression models that I apply.

## 4.1 Organizational Citizenship Behavior a measure for Emotion Work

*"If needed, how willing would you be to take on extra responsibilities at work without being paid more? [...] (European Social Survey, 2020, p. 88).*

Organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) refer to employee behaviors that go above and beyond their specific role tasks. As the above quote demonstrates, a key aspect of organizational citizenship behavior is that it is provided by employees at work, without being specifically remunerated for it. OCBs are not specifically part of the compensation or salary system, nor are they explicitly controlled upon through for example employee evaluations by superiors.

Thus, these behaviors are considered to be provided upon the discretion of an employee (Organ et al., 2006). Although these behaviors are not being paid for, they have shown to be beneficial for organizations (Organ et al., 2006). Organizational research has identified that a steady stream of OCBs contribute to the efficiency and effective functioning of an organization thus clearly being valuable (Organ et al., 2006). OCBs have shown to decrease employee turnover rates (Chen et al., 1998) and organizational research understands OCBs as a productivity measure (Podsakoff et al., 2000). Some have labeled it the "qualitative" or extra-role productivity measure as an extension to the "quantitative" productivity measures like sales targets or positive customer ratings (Organ et al., 2006). Others refer to OCBs as *contextual performance* (Campbell & Knapp, 2001; Pulakos et al., 1988) *pro-social organizational behaviors* (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986) or *extra-role behavior* (Van Dyne et al., 1995) which are all trying to understand the discretionary deemed behaviors provided by employees for the benefit, or when explicitly abstaining from such behaviors, detriment of an organization (Organ et al., 2006). Thus, a key concern of organizational research has been, to understand the factors

influencing the willingness to engage in OCBs to ultimately optimize and increase them (Organ et al., 2006). Attitudes and personality have been a key aspect of studying the influencing factors of OCBs, which will be elaborated on after different varieties of OCBs are introduced.

The different types of OCBs are grouped by who the behavior is directed to (Williams & Anderson, 1991). OCBs directed towards individuals are referred to as OCB-I and behaviors directed towards the wider organization as OCB-O (Williams & Anderson, 1991). What can be considered as an OCB has been explored across different fields ranging from organizational psychology,  management to human resources, with up to 40 different measures being suggested (LePine et al., 2002) to capture these behaviors (Organ et al., 2006). The number of measures supported by empirical evidence is however smaller and includes OCBs referred to as helping, compliance, sportsmanship, and civic virtue which are described as follows:

*Helping Behavior*

Helping behaviors, often also referred to as altruistic OCB, are offered directly to a person (OCB-I), a colleague, customer or superior.  It involves voluntarily helping others with, or preventing the occurrence of, work-related problems (Podsakoff et al., 2000). This can include specific tasks but also showing emotional support through appraisal of colleagues achievements or lending an open ear to help through a challenging moment, often referred to as OCB through cheerleading (Podsakoff et al., 2000). This behavior can also mean, anticipating potential circumstances and acting accordingly to prevent possible problems. This behavior is considered to indirectly benefit the organization through helping on the unit and/or individual level (Organ et al., 2006).

*Compliance*

Compliant behaviors within an OCB framework refer to going above the bare minimum of expectations at work. It includes behaviors like taking few breaks, refraining from unnecessary amounts of private conversations or low levels of absenteeism. This behavior is speaking to the 'spirit' of someone's willingness to adhere to the rules and norms at work, rather than just following the rules (Organ et al., 2006).

*Sportsmanship*

This behavior refers to the willingness of confronting challenges at work in 'good faith', by keeping a positive attitude. It is often defined by employees choice to refrain from complaining in difficult or challenging work situations (Konovsky & Organ, 1996).

*Civic virtue*

This includes behaviors like staying up to date with company news, voluntarily attending events and meetings to stay "in the loop" of company developments. It includes thinking of and contributing ideas how the organization as whole can improve. It is considered as participating in a constructive way for the bettering of the organization as a whole (Konovsky & Organ, 1996). This can also include challenging standards and norms with the aim to improve the organization overall which is sometimes referred to as the "challenging" type of civic virtue OCB (Organ et al., 2006).

The following OCBs have been established by the literature as different measures of the above-mentioned behaviors, are however supported with fewer empirical studies:

*Organizational loyalty*

This behavior refers to how devoted an employee is to a company, showing for example pride to be working at the organization, telling their surroundings about their employer in an appreciative manner or defending the organization from outside critique (George & Brief, 1992).

*Self - development*

This refers to trying to work on oneself to improve skills and usually means taking a course or training, which was not specifically prescribed by one's superior or organization and attended out of the own initiative to develop competencies (Katz, 1964).

Organ et al. (2006) utilize Weiss & Adlers' conceptualization of "situational scriptedness" to describe in which situations organizational citizenship behaviors are more likely to be performed. This conceptualization describes certain social situations as *weak*, thus more loosely scripted in terms of behavioral norms, and others as *strong*, calling for stricter behavioral uniformity. A typical strong situation would be a funeral for which clear behavioral norms have been established and personality traits, personal attitudes or gender would be less likely to

influence behaviors (Organ et al., 2006). As opposed to a weak situation, in which individuals are freer to choose their behaviors and thus it is calling upon their own discretion which behaviors to demonstrate. It is in these 'weak' situations that Organ et al. (2006) situate OCB to be unfolding, which is a central point for my argumentation to measure emotion work through OCBs.

Emotion norms unfold in these 'weak' situations and thus status dynamics (i.e. Hochschild's "status shield" or Kemper's status interaction theory) in interactions unfold. Social psychology identifies that personality and attitudes are more likely to be expressed in weak situations (Organ et al., 2006) thus making this, as mentioned above, one of the focal avenues for organizational research to understand variance in those behaviors (Chiaburu et al., 2011). It is in these 'weak' situations that I posit that gender performativity unfolds. When contextual demands fall back upon personality and attitudes, gender and identity performativity come into play. The degree to which one identifies to different identity characteristics (race, class, gender) as part of oneself self-schematic beliefs varies and will inform variant behaviors within different individuals (Markus, 1977).

To conclude, I argue that organizational citizenship behaviors can be understood as a form of emotion work by building on Hochschild's distinction between emotion work and emotional labor in which she identifies the type of value (exchange or use) and context (corporate or home) which overlaps with defining characteristics of OCB. Emotion work is considered as a 'private' matter, unfolding in private interactions and is considered as valuable but not paid for. These are two key characteristics, that are shared by OCB. Firstly, organizational citizenship behaviors are defined by their 'extra-role' character and are provided beyond the official tasks and unfold in the 'unscripted' moments and interactions at work. In these less scripted moments societal norms unfold, and the "private" dynamics of two interaction partners, both potentially holding different status position, unfold. Thus, the public and private spheres are not separate spheres but are connected through our identities. Secondly, because OCBs are defined by their 'extra-role' characteristics, they are not paid for or nor part of benefit schemes. Although some have supported for these behaviors to be officially included, these is not an established practice. This distinction between official role tasks and unofficial roles tasks, is mirrored in Hochschild's differentiation between emotional labor, officially required emotion work, thus paid for and emotion work, unofficial emotion work, thus not paid. Thus, he regulation of emotions is shaped by societal expectation in which emotion norms unfold. Hence, both

organizational citizenship behaviors and emotion work, are not specifically demanded, but implicitly required and enforced through norms and are both valued but not paid. Subsequently, I believe due to these overlapping defining characteristics my argumentation, measuring willingness of emotion work through OCB, is a valid approach.

## 4.2   Method

Through multivariate linear regressions (Wooldridge, 2013), utilizing survey data from the European Social Survey round 10, published in 2021 (ESS ERIC, 2022), the hypotheses outlined in section 3 are tested. I apply two different regression models to explore emotion work/OCB willingness to be impacted by firstly, different identity characteristics and secondly by a traditional gender performance. Regression model 1 outlined below in chapter 4.4.1. is designed to measure the impact of gender, socio economic status and racial dimensions alone and at their different intersections. I extend this model through utilizing interaction regressions with four cultural dimensions. Thus, the cultural dimensions power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and success orientation are tested. Regression model 2 outlined below in chapter 4.4.2. is designed to measure the impact of a traditional gender performance on emotion work/OCB willingness, utilizing different value statements to explore heterogeneity within same gender role socialization. Respondents likely to perform a gender stereotypical gender performance are subsampled utilizing value statements indicating identification and importance of religion, tradition and gender stereotypes of helping (for women*) and success (for men*).

## 4.3   Data

### 4.3.1   European Social Survey (ESS)

The ESS contains cross-sectional individual-level data and has been conducted biannually since 2000 comprising of, to this date, 11 research waves. It is designed to capture attitudes and opinions of individuals within the European region with currently holding a national representative data set of 36 countries. The questionnaire is comprised of a core segment, that is extended through additional rotational modules capturing different topics. This thesis utilizes ESSs' 10th research wave, collected in 2020 and 2021, in which a variable capturing individuals' willingness to take on extra responsibilities and work without remuneration (OCB as EW) was

included through a rotational segment added to the core questionnaire that captured responses across 31 countries for a total of 31,902 respondents.

Individuals were asked to respond on a numerical scale ranging from 0 to 10, indicating how willing they would be to take on extra responsibilities, if needed, without being extra paid for. This variable allows me to analyze how one's identity impacts willingness to engage in emotion work through OCB from a national and cross-country representative perspective, whilst controlling for and investigating the role of other factors such as socio-economic factors, job satisfaction, perceived organizational justice and personal values.

Two editions (3.1. and 3.2.) of ESS round number 10 were conducted, with a key control variable, indicating employees' feeling of inclusion within their work team, only captured in edition 3. 2.. As this is a key variable to control for when considering behaviors, benefitting the overall organization, most regressions are conducted utilizing edition 3.2. capturing responses of 22 counties across the European region (full list see 4.3.2.) with a sample of 20,082. To circumvent potential variations due to lower sample sizes or different countries not being included, regressions were also run using both editions to test if effects deviate significantly.

Unfortunately, due to data constraints, this research project is limited to considering a binary construction of gender and is exploring the impact of identity utilizing the two social categories of men and women.

### 4.3.2    Cultural Dimensions – Hofstede and Ancestry

Hofstede's cultural dimensions as introduced in section 2.1.3. are utilized to explore cultural variation of individuals' willingness to engage in emotion work. These dimensions are particularly relevant for this analysis, as they firstly offer cross-country comparisons across many countries across the European region and secondly are specifically concerned with understanding how wider societal norms shape corporate, organizational norms. For this specific analysis I identify four of Hofstede's six cultural dimensions to provide additional cultural nuances. Thus, dimensions one (*Power Distance*), two (*Uncertainty Avoidance*), three (*Individualism vs Collectivism)* and four (*Motivation towards Achievement and Success*) are used as an indicator to explore the relationship of different cultural contexts with varying identities and its impact on willingness to engage in emotion work / OCB. A binary construction

of the top five scoring with the bottom five countries are created for comparisons, which is detailed in the subsequent chapter establishing operationalization.

Comparing individuals based on cultural dimensions can take many forms and Hofstede cultural dimensions are good fit when considering behaviors within a corporate context. For additional nuance and insights these cultural dimensions are compared and contextualized with information of respondents ancestry. Subsequently, I conduct additional cultural analysis, exploring how individuals' ancestry may affect different levels of emotion work / OCB. I specifically utilize ancestry to provide an additional form of cultural context, beyond a respondents' current residency but rather self-identification, where they are from. I create five ancestry-based variables, which are grouped in regions labelled Western European, Eastern European, South European, Southeastern European and Northern Europe.

### 4.3.3   Operationalization and summary statistics

**Main variables of interest**

*Emotion work / OCB*
Emotion work is measured using the variable called "wrkextra", which is asking individuals about their willingness to take on extra responsibilities without being paid more. Reponses are recorded on a numerical rating scale ranging between 0 (not at all wiling) and 10 (completely willing). It is utilized both as a continuous measure and in binary constructions to indicate different levels of willingness, as the below Table 3 and Table 4 demonstrates.

*Table 3 - Emotion work / OCB (edition 3.1. and 3.2. separate)*

|  | N | Mean | Min | Max |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| working extra without pay (*wrkextra*) | 24,326 | 5.41 | 0 | 10 |
| working extra without pay ( 3.2. edition) | 15,705 | 5.34 | 0 | 10 |

*Table 4 - Binary construction of different levels of willingness (both editions and 3.2. only)*

|  | N | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| High levels of OCB | 7,935 | 32.62% |
| Above average levels of OCB | 13,003 | 53.45% |
| High levels of OCB ( 3.2. edition) | 4,973 | 31.67% |
| Above average levels of OCB ( 3.2. edition) | 8,278 | 52.71% |

*Gender*

Gender is captured as a binary variable and is being utilized by creating a dummy variable indicating women. Gender composition of the sample is as the below Table 5 shows.

*Table 5 - Gender composition (both editions and 3.2. only)*

|  | N | Percent | Mean | Min | Max |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  | Age | | |
| Female (*gndr=2*) | 15,826 | 49.73% | 43.99 | 14 | 90 |
| Male (*gndr=1*) | 15,999 | 50.27% | 44.58 | 14 | 90 |
| Other | 77 | 0.24% | 52.41 | 17 | 77 |
| Male (3.2. edition) | 10,160 | 50.59% | 44.54 | 15 | 90 |
| Female (3.2. edition) | 9,922 | 49.41% | 44.32 | 15 | 90 |
| Other (3.2. edition) | - | - | - | - | - |

*Racial identity*

I define individuals who do not identify as being part of the dominant racial or ethnic group of the country they live in as "racialized individuals". While this definition is based on individuals' self-identification of racial/ethnic minority group belonging, I intentionally utilize the term "racialized" to highlight the "othering" process (Said, 2003). This is referring to how individuals of ethnic/racial minorities are often grouped and considered as 'another' group, out of the norm and majority group and their racial identity category made comparatively more visible (Dalal, 2002; Said, 2003). With this I intend to highlight and critique the construction of this higher visibility that individuals belonging to ethnic/racial minorities are often exposed to. Over 54% of individuals that report to be discriminated against their racial/ethnic identity also report to belong to a racial or ethnic minority. Thus, additionally individuals that experience racial discrimination are explored. Binary variables are constructed, indicating

"racialized individuals" versus individuals not identifying themselves as such, and individuals that have experienced racial discrimination compared to those that haven not.

*Table 6 - Binary variable indicating self-identification with majority ethnicity/race*

|  | **N** | **Percentage** | **Gender** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Racialized (*feethngr)* | 2,751 | 8.75% | 47.09% (w) / 52.91% (m) |
|  | 1,845 (3.2.) | 9.26% (3.2.) | 47.10% (w) / 52.90% (m) |
| Racial discrimination (*dscrrce*) | 445 | 1.39% | 40.81% (w) / 38.74% (3.2.) |
|  | 272 (3.2.) | 1.35% (3.2.) | 59.19% (m) / 62.26% (3.2.) |

The below table demonstrates the primary ancestry of "racialized individuals".

*Table 7 - Top 10 primary ancestry regions of racialized respondents*

|  | **N** | **Percentage** |
|---|---|---|
| West European | 757 / 482 (3.2.) | 28.24% / 26.36% (3.2.) |
| East European | 449 / 340 (3.2.) | 16.75% / 18.63% (3.2.) |
| South-East European | 431 / 399 (3.2.) | 16.08% / 21.86% (3.2.) |
| South European | 291 / 204 (3.2.) | 10.85% / 11.18% (3.2.) |
| Arab | 182 / 65 (3.2.) | 6.79%  / 3.56% (3.2.) |
| Turkish | 68 / 40 (3.2.) | 2.54% / 2.19% (3.2.) |
| South Asian | 66 / 57 (3.2.) | 2.46% / 3.12% (3.2.) |
| Other MENA | 61 / 6 (3.2.) | 2.28% / 0.33% (3.2.) |
| North European | 58 / 38 (3.2.) | 2.16% / 2.08% (3.2.) |
| West and Central African | 51 / 47 (3.2.) | 1.90%  / 2.58% (3.2.) |

The below table demonstrate the composition of respondents' identifying with a diverse background subsequently defined as "diverse-ancestry" thus reporting an additional ancestry background.

*Table 8 - Respondents reporting more than one ancestry*

|  | **N** | **Percentage** | **Gender** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Diverse-ancestry (*anctry2*) | 6,612 | 23,57% | 49.02% (w) / 49.14% (3.2.) |
|  | 3,816 (3.2.) | 31.61% (3.2.) | 50.08% (m) / 50.86% (3.2.) |

*Socio Economic Status*

Socioeconomic status is assessed by combining household income in combination with education levels. Household income is capture using deciles of the actual net household income, with respondents selecting a value between 1 and 10, where each number increase represents a higher income bracket. This approached is tailored to fit household income distributions in each country, calculated by each ESS survey participation country and thus allows for country comparisons. Education level is captured through the ISCED classification (International Standard Classification of Education) which applies a numerical scale ranging from 0 to 800, with higher values indicating higher education levels. Both variables, indicating net household income and education level, are standardized by the ESS, enabling cross-country comparisons within the European region.

*Table 9 - Net household income and education level*

|  | N | Mean | Min | Max |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Net Household income (*hinctnta*) | 16,062 | 6.35 | 1 | 10 |
| Education level (*edulvlb*) | 20,031 | 459 | 0 | 800 |

Binary variables are constructed to identify respondents access to high, above average and low net household income. High income is defined to consider above the $7^{th}$ decile, above average income to consider above the $5^{th}$ decile and low-income to consider below the $4^{th}$ decile. The exact net household income brackets vary country.

*Table 10 - Binary constructions of net household income basis for binary variables of class (both editions and 3.2. only)*

|  | N | Percentage | Gender | Racialized |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High income above $7^{th}$ decile | 10,186 5,868 (3.2.) | 39.36% 36.53% (3.2.) | 47.65% (w) / 46.88% (3.2.) 52.35% (m) / 53.12% (3.2.) | 6.92% 6.61% (3.2.) |
| Above average income above $5^{th}$ decile | 16.707 10,042 (3.2.) | 64.57% 62.52% (3.2.) | 47.12% (w) / 47.64% (3.2.) 52.88% (m) / 52.36% (3.2.) | 7.03% 7.90% (3.2.) |
| Low-income – below $4^{th}$ decile | 6,292 4,038 (3.2.) | 24.32% 25.14% (3.2.) | 55.07% (w) / 53.71% (3.2.) 44.93% (m) / 46.29% (3.2.) | 12.61% 12.19% (3.2.) |

|  | **N** | **Percentage** | **Gender** | **Racialized** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mandatory education | 2,451<br>1,177 (3.2.) | 7.42%<br>8.87% (3.2.) | 43.73% (w) / 42.99% (3.2.)<br>56.27% (m) / 57.01% (3.2.) | 14.06 %<br>14.99% (3.2.) |
| Above-average education | 14,465<br>8,371 (3.2.) | 45.54%<br>41.79% (3.2.) | 53.32% (w) / 54.81% (3.2.)<br>46.77% (m) / 45.19% (3.2.) | 7.42%<br>7.48% (3.2.) |
| Tertiary education | 13,790<br>8,042 (3.2.) | 43,42%<br>40.15% (3.2.) | 53,75% (w) / 55.20% (3.2.)<br>46,25% (m) / 44.80% (3.2.) | 7.36%<br>7.35% (3.2.) |
| Above tertiary education | 614<br>302 (3.2.) | 1.93%<br>1.51% (3.2.) | 42.25% (w) / 44.37% (3.2.)<br>57.75% (m) / 55.63% (3.2.) | 7.72%<br>9% (3.2.) |

*Class dimensions*

Three class dimensions are created indicating working-, middle-, and upper-class. Working class is defined as considering respondents having access to a household income falling into the bracket of low-income in combination with an education level of below average. Middle class is defined as considering respondents that have access to a household income that is above average in combination of an education level that is equally defined as being above average. Upper class is defined as considering respondents that have access to a household income that is considered high or an education level holding a doctorate.

*Table 12 - Binary constructions of class dimensions including gender and racial profile*

|  | **N** | **Percentage** | **Gender** | **Racialized** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Working class** | 4,178 | 69.48% | 49.11% (w)<br>50.89% (m) | 13.13% |
| **Middle class** | 1,711 | 10.66% | 55.29% (w)<br>44.71% (m) | 8.21% |
| **Upper class** | 5,965 | 50.32% | 46.89% (w)<br>53.11% (m) | 6.79% |

*Countries*

As indicated above, most of the analysis is based on utilizing the sample that ran the ESS 3.2. edition that included the key control variable indicating the level of felt inclusion within one's work team. The below Table 10 demonstrates the overall breakdown of countries by edition.

*Table 13 - ESS edition 3.2. countries (including control central variable) and ESS 3.1. edition countries*

| Edition 3.2. | N | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Belgium | 698 | 2.19% |
| Bulgaria | 1,393 | 4.37% |
| Switzerland | 947 | 2.97% |
| Czech Republic | 1,415 | 4.44% |
| Estonia | 968 | 3.03% |
| Finland | 832 | 2.61% |
| France | 1,083 | 3.39% |
| Great Britain | 577 | 1.81% |
| Greece | 1,523 | 4.77% |
| Croatia | 757 | 2.37% |
| Hungary | 1,000 | 3.13% |
| Ireland | 885 | 2.77% |
| Iceland | 599 | 1.88% |
| Italy | 1,287 | 4.03% |
| Lithuania | 827 | 2.59% |
| Montenegro | 516 | 1.62% |
| North Macedonia | 559 | 1.75% |
| Netherlands | 967 | 3.03% |
| Norway | 951 | 2.98% |
| Portugal | 900 | 2.82% |
| Slovenia | 687 | 2.15% |
| Slovakia | 711 | 2.23% |
| Total | 20,082 | 69.3% |

| Edition 3.1. | N | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Austria | 1,124 | 3.52% |
| Cyprus | 553 | 1.73% |
| Germany | 4,870 | 15.27% |
| Spain | 1,148 | 3.6% |
| Israel | 707 | 2.22% |
| Latvia | 575 | 1.8% |
| Poland | 1,096 | 3.44% |
| Serbia | 605 | 1.9% |
| Sweden | 1,142 | 3.58% |
| Total | 11,820 | 37.06% |

*Traditional gender performance through values*

To identify individuals to likely perform their gender identity in a traditional fashion, value statements are utilized to create a subsample of women and men, to analyze differences between same gender roles. Traditional gender performance of women is created drawing from two value statements. Firstly, their level of agreement to the importance of traditional values and secondly how strongly they identify with "helping others" is part of their identity, a stereotypical female value. Conversely men are a subsampled by their level of agreement to the importance of traditional values in combination with how strongly they identify with striving for success being part of their identity, a stereotypical male value.

Value statements are captured on a numerical scale agreeing from 1 ("Very much like me") to 6 ("Not like me at all") how much the value statements represent an aspect of their identity. How religious a respondent report to be, is capture through a numeric scale ranging from 0("Not at all religious) to 10 ("Very religious"). Binary variables are created to identify high agreement levels and basis for creating binary variables identifying gender stereotypical respondents. Additionally, another set of the above variables a created utilizing instead of the importance of traditional values, the importance of religion values.

*Table 14 - Value statements and identification with tradition and religion*

|  | **N** | **Mean** | **Min** | **Max** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Importance of traditional values (*imptrad*) | 19,915 | 2.87 | 1 | 6 |
| Degree of religiousness (*rlgdgr*) | 19,897 | 4.36 | 0 | 10 |
| Importance of helping (*iphlppl*) | 19,939 | 2.17 | 1 | 6 |
| Importance of success (*ipsuces*) | 19,889 | 2.98 | 1 | 6 |

*Table 15 - Binary construction of value and identification and gender composition*

|  | N | Percentage | Gender |
|---|---|---|---|
| Traditional (*imptrad<=3*) | 13,926 | 69.93% | 47.09% (w) 52.91% (m) |
| Religious (*rlgdgr>=7*) | 5,665 | 28.47% | 56.75% (w) 43.75% (m) |
| Helpful (*iphlppl<=3*) | 13,625 | 68.33% | 52.25% (w) 47.25% (m) |
| Success-driven (*<=3*) | 13,461 | 67.68% | 48.73% (w) 51.27% (m) |

*Table 16 - Traditional and gender stereotypical women and men*

|  | N | Percentage | Mean education level (None-trad. /Stereot.) | Mean net HH income (None-trad. /Stereot.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Traditional w. | 7,102 | 72.20% | 466 (499) | 6.18 (6.25) |
| Stereotypical w. | 5,369 | 84.21% | 473(493) | 6.24 (6.25) |
| Traditional m. | 6,824 | 67.71% | 430(470) | 6.42 (6.68) |
| Stereotypical m. | 5,040 | 78.15% | 432(463) | 6.43 (6.54) |

*Table 17 - Religious and gender stereotypical women and men*

|  | N | Percentage | Mean education level (None-rel. /stereo.) | Mean net HH income (None-rel. /stereo.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Religious w. | 3,215 | 32.71% | 465.(481) | 5.98(6.30) |
| Religious m. | 2,450 | 24.33% | 430(447) | 6.12(6.63 |
| Stereotypical w. (rel.) | 2,399 | 55.61% | 474(471) | 6.00(6.12) |
| Stereotypical m. (rel.) | 1,679 | 41.17% | 429(445) | 6.07(6.52) |

*Cultural Variations*

Regression model one is additionally testing interactional analysis utilizing cultural dimensions. Binary variables are constructed comparing the top five against the bottom five countries scoring on the four cultural dimensions, Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism and Success Orientation.

*Table 18 - Hofstede cultural dimensions – Comparison of top 5 against bottom 5 countries*

|  | **N** | **Top 5 countries** | **Bottom 5 countries** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Power Distance | Top 5 = 3,230 Bottom 5 = 4,214 | Slovakia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia | Ireland, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Switzerland |
| Uncertainty Avoidance | Top 5 = 4,324 Bottom 5 = 3,723 | Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Montenegro, Slovenia | Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, Slovakia |
| Individualism | Top 5 = 3,902 Bottom 5 = 4,512 | Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium, Slovenia and Norway | Montenegro, North Makedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Italy |
| Success Orientation | Top 5 = 4,830 Bottom 5 = 4.031 | Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland | Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania, Slovenia |

I conduct additional analysis utilizing self-identification with different ancestries to explore cultural variations. Six binary variables are created indicating with which region respondents fall into.

*Table 19 - Broad and narrow groups, European Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (Heath et al., 2016)*

|  | **N** | **Percentage** |
|---|---|---|
| West European | 9,706 / 4,422 (3.2.) | 32.71% / 22.97% |
| North European (Nordic) | 3,296 / 2,249 (3.2.) | 11.11% / 11.68% |
| South European | 5,241 / 3,628 (3.2.) | 17.66% / 18.85% |
| South-East European | 4,610 / 3,943 (3.2.) | 15.54% / 20.48% |
| East European | 6,820 / 5,009(3.2.) | 27.21% / 32.72% |
| Non-European | 1,697 / 742 (3.2.) | 5,40% / 3.71% |

**Control variables**

Both regression models include a variety of control variables that could potentially influence the dependent variable and bias the results. Drawing on literature of sociology, organizational research and psychology I propose four broad categories of control variables that are labeled as "Demographic and Psychographic" control variables, "Labor" control variables, "Culture" control variables and "Perceived Organizational Justice" variables. The details of which control variables are applied in which regression model is outlined in the following section.

*Demographics and Psychographic controls*

To account for underlying socio-economic status linked to one's level of education and household income are important factors to account for when exploring work behaviors. Equally, age (Dahling & Perez, 2010) has been linked with emotion work by identifying higher age with higher willingness to engage in emotion regulation, especially deep acting, to circumvent negative interactions at work, thus important to control for. One's overall satisfaction with life, levels happiness and health impact, how individuals behave at work in relation to engage in extra role and unremunerated tasks and responsibilities at work (Judge et al., 2001).

*Labor controls*

The nature of a job and it's work environment have shown to influence work behaviors (Hochschild, 2012). Thus, variables controlling for the sector, industry, employment relationship and organization size are included. As increased levels of autonomy have shown to be linked with a higher likeliness to take on extra responsibility organizational autonomy is included (Organ et al., 2006). Similarly, holding higher positions with managerial responsibilities are linked with the expectations to take imitative and demonstrate leadership, thus potentially influencing organizational behaviors, supervisory roles are being controlled for (Organ et al., 2006).

*Culture controls*

Country is included as control variable to account country fixed effects,, except when exploring cultural variations. As an individual's religious believes (Praveen Parboteeah et al., 2009) and cultural context (Hofstede, 2011) can shape values and attitudes towards work how cooperation within a team is being valued or not, can have an impact, the level of someone's religiosity and

country is being controlled for. This shall control for varying norms across cultures that might interfere with organizational behaviors.

*Perceived Organizational Justice (POJ) controls*

How satisfied an employees is with its job (Organ & Ryan, 1995) and how just an organization is treating it's employees (Moorman, 1991; Thompson et al., 2020) has an impact how willing an employee is to give extra without being paid for. Thus, several variables indicating the perception of an employer's just treatment are included as control variables. These variables include the level of having to work over-hours, overall satisfaction with the job, if managerial staff supports in work life balance endeavors (LePine et al., 2002), if support from managerial staff in case of issues can be expected and if an employee's feels part of the team.

## 4.4   Regression models

To test my hypotheses, I utilize 2 regression models. In regression model 1 I try to test how different identities are linked to the willingness to engage in emotion work through different variations of OCB willingness. Identities are explored based on their gender, socio economic status, racialization and at their different intersections. I additional test via interaction regression analysis different outcome variables with Hofstede's cultural dimensions to explore how contextual differences, impact willingness.

In my second regression model I aim to explore heterogeneity within similar identities by testing how the effects of a stereotypical gender performance impacts levels of emotion work willingness through different variations of OCB willingness. For simplification the subsequent models and results tables are referencing OCB willingness and implying it as the proxy measure of emotion work willingness.

### 4.4.1   Model 1 testing Gender, Socio Economic Status and Racial Dimension

With this model I test how identity categories like gender, socio-economic status and racialization have an impact on the willingness to engage in OCB (H1 to H6). $Y_i$ represents either high levels of OCB or above average levels. I regress $Y_i$ on a constant ($\beta_0$), a dummy indicating either women (Female$_i$), low socio-economic status indicating either working-class individuals or low-income (*Socio Economic Status$_i$*), or a racialized individual (*Racialized$_i$*). A

vector of control variables ($X_i$) and country fixed effects ($\gamma_c$) which is summarized in the following equation, that includes three different variations:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1\ Female_i\ /\ Socio\text{-}Economic\ Status_i\ /\ Racialiazed_i + X_i'\beta + \gamma_c + \varepsilon_i$$

$X_i$ refers to a vector comprising the following groups of control variables:

1) Demographic and Psychographic variables
   - Age
   - Gender (excluded when testing effect of women)
   - Level of education (excluded when testing effect of socio-economic status)
   - Household income (excluded when testing effect socio-economic status)
   - Being part of the ethnic/racial minority (excluded when testing effect or racialization)
   - Psychographic indicators such as life satisfaction, happiness, perceived level of health and levels of being hampered in daily activities by illness or disability

2) Labor variables
   - Sector
   - Industry
   - Employment relation (employee/self-employed)
   - Organization sizes
   - Levels of organizational autonomy of one's workday
   - Level of supervising other employees

3) Culture controls
   - Level of religiousness
   - Identification with traditional values

4) Perceived organizational justice (POJ)
   - Working extra hours
   - Support of management in work life balance
   - Overall job satisfaction
   - Managerial support with task
   - Level of perceived inclusion in team (in 3.2. edition analysis only)

*Cultural Variation*

I extend the above regression by exploring cultural variation utilizing four of the six Hofstede cultural dimensions. Thus, I interact the effect of gender, socio economic status and racialization, each separately, with how the most power distant, uncertainty avoiding, individualistic or success oriented a countries effect willingness to engage in OCB. $Y_i$ represents either high levels of OCB or above average levels of OCB. I regress $Y_i$ on a constant ($\beta_0$), a dummy indicating women (Female$_i$), low socio-economic status indicating either working-class individuals or low- (*Socio-Economic Status$_i$*), or a racialized individual (*Racialized$_i$*) and interact it with living in one of the top five countries against the bottom five countries across the above-mentioned cultural dimensions. A vector of control variables ($X_i$) which is summarized in the following equations including the different variations:

*OCB$_i$ = β$_0$ + β$_1$ Female$_i$ / Socio-Economic Status$_i$ / Racialiazed$_i$ + β$_2$ Power Distant Country$_c$ + β$_3$ (Female$_i$ / Socio-Economic Status$_i$ / Racialiazed$_i$ x Power Distant Country$_c$) + Xi'β + ε$_i$*

*OCB$_i$ = β$_0$ + β$_1$ Female$_i$ / Socio-Economic Status$_i$ / Racialiazed$_i$ + β$_2$ Uncertainty Avoidance Country$_c$ + β$_3$ (Female$_i$ / Socio-Economic Status$_i$ / Racialiazed$_i$ x Uncertainty Avoidance Country$_c$) + Xi'β + ε$_i$*

*OCB$_i$ = β$_0$ + β$_1$ Female$_i$ / Socio-Economic Status$_i$ / Racialiazed$_i$ + β$_2$ Individualistic Country$_c$ + β$_3$ (Female$_i$ x Individualistic Country$_c$) + Xi'β + ε$_i$*

*OCB$_i$ = β$_0$ + β$_1$ Female$_i$ + β$_2$ Success Orientation Country$_c$ + β$_3$ (Female$_i$ / Socio-Economic Status$_i$ / Racialiazed$_i$ x Success Orientation Country$_c$) + Xi'β + ε$_i$*

X$_i$ refers to the same groups of control variables as above.

*Intersecting identities*

In this section I extend the analysis by exploring individuals at their intersecting identities of gender, race, and class. $Y_i$ represents either high levels of OCB or above average levels. I regress $Y_i$ on a constant ($\beta_0$), a dummy indicating women of color *(Racialized Female$_i$)* compared to women and men that are part of the ethnic/racial majority of the country. I additionally regress $Y_i$ on a constant ($\beta_0$), a dummy indicating working class women (*Working Class Female $_i$*) or low-income women (*Low-income_ Female $_i$*) compared to women and men not falling either of the two class or income category. A vector of control variables ($X_i$) and country fixed effects ($\gamma_c$) which is summarized in the following equation, that includes three different variations:

$$OCB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \textit{ Racialized Female }_i / \beta_1 \textit{ Working Class Female }_i / \beta_1 \textit{ Low-income\_ Female }_i + X_i'\beta + \gamma_c + \varepsilon_i$$

$X_i$ refers to the same groups of control variables as above.

## 4.4.2 Model 2 testing Heterogeneity within same Gender Roles

In this section I test to see if willingness to engage in OCB is impacted by traditional and religious values, comparing individuals of the same gendered socialization (women/men). I additionally explore how a possible stereotypical performance of one's gender identity might impact willingness, testing Hypotheses H7 and H8. I subsample religious and traditional women and men and extend this by adding gender-stereotypical behaviors to the sampling. $Y_i$ represents either high levels of OCB or above-average levels. I regress $Y_i$ on a constant ($\beta_0$), a dummy indicating traditional women or traditional men through value statements (Traditional Female$_i$ / Traditional Male$_i$), a vector of control variables ($X_i$) and country fixed effects ($\gamma_c$) which are summarized in the following equations:

$$OCB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \textit{ Traditional Female }_i / \textit{ Religious Female }_i + X_i'\beta + \gamma_c + \varepsilon_i$$
$$OCB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \textit{ Traditional Male}_i / \textit{ Religious Male}_i + X_i'\beta + \gamma_c + \varepsilon_i$$

$$OCB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \textit{ Stereotypical Female }_i / \textit{ Stereotypical Male }_i + X_i'\beta + \gamma_c + \varepsilon_i$$

$X_i$ refers to the same groups of control variables as in regression model 1 however with the following variations in culture control variable:

Ad 3 Culture controls:
- Degree of Religiousness when testing effect of tradition
- Identification with traditional values when testing effect of religiousness

## 4.5   Researchers perspective

In support of transparency and integrity of this research project, and in alignment with customary practices in gender studies, I wish to disclose the perspective this thesis is written from. I identify as a white, cisgender woman of Western European ancestry and nationality. I categorize my socio-economic background as middle-class and have personal experience with providing emotion work and emotional labor in corporate contexts across different positions within sales which has fueled my interest into understanding this behavior further. Thus, as someone belonging to multiple majority-groups, I acknowledge the privileges I hold and the subsequent potential for me to overlook certain aspects and perspectives of other identities in minority groups. While I have specifically explored and studied identities beyond my perspective, I cannot claim that all choices taken in this research project are free from my biases.

# 5 Results

In this section I will present the most significant results beginning with an overview of how willingness to engage in OCB varies across Hofstede's cultural dimensions and regions of individuals' self-identified ancestry. Subsequently, I will demonstrate the results of how identity-factors, including gender, low socio-economic status and racialization, impact different levels of willingness, as well as how these factors differ across cultural contexts. Next, I will present the impact of identities at the intersection of multiple oppression systems. Lastly, I will present findings on within-gender differences based on traditional values held and their likely stereotypical gender performance. I conclude this chapter by providing a summary and interpretation of these findings in relation to the proposed theories of social roles and resources, driving behaviors like emotion work within a corporate context.

## 5.1 Gender, Socio Economic Status, Racial Dimensions and Cultural Variations

### 5.1.1 Willingness across cultures

To contextualize the results of how different identities impact willingness of OCB, the below results are intended to provide an overview of how different cultural contexts and ancestry regions report to be willing to engage in this behavior at work.

As figure 2 below demonstrates, willingness to engage in above-average levels OCB varies across Hofstede's cultural dimensions. Respondents living in the top five individualistic and power-distant countries report to be significantly more willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB compared to individuals living in countries scoring in the bottom five. Conversely, individuals living in the top five uncertainty-avoiding and success-oriented countries are significantly less willing. The effects are similar when considering high levels of OCB, with however no significant result observed for uncertainty-avoiding countries.

Thus, the top five individualistic countries (Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium, Slovenia and Norway) are almost 9% more willing compared to the bottom five (Montenegro, North Makedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria and Italy). The top five power-distant countries (Slovakia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia and Slovenia) are almost 6% more willing compared to the bottom five (Ireland, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Switzerland). The top five success-oriented

countries (Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland) are almost 5% less willing than the bottom five (Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania and Slovenia). And lasty, the top five uncertainty-avoiding countries (Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Montenegro and Slovenia) are approximately 4% less willing compared to the bottom five (Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland and Slovakia). These effects are very similar, considering high levels of OCB, with uncertainty-avoiding countries again, showing no significant effect.

*Figure 2 - Overview of Hofstede's' Cultural Dimensions on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*
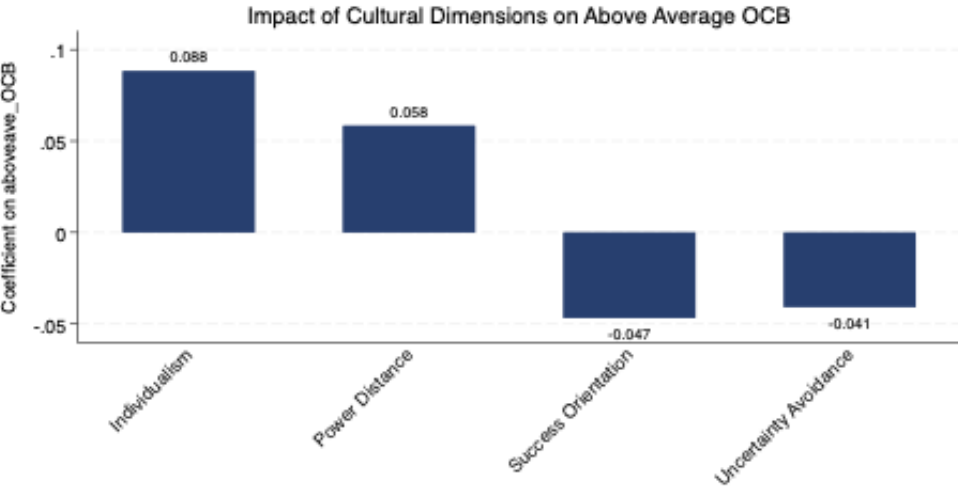


Note: *Individualism* (Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium, or Slovenia compared to Montenegro, North Makedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, or Italy). *Power Distance* (Slovakia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia compared to Ireland, Iceland, Norway, Finland, or Switzerland). *Success Orientation* (Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, or Ireland compared to Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania, or Slovenia). *Uncertainty Avoidance* (Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Montenegro, or Slovenia compared to Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, or Slovakia).

Exploring these results in more detail, Table 20 below demonstrates that these results are significant at the 1% level except for uncertainty avoiding countries effects are at the 5% level when all four groups of controls variables are included. The R-squared values indicate that each model explains approximately 16% to 19% of the variation in above-average levels of OCB. This suggests that while the included cultural dimensions and different controls account for a meaningful portion of the variance, other factors also influence this behavior.

*Table 20- Cultural Dimensions on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(Power D. cntry) | 0.0584*** | | | |
| | (0.0189) | | | |
| I(Uncert. Avoid. cntry) | | -0.0408** | | |
| | | (0.0159) | | |
| I(Individ. cntry) | | | 0.0882*** | |
| | | | (0.0180) | |
| I(Success cntry) | | | | -0.0468*** |
| | | | | (0.0149) |
| Observations | 4,884 | 4,707 | 5,429 | 5,802 |
| R-squared | 0.158 | 0.175 | 0.189 | 0.181 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Exploring the willingness to engage in OCB based on country groupings of respondents' self-identified ancestry also yielded significant differences when controlling for all four variable groups. As Figure 3 below demonstrates, both Western European (Belgium, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Ireland and Netherlands) and Southeastern European (Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Slovenia) ancestry demonstrate a higher willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB. Western European ancestry indicates an approximately 6%, and Southeastern European ancestry an approximately 3% higher willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB compared to other ancestries. In contrast, both Northern European (Finland, Iceland and Norway), and Southern European ancestry (Greece, Italy, Portugal) indicate a lower willingness in above-average levels of OCB. Individuals identifying with Nordic ancestry are about 8% less willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB, while those identifying with Southern European ancestry are about 4% less willing.

*Figure 3 Overview of Ancestry Regions on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*
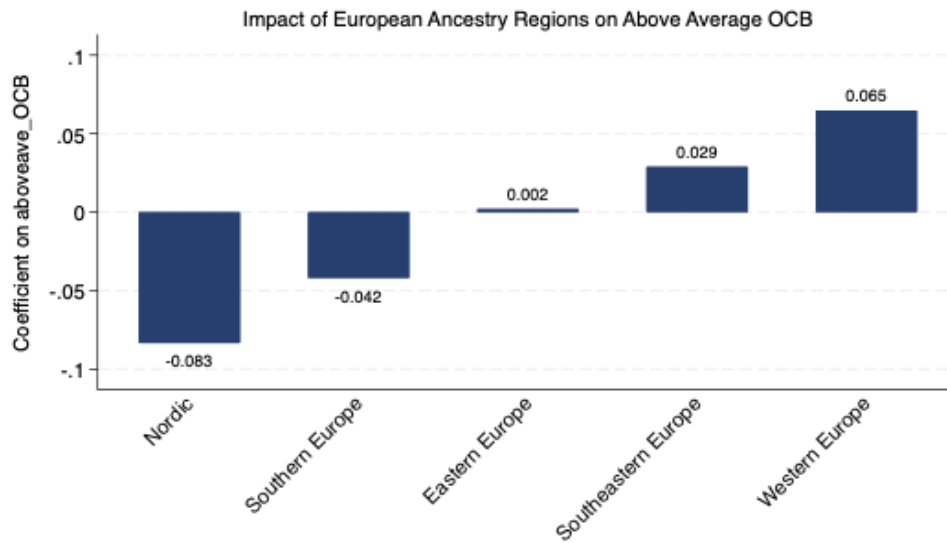


Note: *Nordic* (Finland, Iceland and Norway compared all other ancestry regions). *Southern Europe* (Greece, Italy, Portugal compared all other ancestry regions). *Eastern Europe* (Czech Rep, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania and Slovakia compared all other ancestry regions). *Southeastern Europe* (Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Slovenia compared all other ancestry regions). *Western Europe* (Belgium, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Ireland and Netherlands compared all other ancestry regions).

Exploring these results in more detail, the below Table 21 demonstrates that these results are significant at the 1% level. Only, Eastern European (Czech Rep, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania and Slovakia) ancestry did not correlate significantly with above-average levels of OCB, however, when considering high levels of OCB, significant effects were observed, with respondents reporting to be 2% less willing. The R-squared values in this analysis indicate that the model explains approximately 13% of the variation in above-average levels of OCB. This suggests that while the included ancestries and different controls account for some portion of the variance, there seems to be a larger number of other factors influencing this behavior.

*Table 21 – European Ancestry Regions on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above avg. OCB) | (2) I(above avg. OCB) | (3) I(above avg. OCB) | (4) I(above avg. OCB) | (5) I(above avg. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(W Europe) | 0.0648*** | | | | |
| | (0.0117) | | | | |
| I(Nordics) | | -0.0834*** | | | |
| | | (0.0140) | | | |
| I(S Europe) | | | -0.0419*** | | |
| | | | (0.0142) | | |
| I(SE Europe) | | | | 0.0290** | |
| | | | | (0.0120) | |
| I(E Europe) | | | | | 0.00208 |
| | | | | | (0.0124) |
| Observations | 12,027 | 12,027 | 12,027 | 12,027 | 9,669 |
| R-squared | 0.133 | 0.133 | 0.131 | 0.131 | 0.130 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

### 5.1.2 Gender and Cultural Variation

*Gender*

The analysis exploring gender differences on different levels of OCB, testing hypotheses H1 and H4 reveal significant results supporting the latter, suggesting that women draw from their resources rather than social roles when asked about their willingness to engage in OCB. Across Tables 22 to 24, which capture different OCB variations, a significant negative correlation between women and their willingness to engage in OCB is observed.

As Table 22 below demonstrates, individuals identifying as female are significantly less willing to engage in OCBs than individuals identifying as male. The OCB outcome variable in Table 19 measures OCB levels on a scale between 0 and 10, indicating that women score between 0.12 and 0.19 points lower than men, depending on the model specification. These results are significant at the 5% and 1% levels.

*Table 22 – Women on numeric scale (1-10) of taking on extra responsibility at work (OCB) – excl. variable "teamfeeling"*

| VARIABLES | (1) working extra | (2) working extra | (3) working extra | (4) working extra | (5) working extra |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) | -0.194*** | -0.195*** | -0.105** | -0.135*** | -0.117** |
| | (0.0421) | (0.0424) | (0.0482) | (0.0475) | (0.0491) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 24,277 | 23,682 | 21,486 | 21,365 | 19,051 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.046 | 0.109 | 0.154 | 0.175 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Additional OCB variables, indicating high levels (>=8/10) and above-average levels of OCB (above 5.41), were tested, as shown in Tables 23 and 24. As the below table demonstrates, high levels of OCB yield the statistically most significant results, with all five models showing a statistical significance at the 1% level. This indicates that women are 3% to 4% less willing to engage in high levels of OCB than men.

*Table 23 –Women on high levels of OCB (>=8/10) - excl. variable "teamfeeling"*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) | -0.0355*** | -0.0348*** | -0.0264*** | -0.0278*** | -0.0268*** |
| | (0.00602) | (0.00606) | (0.00688) | (0.00687) | (0.00714) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 24,277 | 23,682 | 21,486 | 21,365 | 19,051 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.048 | 0.112 | 0.137 | 0.141 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Above-average levels of OCB, as seen in Table 24, yield some statistically significant results, however, with incrementally added control variables, significance weakens or is lost. Effect sizes, however, trend in the same direction, similarly indicating lower levels of OCB

willingness among women. These effects are significant at the 1% and 5% level and vary depending on the different models' incorporation of control variables.

*Table 24 – Women on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.41) - excl. variable "teamfeeling"*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above avg. OCB) | (2) I(above avg. OCB) | (3) I(above avg. OCB) | (4) I(above avg. OCB) | (5) I(above avg. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) | -0.0169*** | -0.0187*** | -0.0111 | -0.0141* | -0.0119 |
| | (0.00640) | (0.00647) | (0.00739) | (0.00734) | (0.00958) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 24,277 | 23,682 | 21,486 | 21,365 | 12,611 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.041 | 0.087 | 0.122 | 0.152 |
| Dem. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

The above three regression results shown in Table 22, 23 and 24, were run without including a key control variable indicating the level of a person feeling part of their team at work. Organizational behaviors are likely to be impacted by this factor, influencing willingness to take on extra responsibility if one is needed. As mentioned, this variable was not included in all ESS questionnaires round 10, and therefore was captured only in 22 of the 31 countries. To account for potential variation due the exclusion of this control variable, I tested one regression model as an example on both sample compositions. The above models opt for larger sample sizes, and the below models for a better model fit.

Table 25 and Table 26 below represent the same analysis, exploring women on high levels and above-average levels of OCB, but additionally controlling for the levels of feeling part of the team. The effects of women reporting lower levels of OCB than men persist, with similarly varying degrees of significance at the 1% and 5% levels. Women report approximately 2% to 3% lower willingness compared to men. R-squared values cumulatively explain about 16% to 17% of the variance in both OCB variations

*Table 25 - Women on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) | -0.0340*** | -0.0365*** | -0.0202** | -0.0235*** | -0.0197** |
| | (0.00742) | (0.00747) | (0.00844) | (0.00844) | (0.00872) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,705 | 15,385 | 14,233 | 14,146 | 12,587 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.049 | 0.119 | 0.147 | 0.170 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Table 26, indicating the effect of women on above-average levels of OCB, mirrors the effects based on the sample size taken from 31 countries (Table 22), without controlling for how strongly individuals feel part of their team at work. Looking at the increase of R-squared values from 14% to 17%, suggests a better model fit. Therefore, based on the consistency of these results and the importance of including this key control variable, all subsequent analyses were conducted opting for a better model fit and using the sample drawn from 22 countries. In contrast to high-levels of OCB, significance drops when controls for organizational justice are included, suggesting that gender effects depend on the level of OCB.

*Table 26 - Women on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) | -0.0185** | -0.0234*** | -0.0124 | -0.0186** | -0.0102 |
| | (0.00797) | (0.00808) | (0.00920) | (0.00914) | (0.00958) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,705 | 15,283 | 14,147 | 14,063 | 12,521 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.040 | 0.089 | 0.130 | 0.161 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Gender and Cultural Variation*

Using interaction regression analysis, I tested if cultural variations interact with women's willingness to engage in different levels of OCB testing hypotheses H1b, c, d, e and H4b, c, d, e. I conducted four different interactions, testing both high levels and above-average levels of OCB of women living in countries scoring in the top five against the bottom five of Hofstede's cultural dimensions of Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Success Orientation. To contextualize these results, I also interacted women's willingness with five different ancestry regions they identify with. The ancestry regions were grouped into Western Europe, Nordics, Southern Europe, Southeastern Europe and Eastern Europe.

Utilizing Hofstede's cultural dimensions yielded one significant interaction effect, indicating that an uncertainty-avoiding culture increases women's willingness. This supports Hypothesis H1c, suggesting that women's willingness is increased in uncertainty-avoiding cultures, which emphasizes women's socialized roles. As shown in Table 27, women living in Greece, Portugal, Belgium, Montenegro, or Slovenia show an inclination to be more willing to engage in above-average levels OCB compared to women living in Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, or Slovakia. Women report to be 4% to 5% more willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB, thus suggesting a support for Hypothesis H1c. This result, indicates that women in uncertainty avoiding countries to be more willing to engage in OCB, indicating that they are acting in line with their social role rather than resources. Depending on the model specification, significance levels vary between 5% and 10% levels, thus these results suggest a partial support but do not yield enough significance to fully confirm this hypothesis.

*Table 27 - Interaction of women living in uncertainty-avoiding countries on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) = 1 | -0.0465*** | -0.0486*** | -0.0401** | -0.0455** | -0.0456** |
| | (0.0177) | (0.0180) | (0.0199) | (0.0200) | (0.0212) |
| I(Uncert. Avoid. cntry) = 1 | -0.0994*** | -0.0689*** | -0.0562*** | -0.0622*** | -0.0693*** |
| | (0.0180) | (0.0187) | (0.0200) | (0.0202) | (0.0219) |
| 1.female#1.UA_cntry | 0.0533** | 0.0425* | 0.0412 | 0.0432 | 0.0533* |
| | (0.0253) | (0.0254) | (0.0266) | (0.0267) | (0.0283) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,088 | 5,931 | 5,386 | 5,334 | 4,689 |
| R-squared | 0.006 | 0.070 | 0.126 | 0.131 | 0.177 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

I additionally conducted interaction analysis based on regional country groupings derived from respondents' self-identified ancestry. The only significant interaction observed was that of Western European ancestry, which appears to drive the significant effect on women's lower willingness, compared to men. As Table 28 below demonstrates, Western European ancestry significantly impacts women's lower willingness of above-average levels of OCB. Women identifying with Western European ancestry demonstrate approximately 4% to almost 7% lower willingness compared to men. This effect is significant across all model specification at the 5% and 1% levels. However, this interaction effect was not observed for high levels of OCB.

*Table 28 - Interaction between women identifying with Western European ancestry on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.43)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(female) = 1 | -0.00118 | -0.00954 | -0.000479 | -0.00612 | 0.00558 |
| | (0.00932) | (0.00949) | (0.0106) | (0.0107) | (0.0112) |
| I(W Europe) = 1 | 0.168*** | 0.116*** | 0.0804*** | 0.0825*** | 0.0929*** |
| | (0.0132) | (0.0140) | (0.0145) | (0.0145) | (0.0156) |
| 1.female#1.westE | -0.0681*** | -0.0541*** | -0.0485** | -0.0431** | -0.0518** |
| | (0.0187) | (0.0188) | (0.0192) | (0.0192) | (0.0202) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,038 | 14,657 | 13,579 | 13,436 | 11,977 |
| R-squared | 0.015 | 0.051 | 0.099 | 0.104 | 0.135 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Summary*

To summarize, women across the European region report a significantly lower willingness to engage in OCB, supporting Hypothesis 4, which suggests that women consider their resources rather than their social role. This effect is consistent across both samples, drawn from 31 or 22 countries, and especially strong, for high levels OCB. However, effect sizes are relatively small, with women reporting approximately 1% to 3% lower willingness to engage in OCB compared to men. R-squared values increased from 14% to 17% when controlling for the level of feeling part of the team, suggesting an improved model fit. Subsequently, this model captures some of the contributive factors of OCB-willingness, however, a large portion of the variation remains unexplained.

Mediating effects using Hofstede's cultural dimensions demonstrate that uncertainty-avoiding countries significantly increase women's willingness to engage in OCB compared to men. This indicates a support of Hypothesis H1c, suggesting role socialization to impact women's willingness in uncertainty-avoidance cultures. Women in the top five uncertainty-avoiding

countries (Slovenia, Montenegro, Belgium, Portugal, or Greece) demonstrate an approximately 5% higher willingness for above-average OCB compared to women in the bottom five (Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, or Slovakia). This culturally mediating effect does not appear in high levels of OCB.

Considering respondents' self-identified ancestry also showed one region to significantly impact women's willingness. Western European ancestry significantly impacts women's willingness, associating it with an even lower willingness to engage in OCB. Women that identify with a Western European ancestry report approximately 4% to almost 7% lower willingness than men, increasing the effect sizes of 1% to 3% observed in overall. Integrating these results into Hofstede's cultural dimensions, Western European countries score the highest average on Hofstede's individualism score (78), compared to the other regions. Netherlands and Belgium, two of the top five individualistic countries fall into this region. Thus, this result also indicates a support of hypothesis H4d, suggesting that women living in individualistic countries to be less willing to engage in OCB due to their limited resources.

### 5.1.3    Socio-Economic Status and Cultural Variation

*Socio-economic Status*

I tested socio-economic status by first examining how falling into the working-class category, based on education level and household income, impacts high and above-average levels of OCB. Secondly, I focused solely on income and tested how low-income individuals differ in their willingness to engage in both high and above-average levels of OCB. Using low-income as a low-status indicator results in support of Hypothesis 5 and rejects Hypothesis 2, indicating that low-status individuals draw more from their available resources than their role position when considering engaging in OCB.

As Table 29 below demonstrates, individuals classified as working-class did not report statistically significant results across all model specifications. However, the results indicate a direction that supports Hypothesis 5, as model specifications 1 and 2 are significant at the 1% and 5% levels.  These results are similar, when testing above-average levels of OCB among working-class individuals. As Table 30 below demonstrates, there is an indication of lower willingness. However, this effect is lost once labor variables are included.

*Table 29 – Working-Class individuals on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(working class) | -0.0452*** | -0.0335** | 0.0104 | 0.00391 | 0.00320 |
| | (0.0142) | (0.0150) | (0.0166) | (0.0168) | (0.0174) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 4,621 | 4,503 | 4,185 | 4,133 | 3,762 |
| R-squared | 0.002 | 0.053 | 0.132 | 0.162 | 0.200 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 30 – Working-class individuals on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(working class) | -0.0600*** | -0.0469*** | 0.00832 | -0.00766 | -0.0117 |
| | (0.0157) | (0.0166) | (0.0185) | (0.0185) | (0.0195) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 4,621 | 4,503 | 4,185 | 4,133 | 3,762 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.044 | 0.114 | 0.161 | 0.201 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Exploring low socio-economic status based on income levels yields more robust results. As Table 31 below demonstrates, results are significant across all model specifications, and individuals with low-income report being 2% to 8% less willing to engage in above average-levels of OCB. Across all model specifications, significant results range between a 5% and 1% significance levels. These effects are however not extended to high levels of OCB (see Appendix Table 54), which show similar results to Table 29 and 30 with lower significance once labor controls are included.

Based on the above indicative results, combined with those in Table 31, Hypothesis 5 is supported and Hypothesis 2 rejected, showing that individuals with lower socio-economic

status are less willing to engage in OCB. This suggests low-income individual consider their already limited resources, when assessing behaviors like OCB that could potentially drain their resources further.

*Table 31 – Low-income Individuals on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) | -0.0820*** | -0.0418*** | -0.0256** | -0.0404*** | -0.0294** |
| | (0.0103) | (0.0108) | (0.0111) | (0.0111) | (0.0115) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 13,018 | 12,759 | 11,941 | 11,837 | 10,704 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.043 | 0.094 | 0.140 | 0.170 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Socio-economic Status and Cultural variation*

Applying interaction regression analysis, I tested if cultural variations interact with the willingness to engage in different levels of OCB from individuals holding a lower socio-economic status based on income, testing hypotheses H2b,c,d,e/H5b,c,d,e. I conducted four different interactions, testing both high levels and above-average levels of OCB for low-income individuals living in countries scoring in the top five versus the bottom five of Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Success Orientation. I contextualize these results, by additionally interacting willingness of low-status individuals with five different ancestry regions they identify with. Ancestry regions were grouped in Western Europe, Nordics, Southern Europe, Southeastern Europe and Eastern Europe.

Most significant results were observed when considering low-income individuals' willingness to engage OCB, when living in success-oriented countries (Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Ireland). Across both OCB dimensions, statistically significant results appear across all model specifications, indicating a higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB thus supporting Hypothesis H2d, indicating that individuals in success-oriented countries draw from their social roles rather than their resources, compared to low-income individuals living

in countries scoring low on this cultural dimension (Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania, and Slovenia).

As Tables 32 and 33 demonstrate, low-income individuals living in countries that value competition and success (Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Ireland) demonstrate a 5% to 8% higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB and 8% to 11% higher willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB compared to low-income individuals in countries valuing cohesion and care (Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania, and Slovenia). These results are significant across all model specifications, with above-average levels demonstrating particular significance at the 1% level. R-squared values range from 0.024 to 0.205, indicating that these factors cumulatively explain almost 21% of the variance of high levels of OCB, which represent the highest value across all different OCB variations and identity characteristics.

*Table 32 - Interaction between low-income individuals living in success driven countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.120*** | -0.0592*** | -0.0417** | -0.0450** | -0.0553*** |
| | (0.0202) | (0.0206) | (0.0207) | (0.0208) | (0.0215) |
| I(Success cntry) = 1 | -0.148*** | -0.121*** | -0.0624*** | -0.0657*** | -0.0577*** |
| | (0.0144) | (0.0154) | (0.0162) | (0.0164) | (0.0172) |
| 1.income_low#1.success_cntry | 0.0885*** | 0.0594** | 0.0573** | 0.0557* | 0.0781*** |
| | (0.0284) | (0.0286) | (0.0289) | (0.0292) | (0.0301) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,028 | 5,870 | 5,562 | 5,503 | 5,005 |
| R-squared | 0.024 | 0.093 | 0.173 | 0.178 | 0.205 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 33 - Interaction between low-income individuals in success-oriented countries on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.141*** | -0.0918*** | -0.0847*** | -0.0869*** | -0.101*** |
| | (0.0204) | (0.0210) | (0.0212) | (0.0213) | (0.0222) |
| I(Success cntry) = 1 | -0.130*** | -0.111*** | -0.0595*** | -0.0672*** | -0.0734*** |
| | (0.0145) | (0.0157) | (0.0166) | (0.0168) | (0.0178) |
| 1.income_low#1.success_cntry | 0.111*** | 0.0842*** | 0.0813*** | 0.0800*** | 0.112*** |
| | (0.0287) | (0.0291) | (0.0297) | (0.0299) | (0.0311) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,028 | 5,870 | 5,562 | 5,503 | 5,005 |
| R-squared | 0.020 | 0.073 | 0.141 | 0.146 | 0.186 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Interaction analysis with countries based on their score of Power Distance scores, also yielded significant results, suggesting support for Hypothesis H5b, which contrasts the behavior of responding in line with one's social role and support an interpretation that draws from low-income individuals' resources. As Table 34 below shows, low-income individuals living in power-distant countries (Slovakia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Slovenia) are 7% to 9% less willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB, compared to low-income individuals living in Ireland, Iceland, Norway, Finland, or Switzerland. This effect is significant at the 1% and 5% levels, although it loses significance once controlling for organizational justice aspects. Exploring this on high levels of OCB significant results at the 10% level can be observed up until including labor controls (see Appendix Table 55). Result tables of the remaining cultural contexts see Appendix Tables 56 to 59.

*Table 34 - Interaction between low-income individuals in power-distant countries on above average-levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0377* | -0.0275 | -0.00790 | -0.00918 | -0.0215 |
|  | (0.0202) | (0.0212) | (0.0219) | (0.0220) | (0.0230) |
| I(Power D. cntry) = 1 | -0.0270* | 0.0550*** | 0.102*** | 0.0863*** | 0.0843*** |
|  | (0.0160) | (0.0184) | (0.0202) | (0.0209) | (0.0221) |
| 1.income_low#1.powerdis_cntry | -0.0920*** | -0.0848*** | -0.0781** | -0.0780** | -0.0462 |
|  | (0.0317) | (0.0323) | (0.0343) | (0.0346) | (0.0362) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 5,329 | 5,222 | 4,781 | 4,746 | 4,288 |
| R-squared | 0.008 | 0.059 | 0.121 | 0.127 | 0.167 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

I additionally explored how different European ancestry might mediate this effect, with three out of five regions demonstrating a mediating effect as seen across Tables 35 to 37. Western European, Nordic and Southeastern European ancestry all appear to mediate the willingness of low-income individuals to engage in above-average levels of OCB. Subsequently, low-income individuals identifying with Western European or Southerneastern European ancestry reported to be less willing, despite the overall willingness of these ancestry groups being higher. Conversely, low-income individuals identifying with Nordic ancestry, reporting higher willingness, although overall Nordic ancestry is generally linked with lower willingness.

*Table 35 Interaction between low-income individuals and Western European ancestry identification on above average-levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0665*** | -0.0311** | -0.0138 | -0.0144 | -0.00167 |
|  | (0.0121) | (0.0125) | (0.0129) | (0.0129) | (0.0134) |
| I(W Europe) = 1 | 0.139*** | 0.105*** | 0.0732*** | 0.0799*** | 0.0807*** |
|  | (0.0113) | (0.0121) | (0.0126) | (0.0126) | (0.0134) |
| 1.income_low#1.westE | -0.0411* | -0.0405 | -0.0484* | -0.0498** | -0.0476* |
|  | (0.0245) | (0.0248) | (0.0252) | (0.0253) | (0.0266) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 12,470 | 12,238 | 11,461 | 11,365 | 10,282 |
| R-squared | 0.018 | 0.050 | 0.098 | 0.104 | 0.135 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 36 - Interaction between low-income individuals and Southeastern European ancestry identification on above average-levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0717*** | -0.0284** | -0.0124 | -0.0134 | 0.00125 |
|  | (0.0119) | (0.0124) | (0.0126) | (0.0127) | (0.0132) |
| I(SE Europe) = 1 | -0.0116 | 0.0338** | 0.0543*** | 0.0424*** | 0.0472*** |
|  | (0.0127) | (0.0132) | (0.0139) | (0.0141) | (0.0148) |
| 1.income_low#1.southeastE | -0.0462* | -0.0652** | -0.0646** | -0.0643** | -0.0710** |
|  | (0.0256) | (0.0257) | (0.0271) | (0.0272) | (0.0282) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 12,470 | 12,238 | 11,461 | 11,365 | 10,282 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.044 | 0.097 | 0.102 | 0.133 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 37 - Interaction between low-income individuals and Nordic European ancestry on above average-levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0908*** | -0.0504*** | -0.0318*** | -0.0331*** | -0.0139 |
| | (0.0114) | (0.0119) | (0.0123) | (0.0124) | (0.0129) |
| I(Nordics) = 1 | -0.0109 | -0.0550*** | -0.0912*** | -0.0817*** | -0.0830*** |
| | (0.0141) | (0.0147) | (0.0150) | (0.0151) | (0.0160) |
| 1.income_low#1.nordicE | 0.0602** | 0.0607** | 0.0588* | 0.0585* | 0.0241 |
| | (0.0303) | (0.0303) | (0.0303) | (0.0304) | (0.0314) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 12,470 | 12,238 | 11,461 | 11,365 | 10,282 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.045 | 0.098 | 0.104 | 0.135 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Summary*

To summarize, low socio-economic status impacts willingness to engage in OCB, with results indicating that low-income individuals are 2% to 8% less willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB. Thus, Hypothesis 5 is supported and Hypothesis 2 rejected, indicating that individuals with low socio-economic status are less willing to engage in OCB due to their already limited resources.

Interactions with different cultural contexts mediated these results. A success-oriented cultural context (Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland) increases the willingness of low-income individuals, who report to be approximately 6% to 9% (high OCB) and 8% to 11% (above-average OCB) more willing to engage in OCB, compared to when living in countries scoring lowest on this cultural dimension (Norway, Iceland, Netherlands, Lithuania, Slovenia). Thus, Hypothesis H2d is supported, suggesting that low-income individuals draw from their socially prescribed roles, when considering their willingness to engage in OCB. This model has a cumulative R-squared value of 0.205, explaining almost 21% of the variance of high levels of OCB, representing the highest explanatory value across all OCB variations and identity characteristics.

In contrast, the top power-distant countries, such as Slovakia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia, and Slovenia seem to decrease the willingness of low-income individuals compared to those living in Ireland, Iceland, Norway, Finland, or Switzerland. Low-income individuals in power-distant countries report being approximately 5% and 9% less willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB.

### 5.1.4 Racialized Individuals and Cultural Variation

*Racialized Individuals*

Exploring how racial identity impacts willingness to engage in OCB, yielded significant results. Individuals who identify as being part of the racial or ethnic minority in the country of residence are significantly more willing to engage in different levels of OCB. This suggests that "racialized individuals" draw from their socialized role when considering their willingness, supporting of Hypothesis 3 and rejecting Hypothesis 6.

As Table 38 demonstrates, across all model specifications, the results are significant, ranging between 5% and 1% level significance levels. "Racialized individuals" report to be between 3% to 5% more willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB compared to individuals that are not racialized. However, this effect was not observed, when considering high levels of OCB.

*Table 38 - Racialized individuals on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) | 0.0272** | 0.0497*** | 0.0491*** | 0.0306** | 0.0430*** |
| | (0.0136) | (0.0138) | (0.0146) | (0.0146) | (0.0154) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,591 | 15,283 | 14,147 | 14,063 | 12,521 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.045 | 0.095 | 0.135 | 0.166 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Racialization and Cultural Variation*

Applying interaction regression analysis, I tested if cultural variations interact with the willingness of racialized individuals to engage in different levels of OCB from, testing Hypotheses H3b,c,d,e/H6b,c,d,e. I ran four different interactions, testing both high levels and above-average levels of OCB of racialized individuals living in countries scoring in the top five against the bottom five of Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Success Orientation. To contextualize these results, I additionally interacted willingness of racialized individuals with five different ancestry regions they identify with. The ancestry regions grouped as Western European, Nordics, Southern Europe, Southeastern Europe, and Eastern Europe.

Most significant results, utilizing Hofstede's cultural dimensions, were observable when considering the willingness of racialized individuals to engage OCB, when living in the most individualistic countries (Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium, Slovenia, and Norway), compared to racialized individuals living in Montenegro, North Makedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, or Italy. This result was however only significant exploring above-average levels of OCB (for high levels of OCB see Appendix Table 61 – for all other cultural effect results see Appendix Tables 62 to 67). As Table 39 below demonstrates, racialized individuals demonstrate an 8% to 10% lower willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB when living in an individualistic country compared to a collectivistic country. This finding supports Hypothesis H6e and rejects H3e, suggesting that racialized individuals draw from their resources rather than their socialized role when considering engaging in OCB.

*Table 39 - Interaction between racialized individuals in individualist countries on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | 0.0459 | 0.0829*** | 0.0835** | 0.0740** | 0.0819** |
| | (0.0283) | (0.0289) | (0.0342) | (0.0346) | (0.0379) |
| I(Individ. cntry) = 1 | 0.221*** | 0.154*** | 0.101*** | 0.114*** | 0.0987*** |
| | (0.0122) | (0.0149) | (0.0167) | (0.0172) | (0.0187) |
| 1.racialized#1.Individ_cntry | -0.0918** | -0.101** | -0.0889* | -0.0950** | -0.108** |
| | (0.0425) | (0.0431) | (0.0469) | (0.0473) | (0.0511) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,819 | 6,655 | 6,070 | 6,024 | 5,412 |
| R-squared | 0.048 | 0.095 | 0.150 | 0.158 | 0.190 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Exploring the cultural variation of racialized individuals based on their self-identification with different ancestry yielded only one significant interaction results. As Table 40 below demonstrates, racialized individuals who also identify with Nordic ancestry show a reduced overall positive effect willingness. Although these results are significant at the 5% and 10% levels, these are based on a very small sample size of 28 individuals, identifying as being racialized and of Nordic descent. Thus, the robustness of these results can be questioned.

*Table 40 - Interaction between racialized individuals with Nordic descent on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | 0.0344** | 0.0526*** | 0.0483*** | 0.0447*** | 0.0570*** |
| | (0.0155) | (0.0156) | (0.0166) | (0.0168) | (0.0177) |
| I(Nordics) = 1 | 0.0237* | -0.0364*** | -0.0741*** | -0.0656*** | -0.0757*** |
| | (0.0123) | (0.0129) | (0.0133) | (0.0134) | (0.0142) |
| 1.racialized#1.nordicE | -0.223** | -0.220** | -0.187* | -0.180* | -0.182* |
| | (0.0963) | (0.0949) | (0.0967) | (0.0966) | (0.0977) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 14,944 | 14,657 | 13,579 | 13,436 | 11,977 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.047 | 0.099 | 0.104 | 0.134 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

I extended this exploration by running additional analysis on individuals who have experienced discrimination, specifically racial discrimination to contextualize these results. As Table 41 demonstrates, individuals who have experienced discrimination report a lower willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB compared to individuals who have not. All model specifications yield significant results at the 1% and 5% levels, suggesting that individuals who have experienced discrimination are between 3% to 6% less willing to engage of above-average levels of OCB. This effect however was not observed on high levels of OCB (see Appendix Table 60).

*Table 41 - Discrimination Status on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(discriminated) | -0.0440*** | -0.0376** | -0.0642*** | -0.0613*** | -0.0389** |
| | (0.0152) | (0.0156) | (0.0160) | (0.0159) | (0.0168) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,554 | 15,150 | 14,039 | 13,892 | 12,377 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.045 | 0.096 | 0.137 | 0.167 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Exploring specifically racial discrimination, willingness decreases even further to 10% to 15% lower willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB. As Table 42 demonstrates, these results are significant at the 1% level across all model specifications.

*Table 42 - Racial Discrimination on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racial dscm.) | -0.115*** | -0.106*** | -0.130*** | -0.152*** | -0.153*** |
| | (0.0339) | (0.0351) | (0.0358) | (0.0356) | (0.0374) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,705 | 15,283 | 14,147 | 13,995 | 12,467 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.046 | 0.096 | 0.137 | 0.167 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Summary*

To summarize, individuals that identify as being part of the ethnic or racial minority of their country of residence, significantly impacts willingness to engage in OCB. Racialized individuals report to be 3% to 5% more willing to engage in above-average levels of OCB.

Therefore, Hypothesis H3 is supported and Hypothesis H6 rejected, indicating that racialized individuals drew from their socialized role rather than their resources. However, when considering whether individuals experienced racial discrimination, the results differ significantly. Individuals who have experienced racial discrimination report between 8% and almost 14% less willingness to engage in above-average OCB.

Considering these effects across different cultural contexts, individualist countries seem to be significantly impacting racialized individuals. Living in one of the top five individualist countries (Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium, Slovenia, or Norway) compared to the bottom five (Montenegro, North Makedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, or Italy) leads racialized individuals to report between 8% to 10% less willingness to engage in above-average levels of OCB. Subsequently hypothesis H6e is supported and H3e rejected, suggesting that racialized individuals drew from their resources when considering OCB rather than their socialized role. Exploring cultural variation based on self-identified ancestry revealed that one region significantly impacts racialized individuals. A Nordic ancestry appears to mediate willingness, although the sample size is too small to consider the results statistically robust.

## 5.2   Intersecting identities

*Gender, class and racialization*

I additionally tested how women at the intersection of class, income and racialization might report varying levels of willingness to engage in different OCB levels. Thus, I tested working-class, low-income and racialized women on both high levels and above average levels of OCB, with however no significant results. Thus, hypothesis variations H1a/H4a and H3a/H6a could not be supported nor rejected.

As Table 43 demonstrates, working-class women report a significant lower willingness up until labor, culture, and organizational controls are introduced. Similarly, as Table 44 shows, women with access to low incomes also report a significant lower willingness, however this effect loses significance when organizational controls are included, which mirrors the effect of women's willingness to engage in above average levels of OCB, previously shown in Table 24.

*Table 43 – Working-class women on above-average-levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(fem_workingcl.) | -0.0575*** | -0.0378*** | 0.00328 | -0.0110 | -0.00584 |
| | (0.0133) | (0.0135) | (0.0141) | (0.0140) | (0.0144) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,705 | 15,319 | 14,164 | 14,080 | 12,537 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.029 | 0.089 | 0.130 | 0.162 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 44 - Women with low-income on above average-levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(fem_lowinc.) | -0.0551*** | -0.0281** | -0.0165 | -0.0310** | -0.0219 |
| | (0.0129) | (0.0131) | (0.0136) | (0.0135) | (0.0139) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,705 | 15,283 | 14,147 | 14,063 | 12,521 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.042 | 0.094 | 0.133 | 0.165 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

Likewise, as Table 45 below demonstrates, racialized women report a significant higher willingness when controlling for demographic, psychographic and labor effects. However, these effects lose significance once culture and organizational effects are considered.

*Table 45 - Racialized women on above-average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(fem_racial.) | 0.0264 | 0.0407** | 0.0513** | 0.0233 | 0.0294 |
| | (0.0191) | (0.0192) | (0.0205) | (0.0204) | (0.0210) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,705 | 15,385 | 14,233 | 14,146 | 12,587 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.044 | 0.095 | 0.135 | 0.166 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Summary*

To summarize, women at the different intersection of socio-economic status and ethnic/racial minority group belonging did not show any significant results and other aspects as socio-economic status and minority group belonging seem to interject the effect of gender. Although women report on average to be less willing to engage in (especially high-levels of) OCB, this is not the same for all women. Both, women falling into a working-class categorization and women having access to low levels of income do not report significant results. Considering that low-income individuals on average report a significant lower willingness to engage in above average levels of OCB  (see Table 31), similarly as women do on average this effect is lost exploring the identity categories in conjunction. Similarly, individuals belonging to an ethnic/racial minority on average report a higher willingness (see Table 38), women at the intersection of racial minority group belonging do not report significant results. Thus, these different intersectional identities represent additional perspective and experience highlighting the importance of an intersectional approach, when exploring behaviors of identities.

## 5.3    Heterogeneity within same gender role socialization

In this section, I explored how traditional and stereotypical performances of gender predict willingness to engage in OCB, testing Hypothesis H7 and H8. Using regression model two, I created a subsample of women and men, differentiating them by their adherence to traditional values, as an indication of a traditional gender performance. Additionally, I used religiousness as a proxy measure for tradition by subsampling women and men based on their religiousness. To identify individuals who might perform their gender in a stereotypical way, I additionally subsampled based on values associated with tradition and religion in combination with stereotypical female traits, such as helping and stereotypical male traits, such as success.

### 5.3.1    Traditional and Stereotypical Female Gender Performance

*Traditional and Religious Women*

Both traditional and religious women report to be more willing to engage in OCB compared to women that do not hold these values. Traditional women are between 2% to 3% more willing to engage in high levels of OCB compared to non-traditional women. These results are significant at the 1% and 10% levels, although lose significance once controlling for organizational justice parameters.  Similarly, religious women report between 2% to nearly 5% higher willingness of high levels of OCB, with significance levels at 1%. However, again significance is lost once controlling for organizational justice effects.

*Table 46  - Traditional women on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(Fem. Traditional) | 0.0315*** | 0.0394*** | 0.0425*** | 0.0239* | 0.0178 |
|  | (0.0115) | (0.0117) | (0.0119) | (0.0126) | (0.0129) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 7,855 | 7,658 | 7,111 | 7,068 | 6,421 |
| R-squared | 0.001 | 0.053 | 0.128 | 0.154 | 0.188 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 47 - Religious women on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(Fem. Relig.) | 0.0497*** | 0.0428*** | 0.0341*** | 0.0331*** | 0.0195 |
| | (0.0111) | (0.0113) | (0.0116) | (0.0120) | (0.0124) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 7,849 | 7,651 | 7,102 | 7,108 | 6,421 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.054 | 0.128 | 0.145 | 0.188 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Stereotypical women*

To further specific stereotypical gender performance, I refined my subsample of traditional and religious women by including those with strong identification with helping behaviors. As seen in Table 48, women who identify with these values, demonstrate a significantly higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB, compared to women that do not identify with these values. However, significance varies across different model specifications and decreases with incremental inclusion of control variables, disappearing when controlling for perceived organizational justice.

*Table 48  - Stereotypical women (tradition based) on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(Fem. Trad.&Help) | 0.0947*** | 0.0783*** | 0.0634*** | 0.0504*** | 0.0278 |
| | (0.0177) | (0.0180) | (0.0187) | (0.0194) | (0.0202) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 5,138 | 5,010 | 4,669 | 4,643 | 4,218 |
| R-squared | 0.006 | 0.069 | 0.140 | 0.167 | 0.191 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

When using religiousness as a proxy for tradition, significantly more robust results can be observed. As Table 49 below demonstrates, women who strongly identify religion and helping behaviors report a statically significant higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB. These effects remain significant across most model specifications at the 1% level, decreasing to 5% when controlling for organizational justice. Thus, gender-stereotypical women are between 4% and 14% more willing to engage in high levels of OCB compared to women that do not hold these values, supporting Hypothesis H7.

*Table 49 - Stereotypical women (religiousness based) on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(Fem. Relig.&Help) | 0.142*** | 0.115*** | 0.0893*** | 0.0805*** | 0.0457** |
| | (0.0156) | (0.0167) | (0.0176) | (0.0207) | (0.0213) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 3,388 | 3,288 | 3,032 | 3,025 | 2,747 |
| R-squared | 0.024 | 0.082 | 0.170 | 0.192 | 0.235 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Summary*

To summarize, both the degree of religiosity and importance of traditional values increases women's willingness to engage in OCB. This effect persists for women, that might perform their gender in a stereotypical, identifying strongly with helping behaviors as. Thus, Hypothesis H7 is supported, with stereotypical women are between 5% to 14% more willing to engage in OCB. The R-squared values range from 0.024 to 0.235, indicating that, with all controls included, this model explains approximately 24% of the variance of high levels of OCB.

## 5.3.2   Traditional and Stereotypical Male Gender Performance

*Traditional and Religious men*

Using the same approach, I examined traditional and religious men to understand their willingness to engage in OCB. As Tables 48 and 49 demonstrate, both traditional and religious

men report a significant higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB. Traditional men are between 2% to 4% more willing to engage in high levels of OCB compared to non-traditional men. These results are significant at the 1% and 5% levels, though significance is lost once controlling for organizational justice parameters. Similarly, religious men report between 3% to 6% higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB, with significance levels at 1% across all model specifications. These results are the same with above average levels of OCB.

*Table 50 – Traditional men on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(M. Traditional) | 0.0459*** | 0.0454*** | 0.0447*** | 0.0276** | 0.00659 |
| | (0.0113) | (0.0115) | (0.0118) | (0.0124) | (0.0130) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 7,749 | 7,535 | 6,963 | 6,927 | 6,046 |
| R-squared | 0.002 | 0.070 | 0.145 | 0.173 | 0.197 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 51 - Religious men on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(M. Relig.) | 0.0647*** | 0.0617*** | 0.0535*** | 0.0465*** | 0.0489*** |
| | (0.0127) | (0.0129) | (0.0132) | (0.0137) | (0.0144) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 7,744 | 7,534 | 6,961 | 6,927 | 6,046 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.064 | 0.138 | 0.165 | 0.189 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Stereotypical men*

To explore stereotypical male gender performance, I defined stereotypically men as those who strongly identify with traditional or religious values along with success. As shown in Tables 52 and 53, stereotypical men, based on either tradition or religion, show a statistically significant higher willingness to engage in high levels of OCB compared to men not identifying with these values. Thus, supporting Hypothesis H8, suggesting that men performing their gender in a stereotypical way to be more willing to engage in OCB then men not performing their gender that way.

As Table 52 below shows, gender-stereotypical men, based on tradition, are between 4% and 9% more willing to engage in OCB then men not identifying with these same values. Across all model specification significance levels are at the 1% level, except for on model 5, considering organizational justice effects in high levels of OCB, decreasing to 5% significance.

*Table 52 - Stereotypical men (tradition based) on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(high OCB) | (2)<br>I(high OCB) | (3)<br>I(high OCB) | (4)<br>I(high OCB) | (5)<br>I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(M. Trad.&Suc.) | 0.0762*** | 0.0848*** | 0.0838*** | 0.0649*** | 0.0422** |
|  | (0.0160) | (0.0163) | (0.0168) | (0.0186) | (0.0195) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 4,966 | 4,818 | 4,429 | 4,407 | 3,852 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.073 | 0.164 | 0.189 | 0.226 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

As Table 53 below shows, gender-stereotypical men, based on their religiousness, are approximately 9% nearly 12% more willing to engage in high levels of OCB then men not identifying with these same values. Across all model specifications significance levels are at the 1% level. These results are very similar when considering above-average levels of OCB.

*Table 53 - Stereotypical men (religiousness based) on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(M. Relig.&Suc.) | 0.104*** | 0.117*** | 0.109*** | 0.0981*** | 0.0927*** |
| | (0.0171) | (0.0180) | (0.0185) | (0.0216) | (0.0230) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 3,153 | 3,074 | 2,862 | 2,853 | 2,502 |
| R-squared | 0.012 | 0.105 | 0.201 | 0.223 | 0.276 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Summary*

To summarize, both religiousness and traditional values increases men's willingness to engage in OCB. This effect persists for men who perform their gender in a stereotypical way, strongly identifying with success as an important part of their identity. Stereotypical men are between 8% to 12% more willing to engage in OCB, varying by OCB levels and model specification. These results support Hypothesis H8, which suggests that stereotypical men are more willing to engage in OCB. The R-squared values range from 0.012 to 0.276, indicating that, with inclusion of all controls, this model explains approximately 28% of the variance of high levels of OCB, representing the highest value across results in this research project.

## 5.4 Results Summary and Meaning within an Emotion-Work Framework

The aim of this research project is to explore how different identity characteristics impact willingness to engage in emotion work within a corporate context. Built upon the understanding that low status, expressed through various combinations of gender, socio-economic categories or racialization, is associated with increased provision of emotion work and its formalized version, emotional labor, this research endeavor focused on exploring how willing these individuals are, when asked directly. Drawing from feminist theory, conceptualizing identity as a culturally constructed category, that is not as fixed conventionally presumed, but reenacted through everyday interactions, including emotion work, I proposed that individuals might draw from different aspects of their identities, when considering engaging in emotion work.

Different hypotheses, built upon Social Role Theory and Conservation of Resources Theory which provide two opposing stances to interpret the willingness to engage in emotion work, were tested. This approach allowed to account for individuals to either draw from their socialized roles or resources' position. Utilizing Organizational Citizenship Behaviors as a proxy measure for emotion work, yielded significant results, that suggest significant impact across different identity categories including cultural variations, mediating these effects.

Results indicate that identity plays a significant role, when exploring willingness to engage in additional responsibilities at work, which could include emotion work. Both women and low-income individuals report a significant lower willingness across Europe, conversely racialized individuals a significant higher willingness. Interpreting this within an emotion-work framework, drawing from the above-mentioned theories indicate that women and low-income individuals, on average, draw more from their resource position and reject potential internalized social roles, that would dictate a deferent and accommodating position, encouraging to regulate emotions for the benefit of others. The increased willingness of racialized individuals might indicate an adaptive response, engaging in additional emotion work, to circumvent potential biases and invest extra resources to foster community.

Across all three identity categories tested mediating effects of different cultural context can be observed. Especially uncertainty-avoiding, individualistic and success-oriented cultural contexts, seem to significantly impact how different identities are willing to engage in additional tasks and responsibilities without being remunerated. Women, living in uncertainty-

avoiding contexts, demonstrate a significantly higher willingness, in contrast to their general reduced willingness. Uncertainty avoidance is described as valuing predictability and forgoing ambiguity, which fosters the upholding of traditional norms and could be an explanation as to why women, in this context, might draw from their socialized role rather than resources and engage in their internalized social role of being supportive and accommodating to the needs of others. Racialized individuals, who on average demonstrate an increased willingness compared to individuals that are not, report a significant lower willingness, when living in individualistic countries. Hofstede's characterization of individualistic countries focuses on valuing the self over the community, which might drive the decreased willingness making racialized individuals consider their resource position rather than social role. Success oriented cultures demonstrate similarly significant mediating results, as low-income individuals, who on average demonstrate a lower willingness, report to be significantly more willing, when living in success-oriented cultures. Cultures valuing success and achievement over cohesion and communal welfare thus might drive individuals, who are already resource stricken, to feel additional pressure to commit to additional commitments at work, thus demonstrating an increased willingness.

Additional mediating effects were observed when considering respondents' self-identified ancestry. Effects for women's willingness was especially mediated by Western European ancestry, that significantly decreased willingness even further. In three out of five regions, low-income individuals reported different willingness compared to the overall ancestry group. Individuals identifying with Western and Southeastern ancestry generally report a higher willingness, however this effect is reduced when individuals fall into the low-income category. Conversely, individuals identifying with Nordic ancestry, who generally report a lower willingness, indicate a higher willingness when falling into the low-income category.

Building upon same gender-role socialization differences were observed of willingness when women and men differed in their levels of holding traditional and religious values. Both, traditional and religious women as men, demonstrate an increased willingness. These effects are even stronger when identifying with gender-stereotyped behaviors, like helping for women and success for men. This suggest that traditional women might have internalized their social role as providing support as their responsibility without being paid for. Men's increased willingness might be explained due to a different association, in accordance with gendered-stereotypes, when considering to be needed and provide help at work. This however is contradiction with also traditional and religious men, demonstrating significant higher

willingness than men who are not. What could explain this, is that men and women might also associate different things,  that are in line with their gendered identities, when asked about taking on different additional tasks. Thus, traditional women, might think about more a helping task, whereas traditional man might associate with this an investment that will increase their chances of success.

## 5.5   Implications

*Insights into work inequalities*

These results and insights can be utilized to understand workplace inequalities by addressing how work requirements might impact different identities differently. Through exploring how societal inequalities are reflected within organizational contexts, can shed light to understand how organization might reproduce or circumvent structural inequalities.

*Implications for corporate organizations*

These results can be utilized for specific corporate policies to acknowledge and address emotion work expectations differ by identities. This allows organizations to accommodate for this and try to circumvent the reproduction of inequalities. Thus mental-health programs within corporate organizations could incorporate these findings to accommodate for increased emotion work expectations being placed on structurally disadvantaged individuals. These insights could be incorporated in awareness trainings within organizations to create a broader understanding that individuals in society face different expectations which extends to emotion work.

*Emotion work across different cultural contexts*

Through the exploration of emotion work across various different European regions and cultural contexts, this thesis offers insights into how different norms might impact employees work behaviors. This allows for a comparative analysis.

*Intersectional approach*

Through applying an intersectional approach this thesis contributes to the endeavor of understanding identities as multi-faceted that additionally adds insights into trying to understand complex human behaviors.

## 5.6 Limitations

*Organizational Citizenship Behavior as a measure of Emotion work*

Although key tenants (unremunerated and extra-role) of organizational citizenship behaviors are shared with emotion work other important aspects are missed. There are no indications of who the extra task or responsibility is directed towards, thus status differences between these interaction partners are assumed and cannot be controlled for.

*Oversimplified cultural dimensions*

They way I utilize Hofstede's cultural dimension by, comparing the top five against bottom five countries potentially oversimplifies shared cultures and future research could look at other measures to explore cultural variations or look at individuals country levels. Additionally, Hofstede's cultural dimensions are drawn from respondents working within the same corporate organization (IBM), which might question how generalizable these insights are. The contextualization of Hofstede's dimensions with self-identified ancestry could be explored in more detail to further understand how different cultures drive different levels of willingness.

*Vague ESS question*

I believe an additional limitation and complication of this project is the vague phrasing of the ESS question, utilized to measure emotion work. The exact phrasing is: *"If needed [1.], how willing [3.] would you be to take on extra responsibilities [2.] at work without being paid more [4.] ? [...]"(European Social Survey, 2020, p. 88).* I propose, there are four components to this question where different norms can unfold, impacting responses, depending on self-schematic believes on one's identity varying across cultures. These four are all intertwined but shall be discussed in the above-noted order.

*Being needed*

Being needed calls upon different concepts that differ across cultures that can hold different meanings. When considered through a gendered lens, being needed can be understood as a way to fulfill one's (gendered) role (caretaker/provider/supporter/protector) and a means of abiding to moral codes of conduct (religious believes/ethics) (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Eagly, 1987). Applying social role theory and emotion norms would conclude that different gender identities would associate 'being needed' according to their gendered roles. Female socialized individuals are socialized as good caretakers to prioritize the community over the self, leading

norms to encourage "motherly" displays of emotions and behaviors. Conversely, male-socialized individuals are socialized to be goal-oriented and self-focused, with norms encouraging emotions and behaviors that demonstrate their assertiveness and drive for achievements. Thus, exploring gender differences through this question might be based on underreported differences as different associations are called upon, when asking individuals about being needed (Ng et al., 2016).

*Extra responsibilities*

Associations about being needed along gendered normative lines similarly impacts point two. What is being considered as an 'extra' responsibility, constituting to go above and beyond will depend on what an individual thinks is the minimum "baseline". Female socialized individuals are culturally understood and socialized into their "motherly" responsibilities to be the better caretakers as defined above, thus will arguably be considering this as already part of the "female-gender-job". Organizational research has also already established that female socialized individuals tend to engage in more helping or altruistic OCBs compared to male socialized individuals (Ng et al., 2016). This strengthens the argument even further, that gender differences, built upon the above question will probably result in underreported differences. As mentioned above, cultural norms prescribing traditional gender roles, will likely impact how individuals define what they consider as part of their "gender-job" or not. Thus, European countries demonstrating a high score on Hofstede's cultural dimension "uncertainty avoidance" indicating how strongly a culture holds on to existing norms and traditions, resisting change, will inform how traditional gender roles are. Individuals living within countries scoring high, indicating importance of traditions, will demonstrate a more traditional segregation of values, with female socialized individuals holding helping values higher than competition. Vice versa male socialized individuals will report higher importance to competitiveness then helping values, compared to societies scoring lower on this cultural dimension. Subsequently, the results yielded by the above question, will make a comparison between genders difficult as different extra-role responsibilities might be.

*Willingness & payment*

Point three and four are equally interconnected by differing assumptions of what is considered part of gendered roles and additionally related to resources an individual has. When looking at it through a gendered lens, how willing someone is to do any 'extra' responsibility, whatever is associated with it, depends on how strong that self-schematic belief of ones gender role is. If

the self-schematic concept of being a woman* is very strong, being helpful and caretaking is arguably considered as part of being female and one's responsibility thus impacting the fourth aspect of payment. If the association is, that it is considered part of ones gender role, being paid for it, might go against that norm. Gender norms for female socialized individuals prescribe humbleness, family/community orientation, wanting payment thus conflicts with this norm. Gender norms also prescribe competitiveness and success orientation as male characteristics, suggesting male individuals would be less inclined to do anything extra, without being paid for. If the association of extra responsibility however is an investment that will bring a return later, as social exchange theory proposed, a higher willingness could be expected from male respondents.

*Questionable Emotional labor and Emotion Work distinction*
This research question utilized the distinction made by many researchers within sociology and organizational research. However, others (Hackman, 2023)  have argued that the clear distinction is not as useful, as it implies a clear distinction between the private and public spheres, which from a feminist perspective is particularly relevant as certain identities are faced with expectation to provide unremunerated work in all spheres be it private or public.

## 5.7   Concluding remarks

Organizational literature has argued to use organizational citizenship behaviors as part of employee performance evaluations, promoting that those individuals should get valued and appreciated, when engaging in these selfless considered behaviors. However, if those behaviors are a form of norms being reproduced, inequalities are reproduced.  Expectations placed upon individuals to go above and beyond is intertwined with emotion norms around gender, race and class, informing who is considered responsible of the 'care' of others. Who must consider the emotional well-being of who? Who must take care that no irritation is felt? Those who cannot afford to go above and beyond are subsequently exposed to disadvantaged evaluation compared to those who can afford it. How willing someone is, to give "extra" will also be impacted how much "extra" is generally available. Applying Conservation of Resource theory, positing that individuals seek to protect their resources, suggests, that those who are willing to give extra, might be those who have resources available (Hobfoll, 2001). Having emotional resources (Baumeister et al., 1998; Trougakos et al., 2015) is impacted by many factors ranging from health, wealth, discrimination experience and overall status society bestows individuals. Thus,

the willingness to engage in any extra responsibility is arguable always also an indication of available resources including wealth, health, time, or status. Subsequently, expecting these behaviors within a for-profit, corporate organization, holds the potential for inequalities to be reproduced.

# 6   Bibliography

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# 7 Appendix

## 7.1 Additional Tables

*Socio-economic Status and Cultural Context*

*Table 54 - Low-income Individuals on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) | -0.0602*** | -0.0206** | -0.00114 | -0.0144 | -0.00425 |
|  | (0.00964) | (0.0101) | (0.0103) | (0.0103) | (0.0106) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 13,018 | 12,759 | 11,941 | 11,837 | 10,704 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.052 | 0.121 | 0.153 | 0.177 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 55 - Interaction between low-income individuals in power-distant countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0459** | -0.0175 | 0.00396 | -0.00156 | -0.00137 |
|  | (0.0196) | (0.0204) | (0.0210) | (0.0212) | (0.0219) |
| I(Power D. cntry) = 1 | -0.0188 | 0.0741*** | 0.115*** | 0.0982*** | 0.0900*** |
|  | (0.0156) | (0.0177) | (0.0194) | (0.0201) | (0.0210) |
| 1.income_low#1.powerdis_cntry | -0.0552* | -0.0551* | -0.0545* | -0.0487 | -0.0371 |
|  | (0.0308) | (0.0312) | (0.0329) | (0.0332) | (0.0345) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 5,329 | 5,222 | 4,781 | 4,746 | 4,288 |
| R-squared | 0.006 | 0.074 | 0.144 | 0.150 | 0.180 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 56 - Interaction between low-income individuals in uncertainty-avoiding countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(high OCB) | (2)<br>I(high OCB) | (3)<br>I(high OCB) | (4)<br>I(high OCB) | (5)<br>I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0829*** | -0.0370* | -0.0240 | -0.0284 | -0.0266 |
| | (0.0212) | (0.0219) | (0.0227) | (0.0228) | (0.0237) |
| I(Uncert. Avoid. cntry) = 1 | -0.0364** | -0.0206 | -0.00876 | -0.0157 | -0.0217 |
| | (0.0159) | (0.0165) | (0.0174) | (0.0176) | (0.0185) |
| 1.income_low#1.UA_cntry | -0.000451 | -0.00164 | 0.00851 | 0.0130 | 0.0257 |
| | (0.0311) | (0.0313) | (0.0328) | (0.0330) | (0.0341) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 5,013 | 4,917 | 4,483 | 4,445 | 3,997 |
| R-squared | 0.007 | 0.083 | 0.156 | 0.163 | 0.205 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 57 - Interaction between low-income individuals and uncertainty-avoiding countries on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av. OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0978*** | -0.0588*** | -0.0520** | -0.0518** | -0.0551** |
| | (0.0215) | (0.0224) | (0.0233) | (0.0235) | (0.0246) |
| I(Uncert. Avoid. cntry) = 1 | -0.0587*** | -0.0540*** | -0.0411** | -0.0464** | -0.0513*** |
| | (0.0161) | (0.0168) | (0.0179) | (0.0181) | (0.0192) |
| 1.income_low#1.UA_cntry | -0.0191 | -0.0202 | 0.00313 | 5.56e-05 | 0.0147 |
| | (0.0315) | (0.0321) | (0.0338) | (0.0339) | (0.0355) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 5,013 | 4,917 | 4,483 | 4,445 | 3,997 |
| R-squared | 0.013 | 0.064 | 0.123 | 0.130 | 0.181 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 58 - Interaction between low-income individuals and uncertainty-avoiding countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0559*** | -0.0311 | -0.0147 | -0.0146 | 0.0134 |
| | (0.0209) | (0.0217) | (0.0235) | (0.0236) | (0.0244) |
| I(Individ. cntry) = 1 | 0.180*** | 0.130*** | 0.0621*** | 0.0692*** | 0.0583*** |
| | (0.0145) | (0.0168) | (0.0189) | (0.0193) | (0.0207) |
| 1.income_low#1.Individ_cntry | -0.0337 | -0.00971 | -0.00925 | -0.0150 | -0.0458 |
| | (0.0293) | (0.0298) | (0.0311) | (0.0312) | (0.0323) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 5,780 | 5,652 | 5,221 | 5,191 | 4,731 |
| R-squared | 0.037 | 0.086 | 0.160 | 0.166 | 0.195 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 59 - Interaction between low-income individuals living in individualist countries on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(low income) = 1 | -0.0710*** | -0.0416* | -0.0217 | -0.0221 | 0.00280 |
| | (0.0210) | (0.0219) | (0.0237) | (0.0238) | (0.0250) |
| I(Individ. cntry) = 1 | 0.209*** | 0.152*** | 0.0989*** | 0.113*** | 0.102*** |
| | (0.0146) | (0.0170) | (0.0190) | (0.0195) | (0.0212) |
| 1.income_low#1.Individ_cntry | -0.0482 | -0.0329 | -0.0400 | -0.0439 | -0.0805** |
| | (0.0294) | (0.0300) | (0.0314) | (0.0315) | (0.0330) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 5,780 | 5,652 | 5,221 | 5,191 | 4,731 |
| R-squared | 0.050 | 0.092 | 0.150 | 0.157 | 0.189 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Racialized individuals and Cultural Context*

*Table 60 - Individuals having experienced discrimination on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(discriminated) | -0.0291** | -0.0120 | -0.0384*** | -0.0368** | -0.0166 |
| | (0.0142) | (0.0145) | (0.0148) | (0.0148) | (0.0153) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 15,554 | 15,150 | 14,039 | 13,892 | 12,377 |
| R-squared | 0.000 | 0.054 | 0.124 | 0.153 | 0.175 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 61 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in individualist countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | -0.0444 | -0.0125 | -0.000718 | -0.00584 | 0.0224 |
| | (0.0277) | (0.0283) | (0.0334) | (0.0339) | (0.0366) |
| I(Individ. cntry) = 1 | 0.183*** | 0.127*** | 0.0629*** | 0.0710*** | 0.0605*** |
| | (0.0120) | (0.0146) | (0.0163) | (0.0168) | (0.0180) |
| 1.racialized#1.Individ_cntry | -0.0100 | -0.00847 | 0.00443 | -0.0104 | -0.0379 |
| | (0.0417) | (0.0422) | (0.0459) | (0.0463) | (0.0494) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,819 | 6,655 | 6,070 | 6,024 | 5,412 |
| R-squared | 0.037 | 0.092 | 0.165 | 0.170 | 0.197 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 62 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in power-distant countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | 0.0134 | 0.0284 | 0.0304 | 0.0190 | 0.0440 |
| | (0.0262) | (0.0268) | (0.0280) | (0.0283) | (0.0296) |
| I(Power D. cntry) = 1 | -0.0297** | 0.0612*** | 0.0881*** | 0.0709*** | 0.0581*** |
| | (0.0131) | (0.0154) | (0.0169) | (0.0176) | (0.0186) |
| 1.racialized#1.powerdis_cntry | -0.0871** | -0.0815** | -0.0338 | -0.0269 | -0.0285 |
| | (0.0394) | (0.0398) | (0.0451) | (0.0456) | (0.0491) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,177 | 6,067 | 5,511 | 5,460 | 4,863 |
| R-squared | 0.003 | 0.076 | 0.143 | 0.148 | 0.175 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 63 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in power-distant countries on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | 0.0589** | 0.0685** | 0.0560* | 0.0423 | 0.0566* |
| | (0.0271) | (0.0280) | (0.0293) | (0.0297) | (0.0313) |
| I(Power D. cntry) = 1 | -0.0578*** | 0.0293* | 0.0666*** | 0.0512*** | 0.0518*** |
| | (0.0135) | (0.0161) | (0.0178) | (0.0185) | (0.0197) |
| 1.racialized#1.powerdis_cntry | -0.0502 | -0.0425 | 0.00201 | 0.0162 | 0.0306 |
| | (0.0408) | (0.0416) | (0.0473) | (0.0478) | (0.0519) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,177 | 6,067 | 5,511 | 5,460 | 4,863 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.060 | 0.116 | 0.121 | 0.159 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 64 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in uncertainty-avoiding countries on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(above av. OCB) | (2) I(above av. OCB) | (3) I(above av. OCB) | (4) I(above av. OCB) | (5) I(above av. OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | 0.0234 | 0.0949*** | 0.0768** | 0.0688** | 0.129*** |
| | (0.0297) | (0.0302) | (0.0327) | (0.0330) | (0.0355) |
| I(Uncert. Avoid. cntry) = 1 | -0.0678*** | -0.0380*** | -0.0309** | -0.0365** | -0.0337** |
| | (0.0134) | (0.0143) | (0.0152) | (0.0155) | (0.0167) |
| 1.racialized#1.UA_cntry | -0.0409 | -0.0857** | -0.0413 | -0.0332 | -0.0751 |
| | (0.0410) | (0.0412) | (0.0455) | (0.0459) | (0.0492) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,048 | 5,931 | 5,386 | 5,334 | 4,689 |
| R-squared | 0.005 | 0.070 | 0.125 | 0.131 | 0.177 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 65 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in uncertainty-avoiding countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1) I(high OCB) | (2) I(high OCB) | (3) I(high OCB) | (4) I(high OCB) | (5) I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | -0.0542* | 0.0150 | 0.00895 | -0.00682 | 0.0537 |
| | (0.0289) | (0.0291) | (0.0314) | (0.0317) | (0.0337) |
| I(Uncert. Avoid. cntry) = 1 | -0.0421*** | -0.00842 | -0.00406 | -0.0106 | -0.00792 |
| | (0.0131) | (0.0138) | (0.0146) | (0.0148) | (0.0159) |
| 1.racialized#1.UA_cntry | -0.0176 | -0.0545 | 0.00113 | 0.0124 | -0.0210 |
| | (0.0400) | (0.0398) | (0.0437) | (0.0441) | (0.0467) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 6,048 | 5,931 | 5,386 | 5,334 | 4,689 |
| R-squared | 0.004 | 0.090 | 0.159 | 0.166 | 0.203 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 66 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in success-oriented countries on above average levels of OCB (>=5.34)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (2)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (3)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (4)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) | (5)<br>I(above av.<br>OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | -0.0110 | 0.0178 | 0.00556 | -0.00145 | 0.00426 |
| | (0.0352) | (0.0353) | (0.0359) | (0.0363) | (0.0386) |
| I(Success cntry) = 1 | -0.132*** | -0.0981*** | -0.0483*** | -0.0572*** | -0.0567*** |
| | (0.0122) | (0.0134) | (0.0144) | (0.0146) | (0.0155) |
| 1.racialized#1.success_cntry | 0.0876** | 0.0686 | 0.0568 | 0.0578 | 0.0708 |
| | (0.0419) | (0.0423) | (0.0435) | (0.0438) | (0.0465) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 7,198 | 7,014 | 6,517 | 6,442 | 5,770 |
| R-squared | 0.017 | 0.075 | 0.138 | 0.143 | 0.183 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

*Table 67 - Interaction between racialized individuals living in success-oriented countries on high levels of OCB (>=8/10)*

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>I(high OCB) | (2)<br>I(high OCB) | (3)<br>I(high OCB) | (4)<br>I(high OCB) | (5)<br>I(high OCB) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I(racialized) = 1 | -0.0297 | -0.00142 | 0.0129 | -0.000666 | 0.0117 |
| | (0.0342) | (0.0341) | (0.0346) | (0.0350) | (0.0370) |
| I(Success cntry) = 1 | -0.151*** | -0.112*** | -0.0519*** | -0.0572*** | -0.0481*** |
| | (0.0118) | (0.0130) | (0.0139) | (0.0141) | (0.0149) |
| 1.racialized#1.success_cntry | 0.0679* | 0.0472 | 0.0159 | 0.0224 | 0.0240 |
| | (0.0408) | (0.0408) | (0.0419) | (0.0423) | (0.0446) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 7,198 | 7,014 | 6,517 | 6,442 | 5,770 |
| R-squared | 0.023 | 0.099 | 0.175 | 0.180 | 0.203 |
| Dem. & Psyc. controls | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Labor controls | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Culture controls | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| POJ controls | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
POJ: perceived organizational justice

## 7.2 Abstract

Being friendly with a coworker and smiling at a customer, although one does not feel that way, is common and expected in most workplaces. Similarly, bringing "the right" attitude to work, thus trying to motivate oneself to authentically feel excited about the workday, is part of many people's daily routines. Behavioral norms at work extend not only to how one should act but also to how one is supposed to feel and express emotions. When expectations do not match the felt reality, emotion management and regulation of feelings - emotion work - might be employed. This thesis explores how identities relate to the willingness to engage in emotion work - the process of regulating one's feelings and emotional display in interactions to align with both broader societal norms and more specific workplace demands. Identities are explored from an intersectional perspective, examining identity categories such as gender, socio-economic status, and racial/ethnic minority membership. Building upon feminist theories, understanding identities as socially constructed categories that are fundamentally intertwined with status and power, emotion work is explored as an expression of patriarchal power dynamics. This exposes that emotion work demands are unequally divided and current provision of emotion work and emotional labor – formalized emotion work - are disproportionally provided by subjugated individuals. Data from the *European Social Survey* (ESS), encompassing 31 countries across the European region, including responses of over 24,000 respondents regarding their willingness to take on extra responsibilities at work without remuneration, serves as a gauge for emotion work. Different identities are explored individually, at their different intersections and compared across various cultural aspects and countries. The results indicate that women (compared to men) and low-income individuals demonstrate a significantly lower willingness, while individuals belonging to an ethnic/racial minority report to be on average more willing to engage in emotion work. These effects are mediated across different countries and cultural contexts. This thesis contributes to the study of emotion work by adopting an intersectional framework that explores identities beyond isolated identity categories, and specifically focuses on the European labor market. Implications for corporate diversity training and equity-focused policies are addressed.

## 7.3 Abstract Deutsch

Ein freundliches Auftreten gegenüber der Kolleg- sowie Kundschaft, obwohl man sich nicht authentisch danach fühlt, ist in den meisten Arbeitsplätzen üblich und wird erwartet. Darüber hinaus wird oft verlangt, die „richtige" Einstellung und Motivation für die Arbeit mitzubringen, und Arbeitende versuchen, sich selbst zu motivieren, um diesen Erwartungen zu entsprechen. Verhaltensnormen am Arbeitsplatz umfassen nicht nur, wie Personen sich verhalten sollen, sondern beziehen sich auch darauf, wie sich Personen fühlen sollen beziehungsweise, wie Emotionen ausgedrückt werden sollen. Wenn die Erwartungen nicht mit der tatsächlichen Gefühlswelt der arbeitenden Person übereinstimmen, kann „Emotionsmanagement" und die Regulierung von Gefühlen, also Emotionsarbeit, angewendet werden. Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich damit, wie Identität mit der Bereitschaft Emotionsarbeit im Arbeitsumfeld zu leisten, zusammenhängt. Identität wird dabei aus einer intersektionalen Perspektive verstanden und unterschiedliche Identitätskategorien wie Geschlecht, sozioökonomischer Status und Zugehörigkeit zu ethnischen Minderheiten als alleinige Merkmale sowie an ihren unterschiedlichen Intersektionen werden untersucht. Aufbauend auf feministische Theorien, die Identität als soziales Konstrukt verstehen, das fundamental mit Macht und Status verwoben ist, werden die Erwartungen von Emotionsarbeit als Ausdruck patriarchaler Machtstrukturen verstanden. Anhand dieser wird illustriert, dass Erwartungen an Emotionsarbeit ungleich verteilt sind und dass die aktuelle Erbringung von Emotionsarbeit unverhältnismäßig stark von Personen erbracht wird, die in patriarchalen Strukturen als untergeordnet erachtet sind. Die *European Social Survey* (ESS) legt dabei die Datengrundlage, welche Ergebnisse von über 24,000 Befragten aus über 31 europäischen Ländern zu ihrer Bereitschaft, unbezahlt zusätzliche Aufgaben und Verantwortung zu übernehmen, liefert. Dies dient als Maßstab zu Erfassung der Bereitschaft von Emotionsarbeit. Es werden unterschiedliche Identitätsmerkmale individuell und an ihren unterschiedlichen Intersektionen untersucht sowie kulturelle Ländervergleiche unternommen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Frauen (im Vergleich zu Männern) sowie Personen mit geringem Einkommen eine signifikant geringere Bereitschaft aufweisen, Emotionsarbeit am Arbeitsplatz zu leisten. Im Gegensatz dazu erweisen Personen einer ethnischen Minderheit im Durchschnitt eine höhere Bereitschaft auf. Je nach kulturellem Kontext wird diese Bereitschaft zusätzlich gesteigert oder verringert. Diese Arbeit trägt besonders durch den intersektionalen Zugang sowie den Fokus auf den europäischen Arbeitsmarkt zur Emotionsliteratur bei. Implikationen für betriebliche Diversitätsschulungen und Gleichberechtigungsmaßnahmen werden erörtert.