Towards a Facebookization of civil society?

Exploring the institutionalization of positive emotional vocabulary

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The managed smiley

Social media and emotional labor in the contemporary workplace

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Abstract

Emotional vocabulary and symbols on social media abound, not only in private communication, but also in organizations and workplace organizing. In this paper, we argue that emotional labor driven by technical developments is an important but hitherto rather overlooked dark side of digitalization. We thereby take a critical perspective on the techno-utopian literature of social media organizing, in order to shed more light on the concept of digital emotional labor. Focusing on civil society organizations, we approach the study of digital emotional labor on social media in two ways. Quantitatively, we explore the display of emotions on social media on an organizational level by the means of sentiment analysis. Qualitatively, we use focus group interviews to explore how individuals experience digital emotional labor. Based on this mixed-methods analysis, our findings point to an inflation in the usage of positive emotional vocabulary, creating an organizational emotional dissonance in contemporary civil society organizations. Stemming from the commercial impetus of social media platforms, it is proposed that digital emotional labor entail isomorphic pressures on an organizational field level, rather than limiting emotional labor to specific service offerings.

Introduction

Today, emotional vocabulary and the use of emoticons are prevalent in social media and digital communication at large (Derks, Bos, & Von Grumbkow, 2008; Lo, 2008; Riordan, 2017; Stark & Crawford, 2015). Social media may be viewed as an infrastructural thread running through contemporary forms of workplace organizing and charging those with emotionalized content (Bridgen, 2011; Bucher, Fieseler, & Suphan, 2013; Leonardi & Vaast, 2017). Social media influences how we communicate, how we report and mirror our behavior and emotions in each other, and how we organize and manage ourselves and others. Not least, this has blurred the boundaries between the private and public self, entailing a series of both individual and managerial challenges (John, 2013; McDonald & Thompson, 2016; Sánchez Abril, Levin, & Del Riego, 2012).

From a critical perspective, it is clear that social media communication is not neutral, and carries with it its own not only libertarian and techno-utopian roots (cf. Gustafsson & Weinryb, 2019), but also continuously commercial impetus (cf. Hindman, 2018), where all forms of communication are driven by the profit motives of the platform owners. In this mix of commercialized and individualized communication, emotional vocabulary and symbols have a central profit-driving rationale; for whatever drives traffic is beneficial for the corporations owning the platforms, and emotions drive traffic and thus enhance profits (Lee et al, 2018). However, we know very little about the implications of this emotionalized vocabulary and symbols for organizations and workplace organizing, both online and offline.

In 1983, Arlie Hochschild published her seminal work "The Managed Heart", chronicling the struggles and demands put on service workers who were forced to display emotions as a part of their work role. Building on Mills work on white collar workers, Hochschild's research shed light on the emotional pressures facing service workers in a variety of jobs. Her key finding centered on the emotional labor that service employees have to perform as a part of the commercial offer of their job. The study

of emotional labor has been an important part of the emotion literature in critical organization studies, but its application has primarily been applied to service work. Today, emotional components of specific work expectations are well-recognized and have been duly examined and criticized in the research literature (cf. Grandey, 2000; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Not least, emotional pressures on employee behavior have been shown to influence their wellbeing in the workplace, pointing to challenges in terms of stress and exhaustion in relation to emotional pressures in the organization of work (Pugliesi, 1999; Zapf, 2002).

Although the recognition of emotional pressures and expectations on employees is an established research topic, little has been done to connect this well-established research stream on emotional labor to perhaps the most pressing contemporary emotional challenge in the workplace – namely the implications that the emotional vocabularies and symbols used on social media entail for organizations and workplace organizing. Emotional pressures have become ubiquitous not only in certain commercial service offers to customers, but also on the commercial social media platforms where much of both private and organizational contemporary communication takes place.

In this paper, *our aim is to unpack one of the dark sides of digitalization by exploratively developing propositions on the concept of digital emotional labor.*

Theoretical framework

Exploring the technical set-up of social media platforms, Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) stipulates that we may view "emotional architecture as a key factor in shaping engagement with and participation through social media" (p. 78). The emotional push for both negative and positive emotions on social media entails a commercialization of emotions with the potential to fundamentally alter organizations and organizing. Although a significant body of normative research exists on how social media may be used as a tool for improving workplace efficiency in a variety of different sectors (Leonardi, Huysman, & Steinfield, 2013; Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013), scant attention has been paid to how this emotional architecture and commercial pressures of social media influence organizations and organizing. At the same time, much of the critical literature on social media has focused on hate speech and aggressiveness as a clear-cut facet of the dark side of digitalization.

In her pioneering work, Arlie Russell Hochschild defined emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for wage and therefore has *exchange value*." (p. 7, emphasis in original). Hochschild showed how emotional labor was prevalent in service work, and through these concepts she located specific points of tension in the production of such labor, leading to the estrangement and alienation of service workers.

When coining the term emotional labor, Hochschild (1983) performed a series of studies, primarily on flight attendants and debt collectors. Building on the work of Stanislavsky, she conceptualized *deep acting* as a performance of emotional labor built on the activation of actual feelings, primarily through memories of those feelings, in order to demonstrate the types of emotions required by the job performed. In contrast, *surface acting* referred solely to a display of certain emotions demanded by the job, rather than an actual effort to experience those emotions. *Feeling rules* were the norms that regulated which feeling should be experienced and displayed as part of a certain work role, and *emotional dissonance* referred to a tension between those emotions demanded by the employer, and the actual emotions experienced by the employee. Hochschild hypothesized that emotional dissonance may lead to discomfort, estrangement, and eventually burnout for those employees who were tightly squeezed between the emotions demanded and the emotions actually experienced.

In her endeavor to study emotional labor, Hochschild placed herself in the midst of the two major strands of emotion research. On the one hand she related to researchers who view emotions as stemming from internal processes that are activated by external stimuli, having a so-called organismic view, as Thoits puts it. On the other hand, she was largely, and perhaps mostly, influenced by those who focus primarily on the social elements of emotions, taking an interactionist, or rather dramaturgical perspective (Stets & Turner, 2002) which leaned heavily on the early work of Goffman (2002 [1956]).

Since Hochschild's foundational work, emotions and emotional labor have been an important part of management and workplace research, especially from an interactionist/dramaturgical perspective (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, 1989). In the organizational literature, emotional labor has been studied in many different ways. These studies range from qualitative accounts of emotional labor to statistical measures of the concept. Research has been performed on a variety of service workers including work as varied as for example Disneyland employees, nurses and legal clerks (cf. Van Maanen & Kunda 1989).

Although much research in the emotional labor tradition has demonstrated the alienation in the form of stress and discomfort that emotional pressures in the workplace bring about (Hochschild, 1985; Pugliesi, 1999; Zapf, 2002), there is a lack of empirical research connecting the emotional labor literature on workplace organizing with the study of emotional vocabulary and symbols on social media. This is not surprising, as Hochschild herself emphasized the importance of emotional labor being performed specifically in person-to-person or voice-to-voice interactions with customers. However, we mean that the very act of writing emotionally charged communication on a commercial social media platform on behalf of an organization may be viewed as a form of digital emotional labor.

For Hochschild (1979, 1983), emotional labor entails three central characteristics:

1) Emotional labor is a "public act, bought on the one hand and sold on the other" (p. 118), manifested in facial and bodily expressions, in person-to-person or voice-to-voice interactions

2) Feeling rules are "spelled out publicly", (p. 119) rather than being a "matter of personal discretion" (ibid.), and are thus regulated by social norms.

3) The profit motive of the employer, and thus the commercial service offering of the specific organization, is a central motivation for the commodification of emotions required by the employee.

Given the aim of this paper, Hochschild's characteristics of emotional labor are important to discuss in relation to EVSS, and certain modifications may be required in order to maintain their relevance when considering emotional labor and social media. Firstly, we reconceptualize digital emotional labor as not only referring to facial and bodily expressions in direct personal interactions, but also including written performance of emotional labor on social media. From an interactionist/dramaturgical perspective, Hochschild's focus on feelings was replaced by a focus on the emotions displayed in the workplace rather than those experienced (Ekman, 1973; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987). This view is consistent with how Morris and Feldman (1996) defined emotional labor as the expression of "organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (p. 987). Here, the focus was on the emotional transaction in the workplace rather than the commercial selling of a specific service product. The definition is relevant when considering emotional labor and social media, as it contrasts somewhat with Hochschild's focus on the facial and bodily display of emotions sold for wage in a service offering to customers, and expands emotional labor also to transactions within an organization. This does not mean that experienced emotions are irrelevant. On the contrary, they are important in order to unearth such concepts as for example emotional dissonance. An interactionist/dramaturgical perspective fits very well with a study of emotional vocabulary and symbols on social media, as it is in the display of this emotional labor, i.e. in the very writing of this vocabulary, that emotional labor is primarily practiced.

Secondly, we think about the expression of EVSS as regulated by display rules, rather than feeling rules. In 1989, Rafaeli and Sutton further elaborated on Hochschild's concept of feeling rules from a dramaturgical/symbolic interactions perspective, preferring the term of display rules (Ekman, 1973), thus focusing on the public expressions of emotions as central rather than the experience of feelings (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). When we think about emotional labor and social media, we focus on emotional labor as a transaction, or rather as "the act of displaying appropriate emotion (i.e. conforming with a display rule)" (Ashforth and Humphrey, p. 90). As Ashforth and Humphrey describe it, the benefit of focusing on display rules rather than feeling rules is also that as "display rules refer to behavior rather than to internal states, it is relatively easy for customers, managers, and peers to observe

one's level of compliance with the rules" (ibid.). Display rules are more suitable for our purposes of studying EVSS, as the very typing of emotions and emotional symbols on social media involves such a public element, and is the focus of the emotional labor in the context of EVSS, as defined in this study. It is also challenging to study any discrepancy between displayed and experienced feelings on social media. By looking at how they are displayed on social media, we may learn inductively about display rules for these emotions, rather than the feeling rules.

Thirdly, we expand the profit motive described by Hochschild from being narrowly considered as a direct service interaction with customers to the emotional transaction generating profits for the owners of the social media platforms on which emotional labor is performed. An emerging body of critical literature, primarily within media and communication studies, has looked at different forms of individual, private, emotional labor online (Duffy & Hund, 2015; Arcy, 2016; cf. Fuchs, 2014). Yet to this date, there is a lack of studies looking at the implications of digital emotional labor as a part of the organization of work. As Wahl-Jorgensen describes, we are forced as private persons to perform emotional labor on behalf of those commercial entities which are the social media platforms, as the algorithms guiding our participation are built on us expressing emotions to drive traffic on the platform. The emotional impetus to engage on social media creates profits for the corporations behind the platforms, as engagement is driven by emotional fervor. We perform emotional labor for the commercial social media platforms not only in our private capacity, but also as organizational representatives. Emotional labor is performed on social media platforms in various work roles. This is done on behalf of organizations, but also profiting the commercial platform providers. In Hochschild's (1979) terms, social media platforms create a commodification of emotional expressions. Wahl-Jorgensen creates a bridge between individual and organizational perspectives on emotional labor on social media by showing how all transactions are geared towards driving likes and traffic for a commercial purpose. All organizational communication is thus essentially commercial on social media platforms, even when the organization on whose behalf the emotional labor is performed does not have profit motives. That means that also employees of the public sector as well as civil society organizations, not driven explicitly by commercial motivations, become part of the profit drive of the commercial social media platforms themselves as they engage on, and are influenced by, social media as part of their work role.

We thus view emotional vocabulary and symbols on social media as a contemporary form of digital emotional labor that needs to be critically and empirically examined. We therefore ask:

How can emotional vocabulary and symbols on social media (EVSS) be understood as a form of digital emotional labor, and what could the implications of this digital emotional labor be for organizations as well as for individual co-workers?

Research Design, data and methodology

The relevance of exploring digital emotional labor is important in all sectors of society. However, we believe that a suitable place to begin exploring the concept is in civil society organizations. This is because civil society organizations stand at the intersection of the digital enthusiasm (Gerbaudo, 2016) of individual social media engagement on the one hand, and organizational social media communication on the other. They therefore offer an important extreme case to study of the blurring of the private and public self for organizational purposes (John, 2013; McDonald & Thompson, 2016; Sánchez Abril et al., 2012).

We selected 26 civil society organizations from Sweden (17) and Northern Ireland (9) for the present study (see Appendix 1). The Swedish organizations were recruited through Ideell Arena, a network for Swedish non-profits currently including 94 partner organizations, ranging from patient organizations over trade unions to the Guides and Scouts of Sweden, as well as through LSU - Landsrådet för Sveriges Ungdomsorganisationer - a national federation for Swedish youth organizations. The Northern Irish organizations were also recruited through Ideell Arena, as part of a Swedish-Northern Irish study exchange between civil society actors. The selected organizations were a very diverse set: they included among others UNHCR for Sweden, the Youth League of the Swedish Red Cross, Action Cancer (a Northern Irish cancer charity), and Street Soccer NI (a football project for disadvantaged groups in Northern Ireland).

The selected organizations are not a representative sample of civil society organizations, nor is the choice of Swedish and Northern Irish non-profits related to a theoretically specified comparative case study. This study is explorative and does not attempt to test any hypotheses. However, using data from vastly different types of non-profits from two countries allows us to explore whether any trends in emotional labor in social media as we have measured it here are unique to a national setting or type of organization, or whether they seem to be part of a more global trend.

As we were interested in unpacking the concept of digital emotional labor both on an individual and on an organizational level, we combined a qualitative and a quantitative approach. First, we measured quantitatively digital emotional labor on social media by tracing the emotional content of organizational Facebook posts of the selected organizations over a period of five years (2013-2018) through sentiment analysis. Second, we explored how managers in organizations experience emotional labor induced by social media through five focus groups interviews comprising 36 managers, all engaged in the same 26 organizations we explored quantitatively. The contrasting elements of a textual social media study and actually asking organizational representatives about emotions and social media are

essential components of this study, and are also a suitable starting point to develop propositions on the concept of digital emotional labor, rather than inferring causalities.

Sentiment analysis

Sentiment analysis refers "to the task of automatically determining feelings from text, in other words, determining valence, emotions, and other affectual states from text" (Mohammad 2016, p. 201). It is the result of more than a century of attempts of studying human emotions as they are expressed in language, beginning with the work of Sigmund Freud. More systematic approaches within psychology started in the 1950s (eg. Gottschalk et al, 1958) and were further refined as the first computerized text analysis programs were developed in the 1970s (Rosenberg & Tucker, 1978). With the advent of enormous volumes of personal communication becoming available through the internet in general and social media in particular, big data approaches to sentiment analysis have sprawled (Mohammad, 2016; Martínez-Cámara et al, 2012).

For instance, in a study that attracted a high level of attention, Kramer et al (2014) studied emotional contagion in Facebook by manipulating the Facebook News Feeds of nearly 700 000 accounts in a large-scale experiment. Whereas one group had the number of posts containing positive words reduced in their feeds, another group had the number of posts containing negative words reduced, and a third group functioned as a control group with no manipulation. Posts were coded as containing positive or negative words based on LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Software), one of the most used dictionaries/analysis programs (ibid; cf. Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). Results showed that there was indeed emotional contagion: users confronted with a "more" positive or negative newsfeed started posting "more" positive/negative posts themselves, respectively.

This kind of quantitative content analysis in a simple sense is carried out by taking a text and then analyzing it word by word by checking how those particular words have been coded in a dictionary. For instance, it is very common in sentiment analysis to measure the valence of a textual unit. Valence in this sense means whether the emotion words are positive or negative (ibid.; Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). In the dictionary, one way of coding words is to assign them a positive or negative value. Positive emotion words get a positive value and negative emotions words get a negative value. In this way, words can range in valence from very negative over neutral to very positive. Other ways of coding words in dictionaries include grouping them into different emotional categories, such as anger, fear, joy, etc. The dictionaries can be based on human coding or machine learning approaches.

There is a number of limitations to this use of dictionaries. An obvious limitation is that just looking for the values of single words limit a contextual understanding of a text. An utterance can contain both

positive and negative emotions at the same time. Irony and sarcasm are not easily detected by automated text analyses (on the other hand, such factors are not easily detected by human analysts either). Furthermore, automated text analysis is sensitive to misspelling and creative spelling of words (which is abundant in social media). Emotions are, at least to a certain extent, social and cultural constructions, and thus the categories/emotions used are sensitive to time and cultural settings. (Mohammad 2016: 205f; but see Moore et al, 1999 for a counterpoint.)

Additionally, within psychological research, the use of sentiment analysis is often carried out under the assumption that emotional words represent actual emotions in the individuals uttering or writing these words (ibid: 30; Mohammad 2016: 206). That is of course problematic: indeed, a special strain of this research tradition is devoted into detecting deception (ibid: 33). However, in the sentiment analysis presented in this paper, no assumption is made of emotional words being used in organizational Facebook posts by communicators being indicative of a "true" internal state of these communicators. We *do* make the proposition that using emotional words might have effects on the individuals using them, but the entire point of the concept of emotional labor is that emotions are used as a way of carrying out a work task, regardless of any "real" emotions harbored in the individual laborers.

The AFINN Lexicon is one of the most widely used dictionaries for sentiment analysis (Anandarajan et al, 2019; cf. Mohammad, 2016). For our purposes, it has valence ratings (from -5 for very negative to +5 for very positive) for over 2 400 words and phrases, and includes common swear words and internet slang (such as LOL etc). This means that an increase over time in the average valence of organizational posts is the result of more words having positive valence being used in the posts.

AFINN has the advantage of having non-proprietary versions available both in English (Nielsen, 2011) and Swedish (Gustafsson, 2017). We are aware of the challenges involved in directly comparing utterances made in two different languages (cf. Moore et al, 1999), but we are more interested in general trends rather than absolute levels, and have analyzed each language category separately as well.

The sentiment analysis is based on Facebook posts made by the organizations on their respective Facebook pages. This means that only posts from site administrators are included and not posts from private accounts. We collected all such posts for the time period July 1, 2013 – June 20, 2018 (N=24 768) using the Netvizz application (Rieder, 2013). All pages existed at the beginning as well as at the end of the studied time period.

Netvizz automatically downloads Facebook posts from open pages and groups, including full text, links, information about images and videos, as well as the number of comments, likes, and shares. The different Facebook pages differ vastly in terms of the numbers of page likes/followers and number of

posts, from 67 likes and 82 follows respectively for Co3 and only 6 Facebook posts, to 67 566 likes and 65 711 follows and 2 863 Facebook posts for the Swedish Teachers' Union.

The data was then analyzed in Python using the AFINN Lexicon mentioned above (Nielsen, 2011; Gustafsson, 2017). We discuss the operationalization of emotional labor below.

Focus group interviews

The five focus groups comprised of 36 managers of established Swedish and Northern Irish civil society organizations, all being engaged in the 26 organizations explored in the sentiment analysis. The focus groups were conducted in fall of 2017 and 2018, and followed a semi-structured protocol exploring the theme of emotional vocabularies in the context of social media. Three main questions were discussed in all focus groups:

- *Do you feel that social media has influenced the use of emotional vocabularies in civil society? If yes, in what way?*
- *Has the use of emotional vocabularies in social media influenced your organization? If yes, how?*
- *How do you think the use of emotional vocabularies on social media affects your organization in the short and long term?*

The focus groups were conducted at civil society leadership seminars in Stockholm (including the Northern Irish group). All participants were informed about the scope and purpose of the study, and gave their informed consent to be part of the study. The focus groups lasted 1-2 hours, were conducted in Swedish and transcribed verbatim. All quotes used in the paper were translated from Swedish to English by the authors.

In addition to the focus groups, an additional seminar with civil society leaders was held in June 2018, covering the same three questions. At this seminar about 25 Swedish secretary generals participated. This was not strictly a focus group, but participants were informed about the study, and notes were taken on their reactions to the focus group questions. These notes were used to further elaborate the themes found in the focus groups.

The coding of the focus group interviews was initially based on a pattern matching technique, following Reay & Jones, 2016. This enabled a coding for some of Hochschild's key concepts, namely the four concepts of display rules, surface acting, deep acting, and emotional dissonance (more on this below in the operationalization section). Two of the authors independently coded one of the focus groups and then compared and elaborated their interpretation of the coding scheme. As coding categories were elaborated, an additional category of consequences of digital emotional labor emerged. This

included both individual emotional dissonance, similar to that described by Hochschild, but also a number of organizational consequences. Subsequently, the two coders coded two additional focus groups each following the elaborated coding scheme. After this first round of coding, a second order coding was done, where propositions were carefully crafted and elaborated by the two coders based on the findings in each conceptual theme.

Operationalization of emotional vocabulary in social media in the context of emotional labor

In order to harmonize the mixed method research design, all operationalized constructs were based on Morris and Feldman's (1996) work on displayed emotional labor. The two first dimensions were explored quantitatively, using sentiment analysis (the exploration of the third dimension is still ongoing) . In addition, we also explored whether the polarity was positive or negative, ie whether the emotions expressed were mostly positive or mostly negative. The fourth dimension was explored qualitatively. The dimensions as outlined by Morris and Feldman are the following, operationalization in italics:

1. Frequency of Emotional Display – how often emotions are expressed. *This is operationalized as the number of words with a valence rating of above or below 0 used in a post divided by the total number of words for each post.*

2. Attentiveness to Required Display Rules:

    - Duration of emotional display – for how long emotions are expressed *Not measured in this study.*
    - Intensity of emotional display – the strength of displayed emotions. *This is operationalized as the sum of valence ratings with the negative ones converted to positive values. Words and sentences with valence ratings are assigned a number between -5 and +5. Values closer to the extremes of the scale are interpreted as more being more intense. One post containing a -5 word and a +5 word would get the total value of +10. NB: this is not the same value as the valence, in which case a post containing a -5 word and a +5 word would get the valence rating of 0.*

3. Variety of Emotions Required to Be Expressed - the types of emotions expressed.
   This is operationalized as the number of emotional categories being actualized for a particular post (not analyzed in this paper).

4. Emotional Dissonance – the difference between the expressed and experienced emotions. *The fourth dimension of Morris and Feldman's constructs was explored qualitatively in the focus groups study. More specifically, we qualitatively coded for the concepts of deep acting, surface acting, display rules, and emotional dissonance, as experienced by organizational representatives. The concept of emotional dissonance was operationalized as occurring "when an employee is required to express emotions which are not genuinely felt in the particular situation" (Zapf, p. 245). Surface acting was coded as the act of "simulating emotions that are not actually felt" (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, p. 92). Deep acting was coded as actual feelings described as being "actively induced, suppressed, or shaped."(Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, p. 93. We also based our operationalization on Hochschild's (1979) notion that "the concepts of surface and deep acting refer to the effort or act of trying to display the appropriate emotion, not to the outcomes" (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, p. 93). In terms of display rules, we leaned on the descriptions of the organizational representatives about their perception of prevalent and accepted emotional conduct in the context of social media, in this way learning more about what a potential deviance or emotional dissonance in relation to these display rules may entail.*

Results: Sentiment analysis

Figure 1 shows the averages for length of posts in words (word count), the average valence, intensity and the frequency of emotional words for all posts and pages over the entire time period. The average length of a post is about 40 words, with many outliers. That the average valence is above 0 means that posts in general contain more positive words than negative words, but the sample includes many posts with very high scores as well as very low scores. The post with the highest valence score has +93, whereas the post with the lowest valence value has a score of -50. For guidance, screenshots of the posts are included in Appendix 2. If a post contains both positive and negative words, they might balance each other out and yield a score close to 0, even though the post contains many words with valence ratings.

Intensity is a measure that tells us the intensity of emotional words (either with a positive or negative valence rating). If a post has many words with a very negative or very positive valence rating, it will be measured as a high emotional intensity post compared to a post with fewer words with high positive or negative valence rating, all else equal. For instance, a post containing one very positive word (+5) and one very negative word (-5) gets an intensity value of 10.

Figure 1d shows the frequency of emotional words, ie the number of words with a valence rating $\neq 0$, per post. The average post contains only a couple of emotional words, but also here, there are large differences. The post with the highest number of emotional words contain 63 such words.
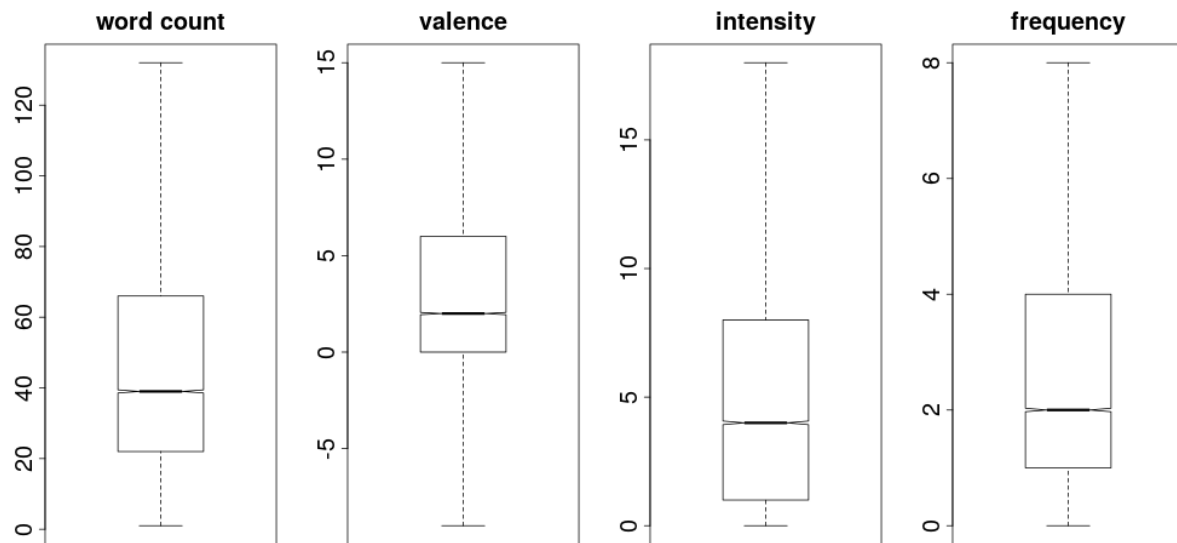

Fig 1a-d. Average word count, average valence, average emotional intensity and average frequency of emotional vocabulary per Facebook post.

Comparisons between Facebook pages/organizations

Figures 2a-d show the average measures for each Facebook page/organization. As is visible, there is a large degree of variation. It seems obvious that the type of organization should have an effect on the average valence and emotional intensity, and potentially also the length of the posts, although this is not something that we specifically test in this paper. The Facebook pages having the highest average word counts (Fig. 2a) are the Cancer Fund for Children, Supporting Communities (a group working with grassroots initiatives working with disadvantaged groups in society, and Action Cancer, yet another cancer charity. At the bottom of the list, with the shortest posts, we find the Open College Network, Ideellt Forum (an association for volunteers in the Church of Sweden), Street Soccer NI, and C03, an outlier with only six posts in total during the period. Likewise, the Facebook page with the highest average valence (most positive sentiment) is the Cancer Fund for Children, followed by the Ark Housing Association and Supporting Communities. At the bottom we find, apart from the outlier Co3, Sensus, Ideellt Forum, and Arbetsgivarorganisationen KFO (Fig. 2b), but no page has an average valence below 0. It seems obvious that a charity for children with cancer uses more words and more positive emotions, than an employers' organization. This pattern is repeated for emotional intensity and the frequency of emotional words. Among the Swedish pages/organizations having the highest rankings for length and emotions, we find Ung Diabetes (Young Diabetes) and the Swedish Red Cross Youth.

There is a strong relationship between the length of posts and the number of emotional words being used. However, there are no statistically significant relationships between the length of posts and the *relative* emotional frequency or between length of posts and valence. The former observation implies that longer posts do not necessarily contain a higher share of emotional words. The latter implies that longer posts do not necessarily contain a more positive sentiment.
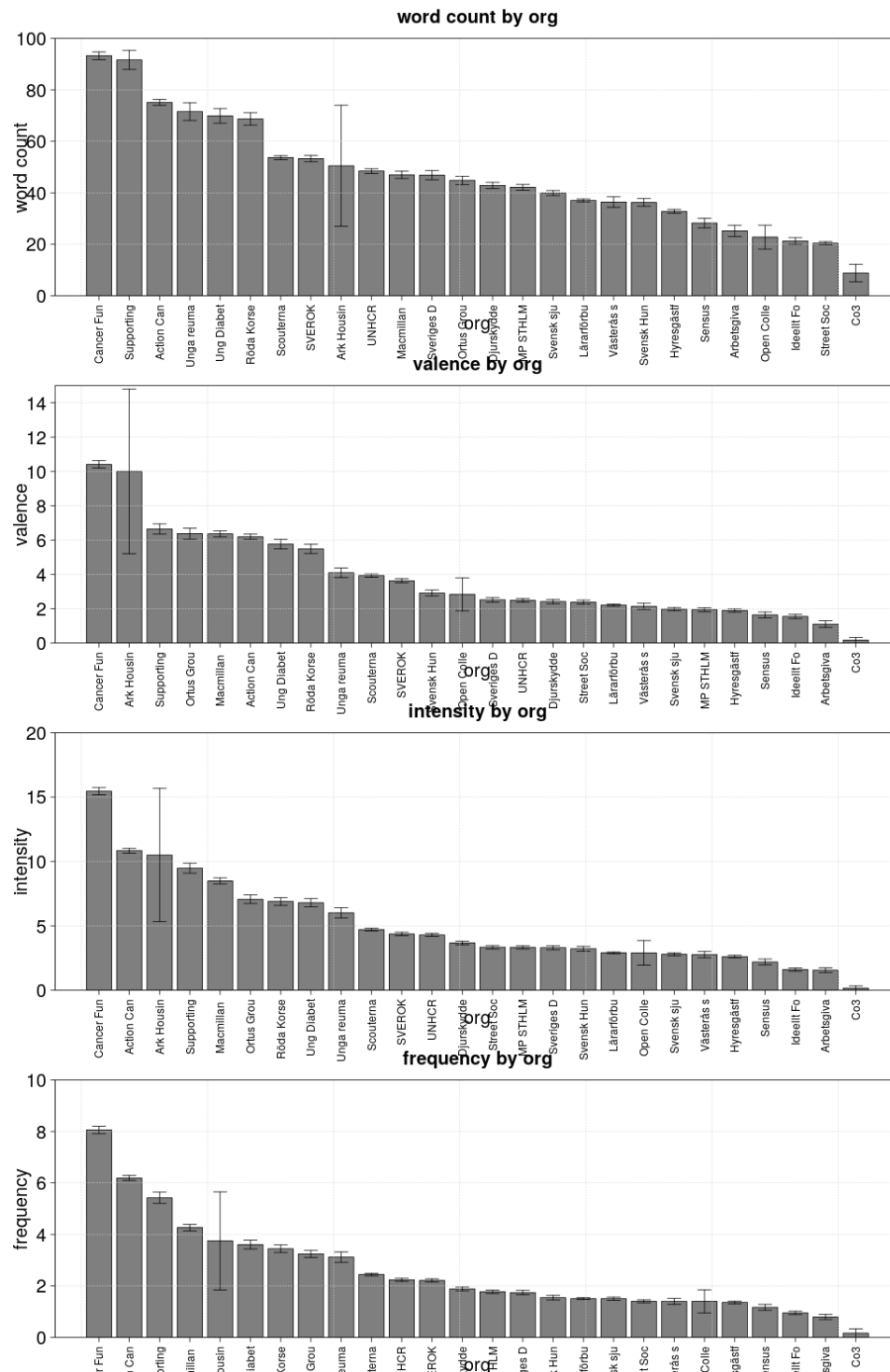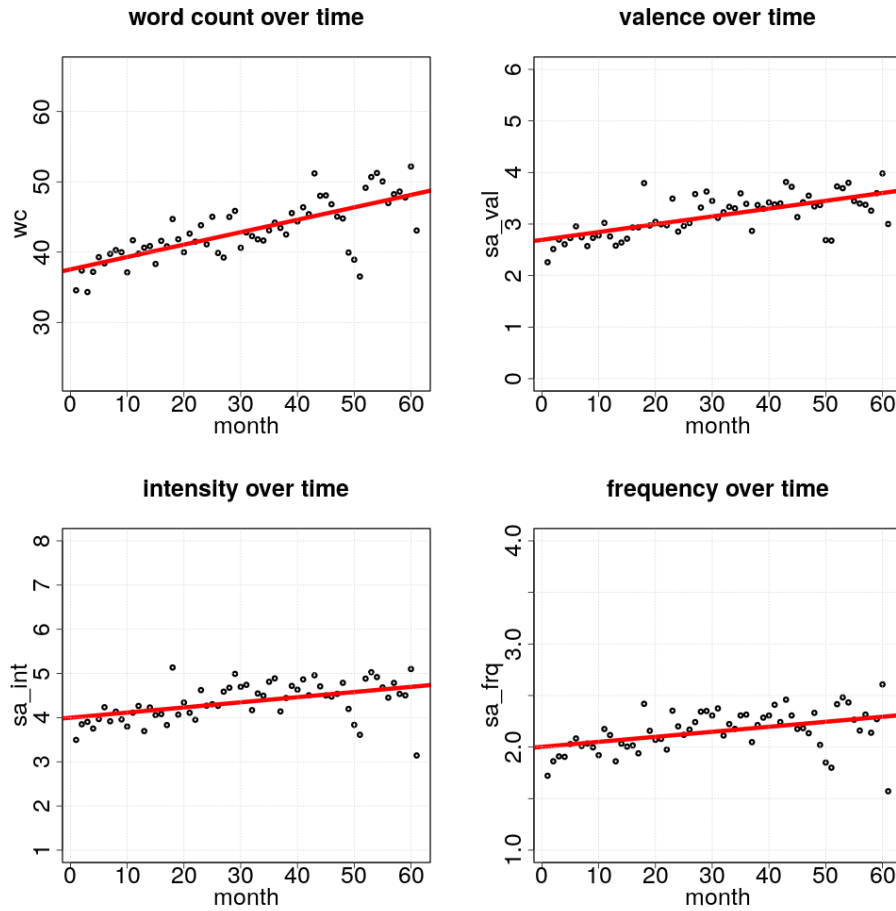

Fig 2a-d. Average word count, valence, intensity and frequency per post, by organization.

Comparisons over time

Finally, we are interested in whether there are any clear tendencies over time regarding our measurements for the use of emotional vocabulary. In figure 3a we can see that there is an extremely clear trend that the average Facebook post gets longer over time. This is perhaps an indication of a tendency to move from shorter updates to longer stories, but this is not something that we test in this paper.

Fig. 3b gives us unequivocal evidence of Facebook posts becoming gradually more positive in affect over the five years under study. The increasing average valence implies that more words with a positive valence rating relative to words with a negative valence rating. This is possibly a case of institutional learning: there is a small but significant statistical relationship between valence and Facebook engagement, measured as the total number of likes, comments and shares (R=0.03, significant at the 0.1% level). There are however signs of a curvilinear relationship, with also strong negative sentiment seemingly having an association with engagement, and posts closer to a valence score of 0 having lower engagement, but still with positive sentiment having a stronger effect. This will have to be tested more rigorously, but seems to be in line with previous findings (Gustafsson et al, 2018; Lee et al, 2018).

Looking at our two other measures, emotional intensity and emotional frequency, we can see that the posts are becoming longer and more positive, with more intensive sentiments and with more emotional words altogether (Figs. 3c-d).

Figures 3a-d. Average word count, average valence, average emotional intensity and emotional frequency by month, July 1, 2013 - June 30, 2018.

The findings reported above leads us to the following propositions.

Proposition 1: The frequency of emotional display increases over time.

Proposition 2: The intensity of emotional display increases over time.

Proposition 3: The positive sentiment (=valence) in the emotional display increases over time.

Results: Focus group interviews

As stated above, we view surface acting as the emotions expressed on social media, thus moving the act from the individual body to the screen. The emotional expressions observed in quantitative terms can hence be seen as surface acting in the context of social media. However, being publicly available, we acknowledge that such surface acting guides people's efforts at emotional labor, thus simultaneously constituting display rules. Whether these emotional expressions be regarded as display rules or as surface acting is thus far from clear-cut. Based on our more detailed analysis of the focus group

interviews, we will now attempt to tease out these two dimensions, starting with display rules, to then continue with surface acting. Thereafter we will elaborate findings and propositions on the themes of deep acting as well as various organizational and individual consequences.

DISPLAY RULES: EXPECTATIONS FROM BEYOND THE ORGANIZATION

Analyzing the focus groups interviews, it becomes evident that display rules exist and that they do so on a broad level: display rules are not something primarily experienced on the organizational level, but seem to stem from some "outer" force that influences the represented organizations in similar ways. Some interviewees point to the immediate power of technology itself; that Facebook, for instance, has gradually enabled the expression of more and more emotionally charged content.

> *"How long have the emoticons been on Facebook? It's one and a half years now or something. Before that, there was only one or zero (laughter). But now there are some to choose from."*

Also related to the technology itself is the argument that one needs to play according to the (secret) rules of the famous algorithm (see e.g. Bucher 2012; 2017, for a discussion) that conditions what content appears in each individual's feed. Although these organizations do not operate under profit-maximizing conditions, they feel the need to perform emotional labor as a means to increase success in the engagement with important stakeholders – because technology does not allow otherwise.

> *"So we need to have a mix, we have to have… we cannot have only facts or informational posts that people choose not to interact with, but there must also be posts that are a bit more emotional-related, because then we maintain a stronger relationship. Otherwise, the algorithms will steer away those stakeholders."*

However, and in line with the increasingly established socio-constructionist view of information systems (Leonardi & Barley 2010), most focus group discussions revolve around emerging norms that unfold as people use technologies, rather than stemming from the technical properties themselves. In these emerging display rules, we observe not only a strive to express emotions on social media, but to do so at a level that is perceived as inflated. This is also in line with our sentiment analysis of valence and intensity, but also frequency over time (see Figure 3b-d).

> *"But I think it has almost stepped up to the next level and we are trying to top, because, say, "fantastic" is now only good, so now we are talking about "brilliant" and "it is a delight" and you put several words in a row, it is "absolutely fantastically brilliant and awesome" in every way. So it looks like in our social media and it does have a great impact on the number of people that see and are affected by it, I think."*

As seen in the above quote, the argument of performing emotional labor in order to reach out to and engage with the masses comes forth – again. Display rules seem to have emerged as emotional

labor has been practiced on social media for some time; digital emotional expressions are easily visible and spread to the masses, and organizations seem aware – and a bit concerned – that they must "stay attuned", "understand what works" and that they are in fact "following a herd" and "stealing" others' expressions. One participant voices concern that his/her organization has not adopted this digital emotional labor to particularly large extent, and that this might imply that they are missing an opportunity to market themselves and to reach out.

One important source of these display rules seems to be consultants and other actors external to the organization. Several participants refer to externally organized training that they or their colleagues have undergone, where they have learnt that *"you should use hearts and emotions as a means to gain impact, it is only for the better on social media."*

Having said this, similar display rules appear to apply also within the organization. Internally, however, display rules seem to be equally based in a wish to handle some of the challenges that come with digital communication, such as loss of nuance, tone of voice and contextual understanding. By exaggerating one's emotional expressions online one attempts to make sure that one is not misunderstood as angry, indifferent or boring. In addition to this external-internal divide of audiences and their expectations, almost all participants underline that display rules are related to age.

> *"When it is camp activities, it is much more okay, I think, because then you think about the children and it should be fun and so, it should be fun to participate. But if you are targeting the public sector or politicians or another type of context, you do not know how they look at us and then you take the safe way and do not use emotional words in the same way, but more neutral."*

> *"More often as a young person today, you want to identify more clearly with the organization you are involved in. This, this is my identity, this is part of my brand, to use that word. Then I think such words are very important."*

In spite of a hitherto strong emphasis on display rules as derived from broader societal trends that stretch far beyond organizations, the issue of internal regulation of what are appropriate expressions online does also come up in the interviews. Due to the intertwined relationship between display rules and surface acting we will now address the latter before formulating a number of propositions related to the two.

SURFACE ACTING: ADHERING TO EXPECTATIONS ON INTENSITY AND VARIATION

In essence, the display rules outlined above revolve around strong emotional expressions, positivity rather than negativity, and a perceived inflation. The display rules seem furthermore to be related to age. Most organizations are not only aware of these display rules but they seem also to play by these

rules, partly by surface acting and partly by deep acting. We will now address each of these two types of emotional labor.

The participants are in rather strong agreement that their respective organizations increasingly rely on emotional expressions when communicating with an external audience.

> *"We do not write 'thank you' anymore, but we write 'a thousand thanks', it is 'millions of thanks', or, we collected 10,671 SEK last week to our research fund and then we wrote that it was 'ten thousand six hundred and seventy-one thanks', and it gets almost silly when you get black on white, how much you have to increase to keep it going and in order for it not to become normalized. Or it does, but in order for it not to become boring, sort of."*

Reaching out and evoking engagement come forth as important explanations for intensifying emotional expressions in the communication with external audiences.

> *"You notice it in the posts that may be about an emotional experience about something, it triggers a lot of interaction compared to posts that are of a more informative nature, even though one might think from an operational perspective that this should be more important. But the more personal the impact in an individual's everyday life, for example, the more interactivity one gets."*

As described in the previous section, and in line with earlier research and findings in the sentiment analysis above, there is a relationship between emotions and engagement. This could possibly explain the increase in the use of emotional content. The focus on emotions might have consequences for other types of communicative activities.

> *"I am thinking about our internal communication, for example via e-mail or how you might ask for documents or in what way you communicate there. There are much more emotional words also there. //...// it depends on the type of document and who you are talking to, but more in the office, if you ask if the other party has time or energy there is feedback also there with a lot of pep talk."*

Related to what has been described above, several participants testify to a "pep culture": a culture implying a shift from negative expressions such as anger over injustices (political party) or sadness over diseases (patient organization) to more positive expressions. This shift from "angry culture" to "pep culture" also manifests online, thus implying reduced variety in emotional expressions. However, others argue that the variation of emotional expressions has in fact increased.

> *"I am new to the social media game but the strange thing to me is that there is an awful lot of positivity that is thrown out there. For the difficult issues like the lack of funding in certain sectors, there isn't as much as criticism of government or MLA's because there is a certain fear factor there. I think people are afraid to actually say what they really think."*

Finally, and in line with perceptions of different display rules in different age groups, the participants describe a rather segmented practice of surface acting depending on the audience.

> *"I feel that we consciously have shifted to conveying an unserious image and an unserious language, it has always been very important for us to do, for I at least have always believed that young people do not engage in X [name of organization]*

> *because they love statutes and protocols and love sitting in meetings, but because*
> *they love X. It is the first step towards engagement.*"

Our accounts of display rules and surface acting point us to two propositions that future research could address.

Proposition 4: The more dependent on fundraising, the more organizations adhere to perceived display rules by surface acting.

Proposition 5: Display rules and surface acting are related to age: younger people expect and express more positive emotional expressions than older people.

DEEP ACTING: BOTH CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE REACTIONS TO MORE EMOTIONS DISPLAYED AT WORK

The continuous adherence to display rules by surface acting does also seem to make co-workers experience actual emotions in different forms of deep acting. This is assessed by some as a liberation of emotional display at work. The altered emotional display in the workplace appear to enable co-workers to be more personal, and reveal their actual emotions. The possibility to vent pride and joy on social media is also seen as an opportunity for positive development in the workplace, where emotions that are not usually shown in physical meetings can be demonstrated in a collective forum. The increased use of emotional vocabulary in the workplace is also related to a feeling of a more sustainable worklife, where emotions are allowed to take a front seat in collegial discussions. In contrast to Hochshild's idea of burnout as a result of emotional labor, some see an increased possibility to reduce stress in the workplace by engaging in how co-workers actually feel:

> *"I find that there has been a positive trend in many organizations I have been*
> *involved in, that you talk more about how you feel, and perhaps the meeting begins*
> *with a 'feel-round' where you check in on how people feel. It was not like that*
> *before, we used to get right into meeting formalities with agenda items "*

An increased use of emotional vocabulary in the workplace is described as an opportunity to receive regular microboosts, where menial tasks can be given appreciation:

> *"It can be small things really, if you only answer 'yes it was this sum' then it is*
> *'super, and thank you so much!' and smileys, so you feel micro-uplifted at work,*
> *like oh shit, I did this."*

Yet some respondents also describe how workers are encouraged to actually feel, not only in the form of surface acting, that traditionally "boring" organizational tasks or structures are fun and positive. On some occasions the constant need for micro-boosts also creates a negative dependence on compliments and positive attention, where more challenging issues become difficult to square with the positive image projected online:

> *"I think it is linked to our self-esteem in general, how we communicate on social media. Like there will be instant feedback (…) something that may not have gone so well it will be like this 'oh God, I have been bragging on Facebook for the past three months, now it's something that has gone to hell, oh my God, what will people think?' And then just yes, probably nothing. (…) you fool yourself a little. At the same time, I find it difficult to put into words. I think it contributes negatively in any case."*

Some even describe competitions in likes, where the dependence on positive attention takes destructive forms, discouraging organizational cooperation:

> *"People have been obsessed with how many likes they get. I have had managers within the housing executive that have been trying to get more likes than that other manager about what I have tweeted. It is a quantifiable way to determine how popular I am."*

Proposition 6: Deep acting of positive emotions may feel liberating for some co-workers and seen as a route to a sustainable work life, yet for others it may encourage unhealthy competition for likes and a cover—up of "boring" tasks.

ALIENATION AND ESTRANGEMENT DUE TO SOME WORKTASKS RECEIVING DISPROPORTIONATE POSITIVE ATTENTION

The effort to induce actual emotions is also a possibility to make tasks seem more attractive, and perhaps a necessary means to get them done. Yet even though some co-workers appreciate the increased possibility for emotional display in the workplace, many are also critical, feeling that this inflation in positive vocabulary is rather silly. There is a dissuasive element in digital emotional labor, making co-workers experience that they could never live up to how amazing others are in their job performance. Beyond being "just" silly, the altered display rules thus also make some co-workers feel that their work is not good enough, that the very positive attention given to publicly lauded tasks actually results in a dark underbelly of stress and discomfort:

> *"I think it helps to raise the stress level if nothing else. (…) The communication that takes place via social media and how we pep each other up and have lines like 'now I have done this thing' and 'ooooh you are so frigging good', it increases the stress level for all the times you do not performs so [well]. I can feel that."*

The stress may even create a sense of alienation, that it is simply not possible to live up to the seemingly amazing and hyped standards of the organization:

> *"We use these words for rather small achievements if you look at the bigger picture, but the way we highlight it it sounds as if you have discovered Atlantis, and that's the thing, they are amazing who do this voluntarily, but for others it may be… dissuasive. That you do not have the energy to find Atlantis, sort of."*

The Atlantis metaphor also comes back in another focus group, and here it is specifically attached to the commercial competition faced by civil society organizations. As described in relation to display rules and surface acting, positive emotional expressions are seen as a means to attain stakeholder engagement.

> "It is almost like this Atlantis piece. Everything is amazing and what we are doing is amazing. Nobody is telling the hardships and nobody is telling the problems. I am seeing organizations, charities and social enterprises that are using massive teams of digital marketers that are flooding the market with positive stories. (...) we've had to move in the private sector direction where you are engaged in huge marketing companies. This is a cheap and easy way to do it. But they are engaging in false digital marketing just to be promoting and tweeting every 30 minutes, every 20 minutes, and everything is so positive."

The altered display rules means that each co-worker need to calibrate how emotions are communicated, which also could result in stress and discomfort:

> "It takes time for a person to understand when emotions are appropriate and when they are not. There can be a lot of stress if you are not used to the role, the task you get, that is what I meant by stress."

Another related problem is that some work tasks are simply not very visible, resulting in a disproportionate positive attention being given to some organizational members, whereas others, performing less public tasks, do not receive any laudatory comments at all:

> "And they bring out every occupant who is there with picture as well and 'ah this amazing person has been here today' and so they get a lot of hearts and so (...) There are a lot of people who do things that are not visible, and what about their contributions?"

The lack of visibility of some tasks may also put additional strain on management to find other ways to encourage those performing tasks that are not possible to get credit for on social media:

> "Some of our staff are involved in football, our community guide, and our art project, and they are always on social media and are getting a lot of likes and so on. It puts the support workers who do work that is just as important, maybe more important, because you cannot take a photo of a client on all social media. You then find yourself trying to find ways to tell them that their work is just as valuable which I see as a big risk."

Proposition 7. Alienation and estrangement may be the results of stress and discomfort for organizational members who feel they cannot live up to the hyped emotional language seen on social media, as well for those performing tasks that get a disproportionate lack of positive attention due to the non-public nature of their work.

MANAGING THE ALTERED DISPLAY RULES BY CULTIVATING DIFFERENT COMPETENCIES

Some managers formally recognize the altered display rules as a problem, wanting to address it:

> *"We have actually gone through an audit recently to look at our past six months and see what our postings look like. We have been shocked. I have been shocked as Chief Executive because there is all this super charged language. This has got to stop because rather than being ahead of this game and leading it and leading our fundraiser, we are trying to follow a herd. I think this is a bit of a fad that is going to stop."*

On some occasions, managers describe efforts to handle new emotional display rules by specifying the need for different forms of competences depending on the target group. For some, the altered display rules are a managerial competence that organizational leaders should be expected to possess:

> *"I think that those of us here leading organizations do have the emotional intelligence to use different language in different ways at different times. There is no way that I would put on a chief executive's report that includes the words "wonderfully, fab, fantastic." I might use that language in an email to someone who needs to be stroked but I won't use that language to a trustee. It will not be in our annual accounts which is something that should be there for posterity. "*

For others, as is also described in the secton on display rules, this is a specific skills set that they make sure their communicators were trained in:

> *"We have had specific trainings - so our communicators get to take courses in social media just to keep up and see what works. And also because we are a fundraising organization, there we have included special expertise in the form of a consultant and also sent staff to courses, and that means that they come back and write the letters with 'Dear Pia, thanks to YOU' - then the money comes"*

Yet a different perspective on the altered display rules presuppose that the more engaged members and staff would be able to manage more types of communication, in comparison to those less engaged. Also, as described earlier in relation to display rules and surface acting, younger and older audiences seem to differ in what they expect in terms of emotional expressions, and consequently, being able to adjust the message to the age group is considered a professional competence:

> *"I think we have to realize the audience as well on Twitter and Facebook and there is a dynamic of age ranges that we are talking to and we need to be conscious of."*

Proposition 8. Altered display rules may result in an articulation of the need for different competencies to handle the demand for digital emotional labor in the workplace.

MANAGERIAL EMOTIONAL DISSONANCE

From a managerial perspective, respondents describe how the altered display rules cannot only be

handled through segmenting different competencies, but that they also result in mounting emotional demands om the managers themselves. Rather than enjoying the "positive" athmosphere and feeling at ease with micro-boosts and positive emotional displays, managers feel forced to act in a positive way also when they do not want to. Here the altered display rules are described as resulting in emotional dissonance:

> *"it affects me that I constantly need to make emojis. For me, it's not natural. Because otherwise, everyone thinks I'm angry [laughter] and I've heard it so many times. It has been something like "NN [name of speaker] is really angry at me and I do not know what I've done" and then I hear it from my staff and so people wonder "what's happened?" and I do not understand anything and then I ask and learn that people think that I'm angry because I'm not using a smiley, or if I'm just using a happy smiley [instead of a very happy smiley], it's not [perceived as] happy enough but sarcastic."*

These descriptions are very far from the positive collegiality described by other respondents. Instead managers articulate a clash between personal values and the enforced positive behavior in the workplace:

> *"Only yesterday I had a discussion with my partner about parenting and upbringing, and how I think I should not encourage performance and focus on it. (...) I realize that I am quite the opposite of that as a leader (...) that you just confirm achievements all the time, it is just a self-reflection. I think I should not raise my children like that, but it is just how I talk to others in leadership situations."*

Managers also explain how they are forced to show encouragement and give positive feedback to what they actually consider to be rather menial tasks. As one respondent whose organization gives out a major human rights award describes it, it becomes difficult to distinguish the vocabulary used for a lifetime achievement of work in human rights, and the performance of an ordinary menial task. This challenge is also indicated in the following example:

> *"just this week someone finally told us where we will go for the Christmas smorgasbord [yearly office celebration routine in Sweden, usually done by booking a meal at a restaurant], the person got the assignment two damn months ago. Now she has finally told where it will be, and then everyone must write 'fantastic, great job that you have got it together!'. And then I can feel that I also have to say something, I am the boss, but I can think that oh my God, that was not something we have to pay tribute to. (...) Just okay, get over it, go to the next task I can feel. I may not be so much for hearts. I'm not a kind boss really, but I have to be! Otherwise, I seem to be evil. "*

Proposition 9: Emotional dissonance may ensue when managers are being forced to display emotions that they deem as an inadequate and alien to their personal leadership style.

However, not only display rules seem to have shifted in the wake of digital emotional labor, but also the core of the organiations. As described earlier, many respondents experience a move *"from angry culture to pep culture"*. It thus seems like the very mission of their organization appeared to be adrift, enwrapping its formerly problem-oriented work in positive veil. The very core of the organizational mission is thus rephrased in positive terms, despite the organization being conceived to address some type of actual problem, like in this disease-focused patient organization:

> *"previously, it was rather whiny (...) we are ill, it was a bit awkard and one should feel a little sorry for us. Now we want to have a little more focus on the healthy and we talk more about fulfilling dreams and it doesn't matter that you are sick because who cares (...) so it has become a lot of this pep-thing "*

This ranges from how disabilities are to be conceived as something positive, to environmental policy or even the abandonment of the "mushroom cloud" in anti-nuclear power advocacy:

> *"Yes, we have changed our entire organizational culture to become more positive, it should not be a great burden or a disability, but you should be able to do everything anyway and life should be fantastic. "*

<u>*Proposition 10. Altered display rulesmay result in a certain degree of mission drift, reframing the organization in positive terms rather than being problem-oriented.*</u>

Concluding discussion

We have here exploratively unpacked the concept of digital emotional labor in a mix-methods study. Our quantitative analysis shows clear evidence for an increased burden of digital emotional labor. Starting with our first measure, *frequency of emotional display*, we can observe that the frequency of emotional words in Facebook posts increases over time. The second measure, *intensity of emotional display* also increases over time, which means that not only are emotions displayed more often, quantitatively, but the words used also have stronger negative or positive sentiment. We do not explore the third measure, variety of emotions required to be displayed, but this can be done rather easy in subsequent analyses.

The very strong rise of valence (ie Facebook posts becoming more positive over time) can be interpreted as a form of increased intensity in the way that the sentiment becomes steadily more and more positive, requiring communicators/Facebook page administrators to display gradually higher levels of enthusiasm.

In the qualitative part of the study, we have seen that there is a perceived increase in the emotional intensity of display rules, and that the amount of surface acting is deemed to have increased. We can

also see that there seems to exist an age element to this increase, where younger persons seem to be more engaged in digital emotional labor. In addition, a contingency perspective on the immediate environment of the organization seems to be of some relevance, as display rules and surface acting are indicated as more strongly enforced in organizations that are largely dependent on fundraising, rather than other forms of funding such as government grants or membership fees.

As regards the deep acting components of digital emotional labor, some co-workers seem to experience elated feelings as a result of a more emotional workplace regime. Interestingly, and in contrast to the traditional emotional labor literature, this is also by some stated as a way to counter-act burnout and stress. However, this observation is rather marginal in the focus groups, and many see the increased attention given to "actual" emotions experienced and articulated as an effort to cover up "boring" and menial work tasks.

More in line with the traditional emotional labor literature, many co-workers also see the risk of alienation and estrangement as a consequence of altered, and more positively geared, display rules. This because of pressures in the organization to live up to the hyped description of certain forms of organizational engagement that is visible on social media at all times, which is described as difficult for two main reasons. Firstly, because it may seem impossible to ever live up to whatever exaggerated assessment of organizational involvement that is addressed on social media. Secondly, it may be dissuasive for those organizational members who have less public tasks, and whose work may never be publicly acknowledged. This in turn may create an imbalance in the organization between those members whose work, whatever it may be, is continually publicly lauded on social media, and those members who rarely, or almost never, receive such collective appreciation of their work. It is worthwhile to note here that this asymmetry is not related to traditional organizational hierarchies, where more power is centered in a certain organizational unit, but rather an asymmetry between overt and covert work tasks. Especially for managers, a division between the publicly enforced digital emotional labor, and their actual comfort level in displaying these emotions may create individual emotional dissonance. The altered display rules seem to force these managers to a form of surface acting in relation to their co-workers, which is not at all in line with their personal leadership style. Yet these managers recognize that if they do not play by the altered display rules of hyped EVSS, they will not be able to avoid being perceived as sarcastic, or even evil, which may be detrimental to their leadership. Finally, and perhaps most radically, the digital emotional labor explored here indicates a form of mission drift, where previously problem-oriented civil society organizations are reformulating their espoused mission in positive terms, regardless of their core activities. This positive shift away from a problem oriented mission seems to apply to topics as diverse as anti-nuclear protest and disease-focused patient organizations.

This study has a number of limitations. The sample of organizations/Facebook pages has had the advantage that we can match the interview data directly to the sentiment analysis, but it has a weakness in not being random or systematic in any other way, other than there being a lot of variation as to what types of organizations have been selected. The inclusion of both Swedish and Northern Irish organizations/pages is advantageous in the way that we can show that the trends we explore are not unique to a single country, but we have not fully explored possible cultural and other differences between the countries. In future analyses, it will make sense to expand sentiment analyses to a wider set of organizations/Facebook pages and compare different categories of such organizations, possibly also including other types of textual data, such as Twitter and Instagram feeds, official documents and promotion material, as well as internal communication. For instance, there are clear hints in our material that whereas some organizations/pages have had high emotional levels for a long time (for instance cancer charities), the trend of rising levels become clearer when looking at other types of organizations/pages with perhaps lower "intuitive" motives for keeping a high tone. This should be further explored. Focus group interviews can suffer from group dynamics and produce consensus where there is none, although discussions can also help participants expressing latent or subdued views and experiences.

We have nevertheless generated a number of propositions that we hope can be tested and developed in future research. Our analysis indicates that digital emotional labor seems to be on the rise, entailing a number of both individual and organizational consequences. As shown by our sentiment analysis, the altered display rules affect organizations across the board, indicating that it is not within the purview of a single organization to implement or disregard the push for digital emotional labor. Instead, the organization becomes one of many organizations located on a social media platform, driven by the platform's commerical purposes, rather than solely by the original espoused mission of the organization itself. The digital emotional labor does not become part of an organization's specifically chosen message, or the specific work role in a commercial service offer, but rather a part of a broader isomorphic pressure that most organizations are almost coerced to embrace (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Dimaggio & Powell, 1983).

Given these strong isomorphic pressures for increased positive EVSS, in combination with the imbalances and assymetries it creates in the organization, we propose that this enforced digital emotional labor results in an organizational emotional dissonance, a form of disconnection, or decoupling, between emotions that are displayed and feelings that are experienced not only by individual employees, but also between employees, in different work roles, as well as in the organizational structure and mission. This includes the assymetry created between overt and covert work tasks, the drift of the organization away from an espoused problem-oriented mission, as well as the alienation and estrangment resulting from the hyped EVSS imposed on organizational members. The

organizational emotional dissonance and its relation to the other themes explored in the paper are summarized in figure 4.

Proposition 11: Isomorphic pressures for digital emotional labor result in organizational emotional dissonance.
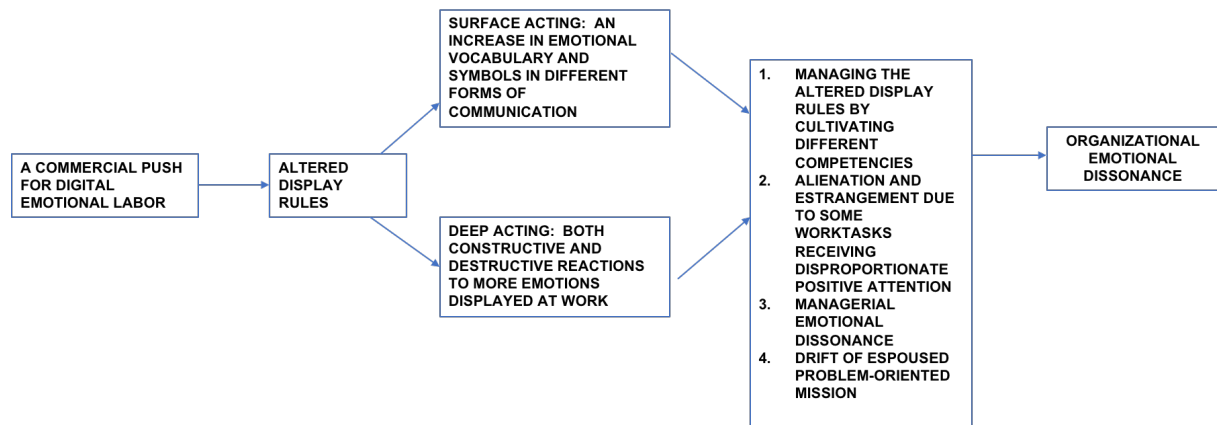

Fig. 4.

In a text on emotions in the workplace, Rafaeli and Sutton state: "Two sources of role expectations are proposed that create, influence, and maintain the emotions expressed in organizational life: the organizational context and emotional transactions." (1987, p. 24). The emotional transaction is focused on a specific target person. However, our study indicates that we need to make a conceptual shift, as social media specifically focuses on a variety of targets simultaneously, thus directing all conversation to a broad audience of both individuals and organizations, rather than a narrow set of persons. Moreover, the commercial impetus of the platform itself enforces a form of digital emotional labor that may not be simply influenced by any specific organizational context. We thus have to think about emotional transactions in a broadened way given the existence of social media. In this context, we may also consider which norms that are relevant to render legitimacy for organizations as they engage on social media, and to what extent any organization or individual may influence those norms. We argue here that the norms influencing digital emotional labor are largely influenced by the commercial pressures driving social media proliferation. In turn, this may entail an institutionalization of new forms of emotional competence (Voronov & Weber, 2016), leading to new isomorphic pressures to demonstrate emotional fervor. The managed smiley may thus entail the imposition of digital emotional labor on an organizational field level for the commercial benefit of social media platforms, rather than "only" managing the heart of individual employees selling specific services.

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Appendix 1

List of Facebook pages, by organization.

	Country	N of posts
Sveriges Dövas ungdomsförbund (Swedish Youth National Association of Deaf People)	Sweden	1245
Unga reumatiker (Young Rheumatics)	Sweden	600
Sverok (The Swedish Gaming Federation)	Sweden	1143
Röda Korsets Ungdomsförbund (Swedish Red Cross Youth)	Sweden	748
Scouterna (The Guides and Scouts of Sweden)	Sweden	2289
Sverige för UNHCR (UNHCR Sweden)	Sweden	1248
Ung Diabetes (Young Diabetes Sweden)	Sweden	690
Miljöpartiet Stockholms stad (Green Party Stockholm)	Sweden	943
Djurskyddet Sverige (Animal Welfare Sweden)	Sweden	771
Hyresgästföreningen (The Swedish Union of Tenants)	Sweden	770
Ideellt forum i Svenska Kyrkan (Association for volunteers in the Church of Sweden)	Sweden	447
KFO (The Co-operative Employers Association)	Sweden	163
Lärarförbundet (Swedish Teachers' Union)	Sweden	2863
Sensus (Non-formal Adult Study Association)	Sweden	334
Svensk sjuksköterskeförening (The Swedish Society of Nursing)	Sweden	910
Västerås stift (The Diocese of Westeros)	Sweden	645
Sveriges hundungdom (Swedish Canine Youth Organisation)	Sweden	503
Open College Network Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	30
Ark Housing Association	Northern Ireland	8
Macmillan Cancer Support NI	Northern Ireland	1723
Cancer fund for children	Northern Ireland	1783
Supporting Communities	Northern Ireland	1062
Ortus Group	Northern Ireland	504
Street Soccer NI	Northern Ireland	803
Action Cancer	Northern Ireland	2537
Co3	Northern Ireland	6
Total		**24768**

Appendix 2
Examples of Facebook posts coded for valence

a. High valence (+93)

Macmillan in Northern Ireland ✔ känner sig stolt 😊.
4 juni 2018 · ⊕

⭐We are continuing to shine a light on our amazing Macmillan volunteers from all over Northern Ireland and as it's Volunteers Week we thought there was no better time to do so!⭐
Macmillan is very lucky to have the support of an extremely dedicated team of volunteers who give up their time to help and support those living with cancer – either through a volunteering or a fundraising role. As a big thank you and to recognise these volunteers we held a Volunteer Celebration event in Belfast last week – it was here that we announced our Macmillan Volunteer Award Winners and we will profile some of them throughout Volunteers Week. 👏

⭐First up is Joe Hollyoak who was the NI winner of The Corporate Volunteer Award. This award is for employees of our corporate partners who make an outstanding contribution through volunteering. Joe works for Translink and demonstrates a can-do attitude and volunteers with enthusiasm and passion that goes above and beyond by showing innovation, collaboration and drive. Translink chose Macmillan as their charity partner in 2013 for 3 years. Joe singlehandedly has raised over £10k and continues to support Macmillan, organising bake sales in the station and helping with our street collections.

⭐Next is Iris McKeown who was the NI winner of The Richard Hambro Award. This award honours volunteers who demonstrate strong leadership qualities by inspiring other volunteers. Iris is the Chairperson of the Magherafelt Fundraising Committee (we will highlight the amazing work of the Magherafelt Fundraising Committee later this week) and has displayed an ability for being an outstanding motivator who guides her volunteers to deliver high impact for Macmillan in the local community and has demonstrated exceptional leadership skills. Iris has volunteered for Macmillan for 10 years - she leads by example, champions others and represents Macmillan at local community events, gives talks to local school children and encourages and supports local people who wish to organise their own events for Macmillan.

Well done to Joe and Iris and thank you for being part of Team Macmillan! 💚

If you are inspired by our amazing volunteers, you can contact the Macmillan NI Volunteering Team on ☎ 028 9070 8610 or visit 💻 www.volunteering.macmillan.org.uk to find out more. #VolunteersWeek

b. Low valence (-50)

Supporting Communities
9 oktober 2013 · ⊕   ···

BENEFIT SANCTIONS DISPROPORTIONATELY AFFECT HOMELESS CLAIMANTS

Homeless people are more likely to have their benefits sanctioned according to a report published by Homeless Link.

A High Cost to Pay reports that around a third of homeless people claiming Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) or Employment & Support Allowance (ESA) have been sanctioned. In comparison, only 3% of non-homeless claimants have been sanctioned. Homeless Link surveyed 46 of its member organisations after members reported increasing concerns about clients' benefits being stopped.
Who is being sanctioned?
The survey found that some groups are at greater risk of being sanctioned. These are:
• young people in receipt of JSA
• homeless people with mental health or substance use issues
• people with poor English skills, such as homeless migrants.
These findings would support other research, such as that carried out by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, which shows that a lack of understanding of the benefits system can lead to vulnerable people losing their benefits.

Reasons for benefit sanctions

The report found that the most common reasons for respondents in receipt of JSA receiving sanctions were
• failing to participate in the Work Programme (45%)
• failing to attend an advisory interview (28%)
Respondents indicated that interviews or appointments were often missed due to ill health or conflicting hospital and other appointments. The report set out a number of reasons why a homeless person could miss appointments in good faith
• the letter may have been delivered incorrectly, to the wrong address or the wrong hostel resident;
• homeless people with complex needs may not be able to read or understand their letters.
•
The impact of benefit sanctions on homeless people and service providers
In its report, Homeless Link lists a number of problems which member organisations said arose as a direct result of sanctions.
• Homeless people are starting to build up rent arrears and service charge arrears
• Service charge and rent arrears also create financial difficulties for service providers.
• Increasing numbers of homeless people are in food poverty and are struggling to eat
• Homeless people may borrow money to cope while being sanctioned, which can lead to survival crime to pay off the debt
• Homeless people have reported increased anxiety and worsening of existing mental health issues.
•
Respondents to the service felt that sanctions did not help homeless people into work and did not encourage homeless people to engage more with Jobcentre Plus.
For the full report, including methodology and response rates, download the report at; http://www.housingrights.org.uk/.../benefit-sanctions-disprop...

ⓘ

HOUSINGRIGHTS.ORG.UK
Benefit sanctions disproportionately affect homeless claimants | Housing Rights Service
A High Cost to Pay reports that around a third of homeless people claiming Job Seekers...