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DISSERTATION

THE EFFECTS OF EMOTIONAL LABOR: EMPLOYEE ATTITUDES, STRESS AND PERFORMANCE

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY ALICIA A. GRANDEY ENTITLED THE EFFECTS OF EMOTIONAL LABOR: EMPLOYEE ATTITUDES, STRESS, AND PERFORMANCE BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE EFFECTS OF EMOTIONAL LABOR:

EMPLOYEE ATTITUDES, STRESS AND PERFORMANCE

Emotion management, such as suppressing anger, is performed by individuals to cope in many social settings. Lab studies, however, have suggested that suppressing emotions or showing "fake" emotions requires physiological effort which may have stress outcomes over the long term. The implications of emotion management in customer service organizations, where employees are expected to display positive emotions to customers, are just beginning to be tested empirically. One difficulty in this area is that prior theorists examining "emotional labor," or emotional management for a wage, have not agreed upon either the definition of emotional labor or its measurement. The conceptualization of emotional labor proposed in this paper integrates previous theorists' ideas and applies lab-based emotion regulation theory to the field-based emotional labor topic. Emotional labor is conceptualized as emotion regulation to meet organizational demands, which can be achieved through surface acting (regulating expression) and deep acting (regulating feelings). Analyses of a measure of emotional labor also revealed a third scale which represented genuine expression of emotion, which was tested with *post-hoc* analyses. Hypotheses stating that organizational characteristics, such as frequency of interaction with customers and emotion display rules, would predict emotional labor were generally not supported. Hypotheses regarding the detrimental effect of emotional labor on burnout, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, emotional estrangement, and peer-rated customer service were generally supported. In particular, surface acting predicted each of these outcomes

beyond demographic variables, the organizational characteristics, deep acting, and genuine expression of emotions. Deep acting had a positive relationship with peer-rated service beyond the other variables. Implications of these relationships are discussed. Peer and supervisor support were tested as moderators of the detrimental relationships, providing limited evidence for a buffering hypothesis. Future research suggestions for this area of study are suggested.

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Chapter I

Introduction

In our daily life, we manage our emotions. A given situation may require emotional expression or suppression in order for individuals to behave in socially accepted ways. For example, the situation may demand that we express joy at a friend's announcement of marriage, or suppress our anger at the slow driver in front of us. In general, this emotional management is a sign of healthy, normal functioning (Goffman, 1959; Kopp, 1989). While this suggests that emotion management is positive in the societal sense, regulating emotions has also been associated with health problems. Inhibiting emotional reactions is thought to increase physiological measures of stress (Gross, 1998a; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Steptoe, 1993), and possibly even the likelihood of illness and cancer (Gross, 1989; Pennebaker, 1990; Smith, 1992). Thus, managing emotions may help in interactions with others, but it may have some costs as well.

Work assessing how emotion management affects people in natural settings is needed (Gross, 1998a). The costs of emotional management have rarely been considered in the organizational context, although managing emotions is needed in interactions with coworkers, supervisors, and customers. If emotion inhibition is physiologically stressful and has health implications, this can cost the organization in terms of insurance, turnover, and absenteeism (Gebhardt & Crump, 1990; Thomas & Ganster, 1995). This paper will explore the effects of emotion management on employees. In particular, this paper will assess the process by which employees manage emotions toward customers, and the outcomes of stress, attitudes, and customer service performance as they relate to emotion management.

Emotion Management in Service Jobs: Emotional Labor

Traditionally, organizations have been seen as rational environments, where emotions are not acceptable ways of responding to situations (Putnam & Mumby, 1993).

This view is beginning to be dismantled, as more researchers are assessing how emotion affects work life. In fact, most work roles involve some amount of emotion management (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997), although the explicitness of the emotion displays required by organizations may vary by job (Hochschild, 1983). Specifically, those who interact with the public are expected to manage customers' impressions of the organization in order to encourage repeat business (Gardner & Martinko, 1988). One way that employees engage in impression management is to manage their own emotional expressions (Goffman, 1959; Grove & Fisk, 1989). Emotion management has always been part of service work, but the growth of the service industry has encouraged more research on emotions particularly in this area[1] (Bowen, Siehl, & Schneider, 1989; Gronoos, 1990, Wharton, 1993).

Being friendly or nice to people may be a "value-added" part of the product employees provide (Schneider & Bowen, 1985), especially in the service industry. For example, a hotel shuttle service put on its vehicles "we get you there on time with a smile." Thus, this driver will not only perform the task well, but will offer something extra: positive emotional expression. Most managers assume that the friendliness and good cheer of employees increases customer loyalty and satisfaction (Albrecht & Zemke, 1985; Bowen et al., 1989). In fact, this assumption has emerged explicitly in research on quality customer service (Parasuraman et al., 1985) and can be seen in human resource materials. A job application form for a fast-food restaurant chain says that "service" means "our guests expect friendly, courteous service. A smile and friendly greeting will encourage them to return...again and again." Training manuals may explicitly tell employees to "smile!" or "be friendly" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; VanMaanen & Kunda, 1988). A recent paper by McLellan, Schmit, Amundson, and Blake (1998) included controlling negative emotions as an explicit dimension of a customer service rating scale. Thus, emotion

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[1] While inducing someone *else's* emotional state is also part of the role of service in organizations, that process is not being pursued in this paper. This concept, termed emotional contagion, can be found in recent papers by Verbeke (1997), Doherty (1997), and Pugh (1998).

management expectations may be explicitly stated in selection, training, and performance appraisal processes.

The marketing and management research cited above focuses upon how managing emotions relates to the service provided the customer. This is, of course, an important area of concern for organizations. But what about the effect of managing emotions on the employee? Jobs where employees are dealing with the public frequently have notoriously high turnover and burnout (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Goolsby, 1992; Maslach, 1982). As suggested in the introduction of this paper, emotion management may have stress and health implications for the employee, which may affect such important organizational outcomes as well. The exploration of this question has created a group of researchers who extend the outcome of interest beyond customer service, and explore the effect of organizationally-mandated emotion management on individual outcomes as well. Several sets of theoretical papers have been very influential to this area of research.

Theoretical Papers on Emotion Labor

Three sets of theorists have proposed conceptualizations of emotional management at work which have greatly influenced the field (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Each of these assume that emotions are being managed at work in order to meet the display rules stated by the organization, although from slightly different theoretical perspectives, and they all propose how emotional management may be functional and dysfunctional. These papers provide useful groundwork for future studies. However, they contain contradictions both within papers and across papers in terms of how to define and measure emotion management at work. Such contradictions create difficulties for future researchers. In this section, these previous works will be discussed in terms of their contributions to the understanding of organizationally-mandated emotion management, and also their limitations.

Hochschild's (1983) view on emotional labor. One of the earliest works to bring this facet of customer service to the public's attention was the book The Managed Heart:

The Commercialization of Feeling, by sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild. Hochschild (1983) coined the term "emotional labor" to refer to "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7). Emotional labor is emotion management for a wage, where part of the employee's work role is to express positive emotions to customers. This term, emotional labor, is appropriate for the purposes of this paper and will be used henceforth. Hochschild's work stems from the dramaturgical perspective of customer interactions, where the customer is the audience, the service worker is the actor, and the work setting is the stage (Goffman, 1959; Grove & Fisk, 1989). In this perspective, the performance involves impression management of service employees where "the sincere performance is more credible ...actors may employ expressive devices" in order to achieve this goal (Grove & Fisk, 1989, p. 430). In other words, employees' managing their emotions is one aspect of achieving organizational goals. If an employee were to express a depressed mood, or anger toward a coworker or customer, that would ruin the performance. Hochschild's (1983) dramaturgical perspective offered two main ways for actors to manage emotions: through *surface acting*, where one modifies and controls the emotional expressions, and through *deep acting*, where one consciously manages feelings in order to express the desired emotion.

This management of emotions requires effort. Hochschild's (1983) book raised consciousness that managing emotions could be hard work, and may be detrimental to the employee. Not only are the processes of surface and deep acting effortful, but as Hochschild (1979) states, "when deep gestures of exchange enter the market sector and are bought and sold as an aspect of labor power, feelings are commoditized" (p. 569). This commoditization, where the organization controls something as personal as emotions, is suggested to be unpleasant to the employee. Emotional labor is proposed by Hochschild to relate to a multitude of negative outcomes, including burnout, estrangement from one's emotions, and job strain.

But while the definition of emotional labor involved the internal management of emotion, Hochschild (1983) focused on characteristics of the job to operationalize emotional labor. According to Hochschild, employees have high emotional labor if they are in jobs with three characteristics: The job involves interpersonal contact, the employee is expected to induce an emotional state in another person, and the employer has control over the employees' emotion work through rewards or punishments. She proposed a list of jobs requiring high emotional labor based on these criteria, including waiters, airline attendants, and nurses. However, it is likely that these job requirements create an experience for the employee which is the true predictor of outcomes such as burnout and turnover. Other researchers have used her conceptualization (a dichotomous, "yes" or "no" to whether the job type involves emotional labor), and have not found support for Hochschild's propositions (Wharton, 1993). Hochschild (1983) herself acknowledged that this method of measurement was only a starting point. Thus, studies are needed in which the definition of emotional labor and the recommended operationalization of emotional labor are in line.

Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) perspective on emotional labor. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) defined emotional labor as the act of displaying the appropriate emotions. Their theoretical article was most concerned with how emotion management is a form of impression management (Gardner & Martinko, 1988), and how the behavioral display of emotions relates to outcomes. The authors refer back to Hochschild's (1983) concept of surface and deep acting as effortful ways of performing emotional labor. However, they argue that this effort does not necessarily relate to customer service, but that other situational and individual characteristics need to be considered. In fact, they suggest that surface and deep acting may be effortless for the employee because the behavioral responses become routine, and because the goals of the organization may be met by genuine expressions rather than acting.

In terms of outcomes, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) propose that emotional labor (as emotional expressions) should be positively related to task effectiveness of the customer service employee. A caveat to this statement is *that the customer must perceive the expression as sincere*. Sincerity, as mentioned by Grove and Fisk (1989), is an important component of impression management. Hochschild (1979) also mentioned that the deep acting which is perceived as genuine will be perceived positively by customers. On the other hand, Ashforth and Humphrey suggested that emotional labor may be dysfunctional to employees if it creates a feeling of falseness, self-alienation and other negative outcomes.

This paper discussed the importance of measuring observable behaviors for emotion management research, and also considering individual differences and the social network in which the employees work. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) downplay the importance of the internal management of emotions through surface and deep acting. Compared to Hochschild's (1979; 1983) work, this is a different perspective. While certainly, both the emotional management and the emotional expressions are part of emotional labor, it would seem that the former is the process and the latter is the outcome. To understand employee burnout and attitudes, understanding the process that employees undergo may be most useful. This differing perspective is further complicated by the next paper.

Morris and Feldman's perspective on emotional labor. Morris and Feldman (1996) defined emotional labor as an internal process to meet organizational goals: "The effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (1996, p. 987). This definition stems from an interactionist approach, where emotions are expressed in, and partially determined by, the social environment. In short, emotions can be modified depending on the situation. They proposed four dimensions of emotional labor in their model: frequency of interactions, attentiveness (intensity of emotions, duration of interaction), variety of emotions required, and emotional dissonance. Surface and deep acting are discussed within the dimension of

attentiveness as part of the effort that defines emotional labor. This definition of emotional labor includes the organizational expectations on employees in their interactions with customers (how long, how intense, how often), as well as the internal state of tension which occurs when one must display emotions that are discrepant from true feelings (emotional dissonance).

While frequency, duration, and variety provide information about the job demands on employee emotions in the workplace, they do not define what emotional labor *is*. Instead, they are indicators that more emotional labor would be expected. The explanation provided by Morris and Feldman (1997) for the dimensions as components of emotional labor is circular: "emotional labor can best be described in terms of frequency of emotional labor..." (p. 257). In short, the three dimensions do not pertain to the emotion management process of the employee. Emotional dissonance, as the fourth dimension, is a state of tension between feelings and expression. While dissonance may require more effort from the employee, it is not an effortful process attempting to respond to the situation. This concept does not necessarily meet the definition either. Again, the conceptualization of emotional labor seems contradictory, both within this paper and compared to the other two. Is emotional labor the job expectations for customer interactions, the employee's state of having different feelings than expressed, the process of managing feelings, or the expression of emotion as seen by others?

Proposed Conceptualization of Emotional Labor

Each of the above papers introduces new ideas and directions for research on emotional labor, which is beneficial to the field. However, they are contradictory and do not provide a clear definition of emotional labor. They each rely on a different guiding framework. Hochschild (1983) focuses on the dramaturgical perspective of emotion work, as proposed by Goffman (1959), and the stress of the effort to act one's part in the service industry. Ashforth and Humphrey's (1983) approach sees emotional labor as a form of impression management (Gardner & Martinko, 1988, Grove & Fisk, 1989), where

customer service behaviors are the focus. Lastly, Morris and Feldman (1996) take an interactionist perspective, where emotions are partially socially constructed and thus malleable. Without a clear definition, emotional labor researchers will continue to produce fragmented works that further confuse the field.

The present paper suggests that the definitions of emotional labor from these three influential works, and others which have attempted to address this topic, can be integrated. While they may seem like they stem from disparate perspectives, they all have the same underlying theme: Emotions can be regulated by the individual. If the goal of the researcher is to predict individual, as well as organizational, outcomes, then understanding the emotion management process of the employee is vital. This integration and research goal leads to this author's proposed definition: *Emotional labor can be defined as the employee's effort to regulate emotional expression in response to organizational demands.*

Emotional labor is then something qualitatively different from the customer interaction demands of the job (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996), the observable expressions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), and emotional dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1996). The first contributes to the need to emotionally labor, the second is the goal of emotional labor, and the third is a state which emotional labor attempts to resolve. Dissonance has been used as a measure of emotional labor by several researchers (Abraham, 1998; Kruml & Geddes, 1998; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Zerbe, 1998). However, dissonance is a state, not a process, which makes it less useful for organizational implications and does not fit the proposed definition. In addition, recent empirical work has found that dissonance items do not provide useful predictive information beyond items measuring the process of surface acting (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998), which will be pursued further below.

While the above integration offers a working definition and explanations about what emotional labor is *not*, the question of the specific mechanism of emotional labor still remains. Looking to these three theoretical papers, each one discusses surface and deep

acting as a way of regulating emotions. These processes of managing emotions match the above definition and provide a very useful way of operationalizing emotional labor. Thinking of emotional labor as surface and deep acting is beneficial for two reasons: It has utility, and it has a basis in general emotion theory. Measuring surface and deep acting as emotional labor has utility, if we do indeed find that they relate to the outcomes of interest. If there are differences in how these relate to the outcomes, suggestions can be made for organizational training and stress management programs. The second reason surface and deep acting are the preferred ways of measuring emotional labor is that these concepts map onto well-established emotion theory. A broad emotion theory can help organize and make predictions about these mechanisms of emotional labor. The following section will review the theory of emotion regulation as it applies to emotional labor.

Emotion Regulation and Emotional Labor

There has been an acceleration in attention to emotion regulation in clinical and developmental research. In a review by Gross (1998b), emotion regulation is defined as "the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (p. 275). In this perspective, emotion is more than an automatic physiological response to a situation; it is also a process which can be modulated and controlled by higher-order functioning. Emotion regulation has been discussed as being cross-disciplinary in the field of psychology and beyond, although little mention is made of its application to organizational psychology (Gross, 1998b). This paper will bridge that gap and introduce emotion regulation theory to the organizational sciences.

Recent works by Gross (1998a; 1998b) propose a process model of emotion regulation which may be useful for the emotional labor topic (see Figure 1). In this input-output model, individuals receive stimulation from the situation and respond with emotions. The situation acts as a cue to the individual; and the individual's emotional response provides information to oneself and the others in the social environment (Frijda,

1986). This input maps onto the emotional labor literature: In the customer service setting, the situation is the interaction with customers. According to emotional labor theorists, antecedents of emotional labor (or, the emotion input) is the frequency and duration of interactions, and the emotional display rules (Hochschild, 1993; Kruml & Geddes, 1998; Morris & Feldman, 1996). A typical goal of emotion regulation is decreasing negative emotions and increasing positive emotions (Gross, 1998b). The expression of positive emotions (friendliness, cheerfulness) and the inhibition of negative emotions (anger, sadness) is generally crucial to service organizations' bottom-line goals.

Gross' (1998b) model proposes that emotion regulation can occur at different points in this process. Regulation can occur in response to the antecedents of emotion, or in response to the felt emotions themselves (See Figure 1). These two processes of emotion regulation relate to the emotional labor researchers concept of deep acting and surface acting. Application of general emotion theory to emotional labor can help explicate these methods of emotional management, and form predictions about consequences as well. According to both emotional labor theorists and emotion researchers, the management of emotions through acting may have detrimental outcomes for individuals. The next two sections discuss two methods of emotional labor in depth; deep acting (antecedent-focused emotion regulation) and surface acting (response-focused emotion regulation). The following section will propose general predictions for these processes based on emotion regulation theory.

Deep Acting or Antecedent-Focused Emotion Regulation

According to emotion regulation theory proposed by Gross (1998a; 1998b) the individual can regulate emotions at two points. At the first intervening point, an individual can engage in antecedent-focused emotion regulation, where one changes the input or situational cues. Gross (1998b) states that different types of antecedent-focused emotion regulation are *situation selection*, *situation modification*, *attention deployment*, and *cognitive change*. The first two types involve adjustments in the situation which might

create emotion. Employees vary in how much they can modify this part of their "input" - they may choose their job, but once chosen, jobs like customer service generally bind the employee to the situation. In other words, there may be little autonomy in how much one can choose or modify the situation. This is especially true in entry-level service work. A customer service employee may choose to leave the work floor if a certain customer approaches, but this is not usually seen as quality customer service (Bailey, 1996; Parasuraman et al., 1985), and may result in consequences for the individual. For the service worker, modifying the situation may take the form of the employee leaving the organization.

However, for those who choose to remain in the situation, individuals can also modify how they perceive the situation in order to adjust their emotional response to the situation. With attentional deployment and cognitive change, the antecedent-focused emotion regulation involves the employee managing emotions by changing the focus and appraisal of the situation. Changing focus can be done by thinking about events which call up the emotions that one needs in that situation, known in the world of theater as *method acting* (Stanislavsky, 1965). This may help employees as well. An aspiring opera singer known to the author whistled arias while serving customers in a coffee house. Doing something she loved helped her to focus on feeling good, and expressing positive emotions at work. One employee in a pilot study by the author described her own deep acting at work: "Sometimes...I have to change my mood and boost my energy to teach....I have to focus on being positive and maintaining that" (Grandey, 1998).

The other antecedent-focused method is to cognitively appraise the situation so that the emotional impact is lessened. Such reappraisal of situational cues has grounding in other stress and emotion literature as an effective way to cope (Folkman & Lazarus, 1991; Lazarus, 1991). For example, Hochschild (1983) described flight attendants who are trained to think about passengers as children so that they do not become angry with passengers' potentially infantile behaviors. With both techniques, the emotional regulation

is "deep," in that the internal processes are regulated so that the external expression may be more genuine. In the emotional labor literature, these methods of emotion regulation would be termed deep acting.

Surface Acting or Response-Focused Emotion Regulation

At the second intervention point, according to the process model by Gross (1998b), an individual could engage in response-focused emotion regulation, or *response modulation* (see Figure 1). In this process, the person has a tendency toward an emotional response, but manipulates how he or she shows that emotional response by "directly influencing physiological, experiential, or behavioral responding" (Gross, 1998b, p. 285). This could be done with exercise or drugs which induce the appropriate state (which helps explain why organizations may want to provide free coffee to their front-line employees). Most frequently though, an individual may adjust the intensity or length the emotion is expressed, or change the expression which can be seen by others.

Response-focused emotion regulation corresponds with the dramaturgical process of surface acting. An employee may paste a smile on her face though she is feeling down, or may put on a empathic "mask" in order to remain polite toward the customer who is annoying. In a pilot study by the author, employees wrote about such processes experienced in their jobs: "I had to be very accepting and empathetic to a client who I did not at all like," and "I was worried about a personal matter, but had to be polite to other workers" (Grandey, 1998). Such processes have also been found in descriptive studies of service workers (Hochschild, 1983; VanMaanen & Kunda, 1989). In this emotion management technique, employees act like they feel happy and friendly toward customers when they may not genuinely feel that emotion that intensely, or perhaps even at all. This pretense is concerned with modifying expression, not the internal feelings as in deep acting.

General Predictions of Deep and Surface Acting

In general, emotion regulation theory suggests that both antecedent- and response-focused emotion regulation requires effort. The first requires changing or reappraising the situation to modify feelings, the second requires adjusting the physical expression of emotion. Though the positive societal outcome of managing emotional expressions is recognized by the emotion regulation theory and emotional labor theorists, the effect of this effort on the individual needs to be pursued.

The effort of deep acting, or antecedent-focused emotion regulation, may be successful in the organizational sense, but its effect on individual is uncertain. In the organizational sense, those who modify their appraisal of the situation or otherwise adjust their feelings provide a "good faith" type of emotional labor (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). In this process, employees are trying to change their feelings so they are in line with their expressions. Using method acting to bring forth the emotional expression required by the organization may be effective since it would engender a more genuine expression to customers, which is preferable to the organization (Hochschild, 1983; Grove & Fisk, 1989). It is an assumption then that method acting will eventually lead to genuine expression. There is more empirical data on the effect of appraisal as a deep acting technique. The emotion regulation work in one lab study suggests that modifying the way one appraised verbal harassment decreased physiological responses (Stemmler, 1997). However, Gross (1998) found mixed support for this proposal in a study where subjects observed disgusting stimuli. Individuals engaging in reappraisal did show lower observable and self-reported signs of emotions than those who were not told to reappraise the situation, but the reappraisal group did *not* have lower physiological signs of emotion. In other literature, cognitive appraisal, where one considers the goals of the situation and the coping resources one has available, is posited to directly impact the experience of stress and emotional events (Lazarus, 1991). These different ideas together may suggest that

deep acting requires effort, so may be related to stress outcomes, but should be effective as a way of achieving emotional expressions in a genuine way.

Surface acting, or antecedent-focused emotion regulation, may be preferable to organizations over an employee *not* inhibiting hostile emotions toward customers. However, Hochschild (1983) suggests that this method results in stressful experiences for the employee, since individuals generally do not like to feel "fake.". Expressing discrepant emotions does not seem to result in a change of emotional experience, as would be suggested by the facial feedback hypothesis (Adelmann & Zajonc, 1989). For example, in two recent studies subjects were asked to suppress the emotional expression of either sadness or disgust (Gross, 1998a; Gross & Levenson, 1997). This suppression condition resulted in decreased *observable* signs of emotion, such that facial and bodily responses were inhibited. However, the levels of the self-reported experience of emotion in these two studies, and the physiological signs of emotional activation, did not decrease. Given that less emotional expression was taking place, there being no decrease in physiological measures suggests that the emotion is having an effect internally instead. Such studies may help explain how emotional labor can relate functionally to performance measures, but dysfunctionally for the individual on stress and attitude measures. However, the effects of performing such emotional management over the long-term is not known from these studies. In addition, these lab studies focus upon the inhibition of negative emotions, but do not explore the expression of positive emotions. Perhaps it takes even more effort to suppress anger and express friendliness, as may occur in service encounters. The current study will attempt to supplement the emotion regulation knowledge in these areas.

Summary

Reorganizing the previous models of emotional labor around the working definition, and integrating the emotion regulation theory with emotional labor, provides a conceptual model of emotional labor. As can be seen in Figure 2, emotional labor is a process of emotional regulation which responds to the environment and has immediate and

long-term outcomes (see Figure 2). Antecedents of emotional regulation are the situational variables, as stated by Gross (1998b). In this context, that includes the expectations of the organization in terms of the employee's interaction with customers. The interactional expectation variables of frequency, duration, variety, and display rules, all should contribute to the emotional labor process (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). The emotion regulation literature, integrated with the emotional labor theories, supports the existence of two means of performing emotion management in work settings. These methods, surface and deep acting in the emotion labor literature, can be understood more broadly as ways of regulating emotions by manipulating how the situation is appraised in order to change emotions, or by manipulating how the individual expresses the felt emotions. Based on the emotion regulation lab studies and emotional labor field studies, surface acting and deep acting may explain employee attitudes like job satisfaction, stress outcomes like burnout, and behaviors such as performance and turnover. The next sections explore more specifically the relevant research on the antecedents and consequences of emotional labor, and hypotheses are proposed.

Antecedents of Emotional Labor

The previous emotional labor research has measured emotional labor in a variety of ways, which makes it difficult to generalize findings across studies and present support for hypotheses. The emotion regulation theory will help organize and guide hypotheses for the following sections.

Customer Interaction Expectations

As seen in the emotion regulation literature, the situation acts as a cue from which emotions may result. In the customer service setting, the salient situation is the interaction with customers and the expectations of the organization. As Hochschild (1983) stated, certain job characteristics may demand higher levels of emotional labor from employees. One characteristic is the nature of interaction with customers, in particular, the frequency of face or voice contact. To this, Morris and Feldman (1996) added the characteristics of the

duration of interactions, and variety of emotional expression. Hochschild's other characteristics of emotional labor jobs is that the organization expects and controls the emotional expression of the employee. This characteristic can be seen in perceptions of display rules - how much the employees perceive that certain emotional expressions are part of the job. These work role characteristics can be thought of as antecedents to the actual level of emotional labor expected by employees.

Different work roles hold different expectations for the employee when interacting with customers. Job roles may differ in the *frequency* that employees are expected to interact with customers. A receptionist at a small legal firm may welcome customers once an hour, but a cashier at a grocery store may meet six customers an hour. Another difference in interactions is the *duration* demand placed on employees. A salesclerk in a clothing store may work with a customer for hours, while a coffeeshop clerk may only interact with each customer for five minutes. Lastly, the *variety* of the emotions required from the employee may also vary from job to job. A manager may need to suppress anger toward a supervisor, express friendliness toward customers, and be stern toward late employees. Salesclerks, on the other hand, may be expected to express positive emotions consistently. The work role demands of frequency, variety, and duration are factors which may increase the effort one must put into managing emotions. Thus, such factors are proposed as antecedents of emotional labor.

The relationships between these interactional expectations and emotional labor has found mixed support. Morris and Feldman (1997) tested their 1996 model, and found no correlation for the interaction variables of frequency and duration with dissonance (a conceptual proxy for surface acting). In another study, frequency, intensity, and variety had significant relationships with surface acting and deep acting (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998). Duration was not related to surface and deep acting. The work demands of frequency, duration, and variety will be tested in this paper as potential predictors of emotional labor.

Hypothesis 1. Expectations of frequency, duration, and variety of emotional displays with customers positively relate to surface and deep acting.

A few researchers have explored the different emotional displays required by jobs. Three types of emotional work requirements have been proposed and tested: integrative, differentiating, and suppression (Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Jones & Best, 1995). Front-line service employees are generally expected to express integrative emotions such as happiness and sympathy. Other job types, such as bill collectors or bouncers, are expected to portray differentiating emotions such as fear or anger (Hochschild, 1979; Sutton, 1991). The third type is descriptive of jobs where controlling emotions are required, such as therapists or judges. This paper focused on the first group, which is expected to express integrative emotions, and suppress differentiating emotions.

Those expectations are controlled by the display rules of the organization, which may be informal norms or formal processes (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). As stated earlier, training and performance appraisal materials may directly request emotional labor. If employees report that certain emotions are expected by the organization, then that individual may engage in more emotional labor to meet the expectations. With samples of part- and full-time student workers, Brotheridge and Lee (1998) found significant correlations for the perception of emotion display rules with surface acting ($r = .34$) and deep acting ($r = .28$). Approaching this idea from the opposite angle, Kruml and Geddes (1998) found a negative relationships for display *autonomy* and dissonance ($r = -.48$) and emotional effort ($r = -.13$). Thus, it can be proposed that perceiving that the organization expects certain emotion displays will lead to more management of emotion.

Hypothesis 2. Emotional display rules positively relate to surface and deep acting.

Individual and Organizational Consequences of Emotional Labor

The above section proposed that the organizational expectations act as a situational cue for employees. The organization demanding certain emotional expressions should

result in more emotional regulation by the employee, or emotional labor. As discussed earlier, these processes of emotional labor, surface and deep acting, require a level of effort by the individual. The amount of emotion labor should relate to stress due to the physiological demands of emotion regulation (Gross, 1998a; Gross & Levenson, 1997). Emotional labor has also been posited to relate to performance and job satisfaction, sometimes in opposing directions. The various conceptualizations of emotional labor may explain the different findings in regards to these outcomes.

Based on the current conceptualization of emotional labor as surface and deep acting, and emotion regulation theory, it is expected that the more emotional labor, the more effort needed, and the more detrimental the outcomes. This should be true above and beyond the effects of the antecedents, as suggested by the model (see Figure 2). As stated by Gross (1998b), the comparative efficacy of each emotion regulatory process is not clear, so differential hypotheses for the effects of surface and deep acting for most outcomes are not made. Instead, it is proposed that the effort of emotion management is stressful, and will result in negative outcomes. If differential findings are produced, then that will provide evidence for future studies who approach emotional labor in this way. The following sections describe the proposed outcomes of emotional labor, and previous findings in regards to each outcome.

Burnout

Burnout occurs when an employee becomes overly emotionally involved in interactions with customers and has little way to replenish those emotional resources being spent (Jackson, Schwab, & Schuler, 1886). The signs of burnout are emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Maslach, 1982). Emotional exhaustion is a feeling of emotional drain or fatigue. To cope with this feeling of depletion, employees may engage in depersonalization, where they detach from the customers by objectifying or depersonalizing them. This may lead to feeling negatively about oneself and one's work, to the point where

there is a diminished sense of personal accomplishment. Other researchers have associated burnout with important organizational outcomes like performance and turnover (Singh, Goolsby, & Rhoads, 1994; Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). If emotional labor is related to burnout it also may contribute to a host of other organizational outcomes.

The research supports the prediction that emotional labor will relate to burnout. Gross and Levenson (1997) discuss the physiological effort demanded to suppress felt emotions from being expressed in a lab study. Prolonged physiological arousal from suppression of felt emotions may help explain emotional exhaustion. Several studies have assessed the relationship of emotional labor with emotional exhaustion in employees. Emotional dissonance has been related to emotional exhaustion (Abraham, 1998; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Surface acting was related to emotional exhaustion in another study, beyond deep acting and dissonance (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998). Thus, there is support for the relationship of managing emotions at work to emotional exhaustion. There seemed to be less empirical support for emotional labor's relationship to the other burnout dimensions. It is expected that emotional labor will have a similarly detrimental effect on depersonalization and personal accomplishment. The more one needs to effortfully express and suppress emotional responses at work, the more one may choose to depersonalize customers. This may be a way of distancing oneself from the stress of the emotional expenditure; if one is detached when interacting with customers, their potentially emotion-producing reactions will matter less (Hochschild, 1983). One study of police officers declared that when officers are expected to suppress their reactions to tragic events, this suppression may result in less empathy and connection with citizens (Pogrebin & Poole, 1995). If an employee is feeling that meeting emotion demands at work requires a lot of effort, and is feeling detached from customers, then that employee may also feel a lowered sense of personal accomplishment.

Hypothesis 3. Surface and deep acting positively relate to the dimensions of burnout; emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and lack of personal accomplishment, beyond the situational antecedents.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is a measure of the employee's affective evaluation of the job. Some researchers propose that being required to be friendly with customers may make a monotonous job more fun, or may allow self-expression which is enjoyable to employees (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Tolich, 1993). Others have suggested that emotional labor stifles personal expression and as such is unpleasant (Hochschild, 1983; VanMaanen & Kunda, 1989). The empirical research on the relationship between managing emotions at work and job satisfaction has been contradictory. This contradiction may be due to the use of two different definitions of emotional labor. Expressions of emotions may be positively related to job satisfaction, but high levels of effort to achieve that expression may be negatively related.

The available data support this difference. A study using Hochschild's taxonomy of emotional labor jobs found that this measure of emotional labor was related *positively* to job satisfaction (Wharton, 1993). However, it may be that when those requirements create a high level of emotional labor, the outcomes are different. Two studies supported that the experience of emotional dissonance (surface acting) was negatively related to job satisfaction (Abraham, 1998; Morris & Feldman, 1998). Rutter and Fielding (1988) reported that suppressing one's true emotions was a source of stress for prison officers, and that related to lowered job satisfaction. Adelmann (1995) reported that the table servers who expressed real smiles at work, and didn't feel "false," had more job satisfaction. Those who reported faking emotions had less positive reactions. There seems to be less empirical support for the relationship of deep acting with job satisfaction. Based on Hochschild's (1983) work, there should be a negative relationship. Her argument was that working to manage something as personal as emotions for organizational purposes would

be inherently unsatisfying. In general, those who report high levels of emotion regulation with customers may be less satisfied with their jobs.

Hypothesis 4. Surface and deep acting negatively relates to job satisfaction, beyond the situational antecedents.

Turnover Intentions

In customer service jobs, turnover rates are often high. The level of emotional labor may predict those who desire to leave the organization. Those who need to engage in high levels of effort to express positive emotions and suppress negative emotions for the job may be more inclined to desire a different job. In fact, the need to regulate emotions regularly at work may act as a signal to the employee that this environment is not a good match for the individual (Edwards, 1991; Schwarz & Clore, 1983). They may engage in the antecedent-focused emotion regulation technique of situation selection (Gross, 1998b), and select a different organizational setting for their employment. Thus, emotional labor should positively relate to turnover intentions. The research on burnout suggests that this proposition may be valid. Based on the burnout literature, it is likely that working in jobs that have expectations which demand high levels of emotional regulation may result in turnover intentions (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Maslach & Pines, 1977; Singh et al., 1994).

Hypothesis 5. Surface and deep acting positively relates to turnover intentions, beyond the situational antecedents.

Emotional Estrangement

Several emotional labor papers have proposed that managing emotions for pay may make employees feel alienated from their true selves (Abraham, 1998; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). A proposed explanation for this occurrence comes from classic emotion theory. Freud (1936/1961) suggested that emotions act as a signal to help the individual understand the environment. Constantly reappraising situations which

should otherwise create an emotional response may result in a "dimming" of the emotional signal. If employees are expected to ignore that signal, and they instead reappraise each situation so it does not emerge or express discrepant emotions, the emotional labor theorists proposed that individuals may become less able to feel and interpret their true emotional responses to their environments.

Lab studies on emotion regulation offer some support for this thesis. One found that antecedent-focused regulation decreased the experience of emotion, but not the physiological responses to the emotion stimuli (Gross, 1998a). In the same study, those engaging in response-focused regulation strategies could reduce their expression of emotion, but still reported the felt emotion and had the physiological response. Over time, such discrepancies between expressions and true feelings may have long-term costs. According to Hochschild (1983): "The worker may grow accustomed to a dimming or numbing of inner signals. And when we lose access to feeling, we lose a central means of interpreting the world around us" (p. 188). This leads to the proposal that emotional labor is related to feeling emotionally numb, or estranged, even after leaving the workplace. While this could have serious implications for quality-of-life, the effect of emotional labor on emotional estrangement has not been empirically tested previously.

Hypothesis 6. Surface and deep acting positively relates to emotional estrangement.

Customer Service Performance

As a means of presenting a positive image of the organization and encouraging customer loyalty, managing emotions can result in good customer service performance (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Emotional expressions such as smiles and friendly comments can lead to good work performance as measured by tips for table servers (Adelmann, 1995; Tidd & Lockhard, 1978). Pugh (1998) found a positive relationship between emotional displays of bank tellers and customer satisfaction. These studies suggest that positive emotional expressions will result in higher customer service

performance. However, the personal effort of producing those expressions may tell a different story. In one field study, service agents in many different organizations described being friendly to difficult customers, and then avoiding customers or being less courteous as a way of coping with that interaction (Bailey, 1996). Employees being unavailable or discourteous would certainly have a negative impact on customer service. This effect of emotional labor on performance may even extend beyond interactions with customers. Emotion regulation researchers have found that emotion suppression and exaggeration may impair cognitive performance (Baumeister, in press; Richards & Gross, in press). The effort to manage emotions may take attention away from the task at hand.

Little is known about how an employees' method of regulating emotions is related to customer service performance. However, several authors have mentioned the importance of emotional displays being seen as "genuine"; emotional expressions which are perceived as insincere may negatively impact customer service (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grove & Fisk, 1989; Hochschild, 1983). The more regulation necessary, the less "genuine" the expression. There is some empirical support for these claims. Emotions research has found that when people "fake" emotions, or surface acting, there seems to be "leakage" so that observers can tell (Ekman, 1981). This suggests that surface acting should be negatively related to service performance.

However, deep acting, or antecedent-focused emotion regulation, may convince the employee that they really feel the way they are trying to express, and the expression would thus be more genuine. As mentioned by Rafaeli and Sutton (1989), and Hochschild (1983), it is a "good faith" way of displaying the required emotions. A lab study by Gross (1998a) showed that those who engaged in reappraisal (a form of deep acting) showed fewer facial signs of this emotion *and* reported experiencing less of the negative emotion than those who did not reappraise the situation. Thus, not only do they have the expression managed, but they have convinced themselves that they do not actually feel in that negative way. While this process is still effortful, it may lead to an expression which

is perceived as more genuine than when one surface acts. Therefore, there are differential hypotheses for surface and deep acting in predicting service performance.

Hypothesis 7a. Surface acting relates negatively to customer service, beyond the situational antecedents.

Hypothesis 7b. Deep acting relates positively to customer service, beyond the situational antecedents.

Moderating Variables

Both individual and organizational characteristics may buffer the effects of emotion expectations, and diminish the negative outcomes of emotional labor on the individual and organization. Increased levels of emotional labor may occur due to individual differences , or the environment. This paper tests the effect of the organizational climate on emotional labor and its relationships. As suggested by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and Morris and Feldman (1996), and supported by the emotion regulation literature, the social situation is a very important factor in understanding emotion management. It is very possible that the social situation in which employees work may affect the level and type of emotional labor in which they engage. This may happen because the workplace is a positive place to work and so less labor is required when one is expected to display positive emotions. In addition, when a situation arises, the presence of a supportive environment may buffer the negative outcomes of emotional labor.

Supervisor and Coworker Support

The perception that one works in a supportive climate has been found to relate to job satisfaction, lowered stress and turnover intentions, and even higher team performance (Cropanzano, Howes, Grandey, & Toth, 1997; Eisenberger, Cummings, Armeli, & Lynch, 1997; Howes, Cropanzano, Grandey, & Mohler, 1999). Since support from one's coworkers and supervisors should create a positive working environment (Schneider & Bowen, 1985), it is likely that these factors would directly influence how much emotional labor is needed. The emotion regulation theory proposed by Gross (1998b) discusses the

situation as a cue to the emotional response which follows. If positive expressions are expected, and one feels positive about the work environment, then less emotional labor should be necessary. In short, a positive working climate should mean less surface and deep acting is needed. One may genuinely feel the emotions which are expected in a service environment if the interpersonal relationships are positive and supportive. This would suggest a direct negative relationship between perceived support and emotional labor.

However, events may occur which create the need to emotionally labor. Much work has assessed the buffering effects of emotional and instrumental support from others as a means of coping with stress (i.e., Carver, Schein, & Weintraub, 1993). Based on the previous literature, it is expected that having such support would buffer the negative impact of experiencing stress at work, in this case high emotional labor (Goolsby, 1992; Pines & Aronson, 1988). When an employee is faced with a situation that requires a high level of emotional effort, such as an angry customer, he or she may wish to vent their frustration to a colleague, or ask the supervisor for help. Studies suggest that talking with others about one's difficulties may buffer one against stress outcomes such as illness (Pennebaker, 1990). Only one known paper has tested support as a moderator of emotional labor and outcomes. Abraham (1998) found that social support interacted with emotional dissonance to buffer against job dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis 8a. Coworker and supervisor support negatively relates to surface and deep acting.

Hypothesis 8b. Coworker and supervisor support moderates the impact of emotional labor on attitudinal and behavioral outcomes such that more support will result in lower detrimental outcomes.

Summary

As stated earlier, little empirical work is available on emotional labor. This paper attempts to provide evidence for a model of emotional labor, based on the emotion

regulation theory where one responds to the organizational situation with antecedent-focused (deep acting) or response-focused (surface acting) emotion regulation. The job expectations; frequency, duration, and variety of interactions and emotion display rules, are assessed as antecedents of high levels of emotional labor. Attitudinal outcomes (job dissatisfaction, turnover intentions), stress outcomes (burnout, emotional estrangement), and behavioral outcomes (customer service performance) are expected to be consequences of emotional labor. Lastly, two organizational climate variables, coworker and supervisor support, are tested as environmental factors which influence emotional labor's relationship with the outcomes. See Figure 2 for the guiding theoretical model.

Chapter II

Method

Participants and Procedures

Surveys were sent to 600 employees of a large university with the job title "administrative assistant." Administrative assistants were chosen as a meaningful sample for this study since a major part of their jobs is to provide a service to a wide range of "customers," such as faculty, students, and visitors, by any means of communication. According to the state job description for administrative assistants, interaction with customers should provide several services. Administrative assistant tasks involve "giving learned information... in order to solve factual problems, errors, or complaints...advising, counseling or guiding the direction taken to resolve complaints." Thus, this sample provides a service which can be in person or over the phone, which may provide information or respond to problems. As with most customer service jobs, the nature of these interactions have the potential to be satisfying for both parties involved, or involve difficulties stemming from complaints.

After several weeks, a reminder letter was sent to each department, with a survey enclosed, to increase the return rate. The final sample for this study was made up of 168 administrative assistants, for a 28% return rate. Mail-in responses have the benefit of confidentiality and hopefully honest responses from participants, but the return rate is often lower than for in-house completion. A 15-30% return rate is typical for mail-in responses (Paul & Bracken, 1995). The sample was 94% women, as is typical of customer service jobs (Hochschild, 1983), 70% were married, and the mean age was 45. Eighty-three percent were full-time employees, and the average tenure of the administrative assistants was about six and a half years.

Participants received a packet which contained a cover letter, the survey, a short survey for a coworker to complete, and self-addressed envelopes for both surveys. Participants were asked to complete the survey (about 20 minutes) and return it within 2 weeks. They were also asked to give a peer survey to a coworker who has the opportunity to observe them interacting with customers. Both the peer survey and the main survey had an identification number on it, and were returned separately to the researcher. Precautions were taken to make sure that the main survey and the peer survey were not returned by the same individual. Out of the completed surveys, 78.5% had a peer survey which could be matched to the main survey. The entire sample (168) was used for all analyses, except for the analyses with peer-rated customer service (132). There were no substantial mean differences between those who had a peer survey and those who did not.

Measures

The complete list of items on the survey and retained for analyses can be found in the appendix (see Appendix).

Emotional labor. As stated earlier, surface and deep acting seemed the most useful way of measuring the concept of emotional labor. However, dissonance needed to be considered too, since this concept had been included in several studies as the operationalization of emotional labor. In a pilot study, items were used which were developed by Brotheridge and Lee (1998) and the author. The items by Brotheridge and Lee were based on a review of emotional labor literature and tested with two samples. A pilot study by the author tested Brotheridge and Lee's (1998) 19 items on a sample of part-time employed students. After eliminating items which cross-loaded, a factor analysis with varimax rotation supported two factors: one factor which contained the four surface acting items and two dissonance items, and another which had two deep acting items with strong loadings (Grandey, 1998). These results were fairly supportive of Brotheridge and Lee's findings. Several items were written by the author to further tap the concepts of surface acting, and to measure the idea of low emotional labor. The retained items were used in

this study, and the factor structure of this scale will be discussed further in the results section. Responses to this scale were made on a five-point Likert-type scale, with anchors of "never" to "always," in response to the statement, "In order to do your job effectively on an average work day, how often do you do the following things?" See Appendix for items.

Customer interaction expectations. The *frequency* of emotional display was measured by items which asked how frequently the participant interacted with customers face-to-face, and in general. Frequency had an alpha coefficient of .79. The *variety* of emotional display was measured by two items, which had a reliability coefficient of .94. This asked employees how much they were expected to "display a wide variety of emotions to others," for example. Lastly, *duration* of the emotional display was measured by one item: "on average, an interaction I have with a customer takes about (circle one)." Five choices ranging from five minutes or less to more than 2 hours were available. Three items were used to measure employee perceptions that the organization expected certain emotional displays. Responses were on a five-point Likert-type scale with "disagree and "agree" at the anchors. These items were "Part of my job is to make the customer feel good," My workplace does not expect me to express positive emotions to customers as part of my job" (reverse coded), and "This organization would say that part of the product to customers is friendly, cheerful service." These items had reasonable internal consistency (alpha = .74).

Burnout. This scale is a well-validated, 22-item measure with three dimensions developed by Maslach and Jackson (1981). A five-point scale was used with "never" at one end and "every day" at the other. With this sample, the items loaded fairly cleanly on the intended factors, with only one item cross-loading. The alpha coefficients were acceptable for the factors emotional exhaustion (alpha = .90), personal accomplishment (alpha = .78), and depersonalization (alpha = .78).

General job satisfaction. This construct was tapped by a 3-item measure with Likert-type responses of agree to disagree. Validation evidence can be found in Seashore,

Lawler, Mirvis, and Camman (1982). The reliability coefficient was .91. One item from this scale is "Generally speaking, I like working here."

Turnover intentions. The intention to leave the current job was measured by three items with a five-point Likert-type scale with anchors of agree and disagree. Validation evidence can be found in Cropanzano, James and Konovsky (1993). The reliability coefficient was .80. "I intend to remain with this organization indefinitely" was a reverse scored item from the turnover intentions scale.

Emotional estrangement. Eight items were designed by the author to measure the concept that the employee felt estranged from his or her emotions, or emotionally numb. Responses were on a 5-point Likert scale with "never" at one end and "always" at the other. A principal components analysis on these items resulted in five items which strongly loaded on the first factor. Sample items are "I feel very in touch with my emotions" (reverse coded), "I feel emotionally numb," and "I have trouble identifying what emotion I'm feeling." The reliability for this new scale was an Chronbach's alpha of .87.

Customer service. A nine-item scale measuring customer service was developed by the author, based partially on a previous customer service rating scale by McLellan and colleagues (1998). This scale was designed to be completed by a coworker who is able to observe the customer service of the employee. A principal components analysis narrowed this to six items, with a reliability coefficient of .93. The items ask the coworker how much they agree, on a 5-point scale, with comments regarding the person's interaction with customers (i.e., "This person shows friendliness and warmth to most customers," "This person treats customers with courtesy, respect, and politeness).

Coworker and supervisor support. Two parallel 6-item scales developed by the author were used to measure the level of support from coworkers and supervisors. Items were designed to measure both instrumental and emotional support. Five items on each scale were retained, which loaded onto the first factor of a principal components analysis. The five items on the coworker support scale had a reliability coefficient of .90, and the

supervisor support scale had a reliability coefficient of .92. Example items are "After dealing with a difficult situation, I can talk to my supervisor about it," and "When I need a break, my coworkers will cover for me if they can."

Chapter III

Results

Factor Analysis of the Emotional Labor Scale

Twenty-six items, including items by Brotheridge and Lee (1998) and by the present author, were used to measure the effort to manage emotions (see Appendix). Three items were developed by the author to represent low emotional effort, or genuine expressions at work. It was presumed that these items would anchor the negative pole of the surface acting factor (i.e., would be reversed scored). Based on the previous work, two factors were expected to emerge; items which referred to the concept of surface acting (including dissonance items and reverse-scored genuine items) and items which referred to the effort of deep acting.

An exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation on the 26 items revealed five factors. The first factor was made up of the five items referring to surface acting, "Just pretend to have the emotions I need to display for my job," and "Put on a 'show' or 'performance.'" Three deep acting items loaded strongly on the second factor: "Make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display toward others," "Work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show to others," and "Try to actually experience the emotions that I must show." The items designed to tap dissonance cross-loaded on factors three and four. No items loaded on those factors above .70. Based on these ambiguous findings, and previous literature showing that dissonance did not contribute beyond surface acting to the outcomes (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998), the dissonance items were not used for the remainder of the analyses. Two items written to tap a low level of emotional labor, made up a fifth factor: "Easily express emotions to customers as expected for my job," and "React to customers' emotions naturally and easily." Thus, three final factors were retained: surface acting, deep acting, and genuine expression. These had acceptable

reliabilities of .90, .80, and .69, respectively. Surface and deep acting were significantly related to each other (r=.47), and genuine expression was negatively related to surface acting (r=-.32) but not to deep acting (r = -.02).

These retained items were subjected to another factor analysis to determine if they resulted in three distinct factors. Item factor loadings ranged from .76 to .88, with minimal cross-loading (See Table 1). However, two items did cross-load over .30 with another factor. To determine more conclusively if these items formed separate factors, a confirmatory factor analysis was performed using Lisrel 8.2 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1981). The fit of this three-factor structure was supported by the analysis (GFI = .94; NFI = .94, RMSR = .05). (See Figure 3).

The first two factors, representing surface acting and deep acting, support the ideas presented by Hochschild (1983) and the empirical findings of Brotheridge and Lee (1998). The third factor contained items written to tap a low level of emotional effort. As a separate factor, this suggests that an employee can meet organizational display rules by surface acting, deep acting, or genuine expression in any given situation. Genuine expression did not load as the negative anchor for surface acting, as expected. Therefore, there were no specific hypotheses for this factor. Inferences can be made from previous speculations; others have suggested the importance of "genuineness" while expressing emotions at work, and that service jobs can be performed with low levels of emotional effort (Adelmann, 1995; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). These works suggest that employees displaying genuine emotions will engage in less effort, so have less stress as well as provide better customer service. This relationships of this factor will be explored post-hoc, and should be considered in future studies.

Correlational Analyses

Bivariate correlations were calculated to test relationships among emotional labor and the antecedents and consequences. See Table 2 for these relationships. Contrary to expectations, the antecedents of frequency, duration of customer interactions and variety of

emotional expression were not significantly related to emotional labor. Display rules was significantly related to deep acting (r=.22), but not to surface acting. Thus, Hypotheses 1 is not supported, and Hypothesis 2 is partially supported.

The consequences of emotional labor were proposed to include stress, attitudes and performance. Most of these relationships were significant. Hypothesis 3 posited that burnout would relate positively to emotional labor. Surface and deep acting were related to emotional exhaustion (r=.63 and r=.41, respectively), and to depersonalization (r=.55 and r=.17, respectively). Surface acting was negatively related to personal accomplishment (r=-.42), while deep acting was not. With the exception of the deep acting - personal accomplishment relationship, these findings supported Hypothesis 3. In support of Hypothesis 4, job satisfaction significantly related in a negative direction to surface acting (r=-.50) and deep acting (r=-.23). Hypothesis 5 also had support, with significant positive relationships between turnover intentions and surface acting (r=.41) and deep acting (r=.21). The new construct, emotional estrangement, was found to be significantly related to surface acting (r=.40), and deep acting (r=.28) as proposed in Hypothesis 6. Surface acting was found to relate to the peer rating of customer service in a negative direction (r= -.31), as predicted by Hypothesis 7a, though there was no relationship with deep acting which did not support Hypothesis 7b. Lastly, peer support related negatively to surface acting (r=-.23), and supervisor support related negatively to surface acting (r=-.40) and deep acting (r=-.30). This supports Hypothesis 8a.

Genuine expression, as a separate factor, was related to the variables as well. With the customer interaction expectations, genuine was significantly related to frequency (r=.27), duration (r=.18), variety (r=.15), which is in contrast with the null findings for surface and deep acting. Genuine expression had a positive relationship with display rules (r=.23), similar to surface acting. However, the relationship of genuine expression to the outcomes was in the opposite direction of surface and deep acting. Genuine expression related negatively to the burnout dimensions of emotional exhaustion (r=-.36),

depersonalization, (r=-.36), and positively to personal accomplishment (r=.47). Work attitudes of job satisfaction and turnover intentions also related significantly to genuine expression (r=.32, r=-.21, respectively), as did estrangement (r=-.33). Lastly, genuine expression had a significant, positive relationship to peer ratings of customer service (r=.24).

Regression Analyses

While the correlational analyses provide valuable information, they do not test the full extent of the hypotheses. Emotional labor was proposed to predict each outcome above and beyond the control variables and the antecedents. This offers a more conservative test of the predictions. To test the hypotheses completely, each outcome was subjected to hierarchical regression analyses. In each, the outcome was regressed on the control variables of age and sex first. The second step contained the customer interaction expectation variables: frequency, duration, variety, and display rules. Lastly, the emotional labor measures, surface and deep acting, were entered. At each stage, the change in variance explained offers information about the value of that set of variables predicting the outcome. Complete information about the analyses can be found in Tables 3 through 5.

Burnout. There are three components to the measure of burnout used in this study. Emotional exhaustion is the most frequently studied. The control variables accounted for a non-significant 2% of the variance. Likewise, frequency, variety, duration, and display rules did not result in a significant change in variance explained. Entering surface and deep acting accounted for a significant 36% of the variance in emotional exhaustion. The final beta weights showed that only surface acting remained a significant predictor beyond all other variables (ß=.56, p<.001).

Depersonalization was significantly predicted by the control variables (ΔR^2=.10), in particular, by the age variable. Both age (ß=-.19, p<.01) and surface acting (ß=.55, p<.001) had significant beta coefficients once all variables were entered. Those who were

younger and who engaged in surface acting were more likely to say they depersonalized customers. The customer interaction variables were not significant contributors in explaining the level of depersonalization. Surface and deep acting explained an additional 26% of the variance in this burnout outcome.

Lastly, personal accomplishment was regressed onto the control variables, neither of which were significant predictors. Entering frequency, variety, duration, and display rules resulted in a significant change in variance explained (ΔR^2=.11), driven by the effect of frequency. Entering surface and deep acting contributed 15% to the variance explained, which was significant. The final beta coefficients revealed that frequency (ß=.19, p<.05) and surface acting (ß=-.44, p<.001) remained significant after all variables were taken into account. Thus, there is partial evidence for Hypothesis 3.

Job satisfaction. In the first two steps, neither the control variables nor the interactional variables contributed a significant amount of variance to explaining job satisfaction. Surface and deep acting had a significant contribution, explaining 21% of the variance. The final beta weights showed that sex, variety, and surface acting all were significant predictors. Sex had a positive beta coefficient (ß=.18, p<.05) suggesting that women were more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than men. Variety (ß=.16, p<.05) was also significant, so those with more variety of emotional expressions reported more job satisfaction. Surface acting had a negative beta coefficient (ß = -.49, p<.001), so that the more surface acting reported, the less job satisfaction. This partially supports Hypothesis 4.

Turnover intentions. Regressing turnover intentions on the control variables yielded a significant change in variance explained (ΔR^2=.07), with the effect stemming from the sex variable. The antecedent variables did not significantly contribute to this outcome. Surface and deep acting contributed a significant change in variance explained (ΔR^2=.13). The final beta coefficients of sex (ß=-.22, p<.01) and surface acting (ß=.37,

$p<.001$), were significant, such that men were more likely to have turnover intentions, and more surface acting was related to higher intentions to leave the job. Hypothesis 5 is partially supported.

Emotional estrangement. The control variables did not contribute significantly to this outcome. The step of the equation with frequency, duration, variety, and display rules resulted in a significant amount of variance explained ($\Delta R^2=.07$), with display rules as the driving force ($\beta=.25$, $p=.01$). The final step of this regression equation entered the emotional labor variables. Surface and deep acting together contributed a significant 11% of the variance explained in emotional estrangement. According to the beta coefficients when all variables were entered, both display rules ($\beta=.17$, $p<.05$) and surface acting($\beta=.28$, $p<.001$) were significant contributors to this outcome. Hypothesis 6 is partially supported.

Customer service. This peer-rated variable measured the customer interaction performance of each employee. The control variables of the age and sex of the employee, as well as the sex of the peer, did not make a significant contribution to explaining this outcome. The four antecedent variables were also non-significant predictors. However, entry of the emotional labor variables resulted in a significant change in variance explained ($\Delta R^2=.11$). The final beta coefficients showed that both surface acting ($\beta=-.38$, $p<.001$) and deep acting ($\beta=.20$, $p<.05$) were significant predictors beyond the other variables. While the high mean levels of service ratings need to be considered, the results here are interesting: Higher levels of managing expression (surface acting) were related to lower service ratings from a coworker, and higher levels of managing feelings (deep acting) related to higher service ratings from a coworker. The direction of these beta coefficients supports Hypothesis 7a and Hypothesis 7b.

Moderating Effects

To determine if the variables of supervisor and peer support had an interaction effect with the emotional labor variables on the outcomes, as proposed by Hypothesis 8b,

another set of hierarchical regressions was performed. In particular, moderating effects by peer support and supervisor support were tested for the relationships between surface acting and each outcome. Surface acting seemed to be the more robust predictor of the outcomes, and if an environment factor could be found to buffer this relationship, that would be useful information for applied and theoretical reasons. For each equation, the outcome variable was regressed upon the main effects first; surface acting and the support variable. On the second step, the interaction between the emotional labor dimension and the support variable was entered to see if it contributed beyond the main effects (see Baron & Kenny, 1986). See Tables 6 through 8.

While a significant change in R^2 for the interaction term entry is evidence of a moderating effect, it does not reveal *how* the support variable interacts with emotional labor to affect the outcomes. The previous work on support would suggest that more support should buffer the negative effects of stress. Thus, we should expect that the relationship between the surface acting and stress outcomes would be lower if there are high levels of support. In order to discover the direction of any moderating effects, the median of the support variables were calculated, and correlations between surface acting and the outcomes were computed for the groups above and below the median. The median for peer support was 4.2, and for supervisor support was 4.4. These are from a 5-point scale, and the skewness should be taken into account when interpreting these results.

Burnout. Out of six possible equations predicting the burnout dimension, there were no significant interaction effect for either supervisor or peer support on the relationship of surface acting and burnout. See Table 6 for details.

Job satisfaction. Peer support had a small but significant moderating effect on the relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction (ΔR^2=.02) beyond the main effects. See Table 7 for more information. The median split correlation between surface acting and job satisfaction for the "low" peer support group was r=-.61, and for the "high" peer

support group was r=-.28. When one has high levels of peer support, the relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction is weaker.

The interaction of surface acting and supervisor support yielded a significant change (ΔR^2=.05) as well. See Table 7 for more information. For supervisor support, those in the below median group showed a correlation between job satisfaction and surface acting of r=-.54, while those in the above median group had a correlation of r=-.32. Surface acting was more strongly related to job satisfaction for those reporting less support. With both peer support and supervisor support, support attenuated the effects of surface acting on job dissatisfaction.

Turnover intentions. Neither peer support nor supervisor support had a significant interaction effect with surface acting on turnover intentions, although one interaction approached significance (p<.06). The interaction term of surface acting and supervisor support contributed 2% beyond the main effects (see Table 7). The median split correlations showed that those with higher supervisor support had a smaller relationship between surface acting and turnover intentions (r=.29) than those with lower supervisor support (r=.44). This direction supports the buffering idea of Hypothesis 8b.

Emotional estrangement. One of the potential interaction effects was significant for this outcome. Peer support and surface acting interacted to produce a significant change in the amount of variance explained (ΔR^2=.03) beyond the main effects (ß=.68, p<.05). However, the median split correlations were in the opposite direction than would be predicted. Those in the lower peer support group showed smaller relationships between surface acting and estrangement (r=.30) than those with higher levels of peer support (r=.50). This does not support Hypothesis 8b.

Customer service. One of the potential interaction effects for this outcome approached statistical significance. The interaction of peer support with surface acting resulted in an additional 2.5% variance explained in customer service performance beyond the main effects, which approached significance (ß=.79, p<.06). See Table 8 for more

detail. The median split correlations showed a large difference between low and high peer support groups, in the direction predicted by Hypothesis 8b. Those who reported higher levels of peer support had non-significant correlations between surface acting and customer service performance (r=-.05, n.s.), while those who reported lower levels of peer support had a significant negative correlation (r=-.48, p<.001).

Post-Hoc Analyses: Genuine Expression Analyses

Two sets of questions arose after the hypotheses had been proposed. The first stemmed from the emergence of genuine expression as a separate factor of emotional labor. Since the relationships of the genuine expression factor were not predicted *a priori*, I conducted exploratory analyses to ascertain its effect on the outcomes. Based on previous works, including emotion regulation theory, I posited *post hoc* that genuine expression should have positive relationships with satisfaction and performance, and negative relationships with stress and turnover intentions. Showing true emotions at work regularly should bespeak a good match between the individual and the environment. Correlations are stated first, and then hierarchical regression analyses follow. The regression equations include the demographic variables, the customer interaction variables, and on the final step, genuine expression.

Burnout. When entered after the demographic variables and the customer interaction variables, genuine expression explained additional variance in emotional exhaustion (ΔR^2=.14), depersonalization (ΔR^2=.09), and personal accomplishment (ΔR^2=.13). Genuine expression remained a significant predictor for each outcome after all variables were entered. Specific information can be found in Table 9. The direction of these relationships supports the idea that genuine expression at work is not detrimental in terms of stress.

Job satisfaction. Beyond the controls and the antecedent variables, genuine expression significantly contributed to job satisfaction (ΔR^2=.09). Sex and genuine expression were the two significant predictors of job satisfaction when all variables were

considered (ß=.18, p<.05; ß=.33, p<.01, respectively). Women and those who show feelings easily at work are more likely to be satisfied with their service jobs. See Table 10 for more information.

Turnover intentions. The entry of genuine expression had a small, but significant, impact on the variance explained in turnover intentions (ΔR^2=.04). Several variables retained significant beta coefficients after all variables were considered, including sex (ß=-.23, p<.01), display rules (ß=.20, p<.05), and genuine expression (ß=-.21, p<.01). Thus, those who were male, perceived more display rules, and expressed lower genuine emotions at work, reported higher turnover intentions.

Emotional estrangement. In the regression analysis, genuine expression explained an additional 9% of the variance, beyond the controls and the interactional variables (see Table 10). Display rules and genuine expression were the significant predictors of emotional estrangement (ß=.27, p<.05; ß=-.32, p<.01, respectively). Perceiving that the organization demands certain emotional displays, and expressing lower levels of genuine emotions impact the likelihood one will feel emotionally numb.

Customer service. Genuine expression had a significant effect beyond the demographic variables and the interaction variables (ΔR^2=.06, p<.01) on peer-rated customer service (see Table 11). Genuine expression was the only significant predictor when all the antecedents had been considered.

Post-Hoc Analyses: Analyses Controlling for Job Satisfaction

The second question which arose after the hypotheses had been tested considers the idea that job satisfaction may be a predictor, rather than outcome, of emotional labor. Perhaps those who are satisfied with their jobs are happier at work, and so need to engage in less effort to display positive emotions. If this is the case, job satisfaction should be included as a control variable to see if emotional labor adds anything beyond job satisfaction in explaining the outcomes. Perhaps job satisfaction, a well-established variable, is a more robust predictor of the stress and behavioral outcomes than emotional

labor. The correlational analyses showed that job satisfaction was highly related to surface acting (r=-.50), though less so with deep acting (r=-.23). Regression analyses were performed to see if emotional labor contributed any unique variance beyond job satisfaction for the outcomes of interest. Results can be found in Tables 12 and 13.

Burnout. For all three dimensions of burnout, emotional labor contributed unique variance beyond the demographic variables, interaction expectations, and job satisfaction. The additional variance explained by emotional labor ranged from 8% to 17%. However, while emotional labor remained a significant predictor of the burnout dimensions, the final beta coefficients showed that job satisfaction also remained a significant predictor beyond all the other variables for emotional exhaustion (ß=-.43, p<.01) and personal accomplishment (ß=.19, p<.05).

Turnover intentions. Job satisfaction was the main predictor of this outcome. When entered after the controls and antecedents, job satisfaction contributed 51% to the variance explained. This eclipsed the effect of surface and deep acting. It may be that emotional labor contributes to the level of job satisfaction, but that it is this evaluation of the job which has the most proximal effect on the intent to leave the job.

Emotional estrangement. Emotional labor remained a significant predictor of emotional estrangement after the other predictors and job satisfaction were entered. Job satisfaction contributed 6% of variance beyond the controls and antecedents, and emotional labor explained another 7% of the variance, which was significant. The final beta coefficients showed that only surface acting remained significant (ß=.22, p<.05) beyond the other variables.

Customer service. Job satisfaction did not predict peer-rated customer service. Emotional labor contributed a significant 9% of the variance beyond the other variables, including job satisfaction. The final weights showed that surface acting (ß=-.35) and deep acting (ß=.20) remained significant when all the variables were taken into consideration.

Chapter IV

Discussion

While several papers have examined the topic of emotional labor, there has been little agreement as to the definition and measurement of this construct. Three theoretical papers reviewed in the current paper referred to the fact that individuals could modify their expressions for organizational purposes. One was interested in how this modification was performed by working on feelings and was related to employee stress (Hochschild, 1979; 1983). Another focused on how the focus of emotion management is observable expressions, which should relate to organizational measures like customer service (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). The third discussed how modification occurs in response to the situation and the interactional demands and is related to employee measures of burnout and dissatisfaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Components from each of these theoretical papers remain in the current model of emotional labor. One of the goals of the current paper was to merge previous conceptualizations of emotional labor in such a way that differential findings could be explained and the definition would be useful to organizational researchers. The common bond among the papers is the modification of emotions, performed for organizational goals. This integration of papers was possible by considering emotional labor through the perspective of emotional regulation theory. The definition of emotional labor espoused in this paper is that emotional labor is the emotional regulation performed by the employee to respond to organizational demands.

Emotion regulation theory, presented by Gross (1998b), suggested that emotions can be regulated by two general processes. The first is antecedent-focused, where the individual modifies the situation, or how the situation is perceived. This should regulate the actual emotion feelings of the individual. The second is response-focused, where the

individual has an emotional response to the situation, but attempts to regulate its expression. Lab studies confirm that these regulation processes are useful in changing emotional expression, but physiological responses may not diminish in kind. These general emotion regulation techniques proposed by Gross (1998a; 1998b) offered a process model for understanding emotional labor. Surface acting and deep acting, as discussed by the emotional labor theorists, are processes of emotional labor, which correspond with the emotion regulation techniques. Deep acting is the effort to modify feelings, as in antecedent-focused regulation. Surface acting is the effort to modify the emotional expression, as in response-focused regulation. Using this framework, a process model of antecedents and consequences of emotional labor was proposed.

The measurement of emotional labor still needs adjustment and replication, but this paper offered some preliminary evidence toward a scale of surface and deep acting. The surface acting items were internally consistent and predicted outcomes well. The deep acting items did not perform as robustly as surface acting, which may be due to their lack of effect on the outcomes, or may be due to the items being less clear to participants. The concept of working to change feelings may not be as specific and concrete to individuals as the items for surface acting are. Future research should expand on these items, using emotion regulation theory, and add more specific items about attention deployment and cognitive change. The genuine expression items were not expected to form a factor separate from the emotional labor items. This finding suggests that expressing emotions naturally and easily can exist at the same time as surface and deep acting; they are independent. This makes sense in that emotions are responses to situations, and as such one may engage in all three responses (surface, deep, and genuine) in a given day. Those who report genuine expression as occurring more frequently at work seem to have less deleterious outcomes than those who report higher levels of surface acting. Future work needs to consider genuine expression as a potential way of achieving organizational display

rules, as suggested by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), how to encourage such behavior, and how genuine expression fits into the emotional labor framework.

Based on emotion regulation theory, the input for emotion regulation is the situation. Emotional labor papers have proposed a number of organizational factors which might create the need to emotionally regulate (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). In past papers, these factors were even considered ways of defining emotional labor: The expected frequency and duration of interaction with customers, variety of emotional expression expected, and the perception that emotional displays are expected from the employee. In the present study these variables were tested as antecedents of surface acting and deep acting.

In general, these situational expectations were not related to the measures of emotional labor. Hypothesis 1 stated that frequency, duration, and variety would relate to surface and deep acting, which was not supported. This confirms Morris and Feldman's (1997) study which did not find relationships between these variables and dissonance, a proxy for surface acting. However, these results do not correspond with Brotheridge and Lee (1998), who found relationships between these antecedents and surface and deep acting. In this study, the use of employees at the same organization in the same job may have limited the potential variability of the antecedents and thus restricted the possible relationships. However, the means and standard deviations as shown in Table 2 do not support that explanation for all the customer interaction variables. It may be that other types of job characteristics would be more likely predictors of emotional regulation at work. For example, job autonomy was proposed by Morris and Feldman (1996) as predicting less dissonance. The type of customer interaction may also affect emotional labor; Hochschild (1983) suggested that face-to-face contact would be more difficult since more effort would be needed to maintain the appropriate expression. Past research on work stress may also indicate organizational factors which would create conflict or frustration, such that more emotion regulation would be necessary.

However, another potential explanation of the lack of relationships between customer interaction expectations and emotional labor is that these are not the true situational cues for emotions. The previous work has proposed that situations and work characteristics, rather than acute events, are the antecedents of emotional labor. Emotion theorists have posited that emotions are states of readiness in response to situational cues (Frijda, 1986). Perhaps more focus needs to be given to the situation which creates an immediate response in the employee. Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1993) proposes that emotion *events* occur at work to incite emotions in employees. Future studies may wish to explore the actual events in organizations which lead to an emotional response. Data from a diary study is being gathered by the author to respond to this issue.

Hypothesis 2 posited that perceiving that the organization had emotional display rules would relate to emotional labor. This was partially supported, in that display rules related to deep acting, but not surface acting. Brotheridge and Lee had found that display rules related to both measures of emotional labor. Perhaps in this organization, it is clear that the display rules expect deep acting, while surface acting is more at the discretion of the employee.

The process model adopted by this paper integrated the theoretical papers by including individual outcomes, such as employee burnout, as well as organizational outcomes, such as customer service. This set of analyses was one of the main contributions of this paper, since previously only individual *or* performance outcomes of emotional labor had been empirically tested in a single study. Hypotheses 3 through 7 posited that emotional labor would relate detrimentally to burnout, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, emotional estrangement, and customer service. In general, the results were supportive of the hypotheses for surface acting, but not for deep acting. Both were correlated with the variables in the predicted direction, but when both were entered into a regression equation, the effects of surface acting eclipsed the effects of deep acting. This

will be discussed further under limitations, but in general, the null findings may be due to the measurement of deep acting, not the concept itself.

According to the burnout literature, those who interact with the public regularly are at the greatest risk for burnout. However, in this study, emotional labor was a more robust predictor of burnout than frequency of interactions. Other studies have shown that emotional labor is related to emotional exhaustion; this study also included emotional labor's relationship with depersonalization and personal accomplishment. Surface acting, in particular, was significant predictor of all three dimensions beyond the other variables. The more faking of emotional expression exists, the more emotionally exhausted the employee, the more the employee detaches from customers, and the less the employee feels positive about work accomplishments. Frequency was a significant predictor of depersonalization, in such a way that more frequent interactions with customers related to more depersonalizing of customers. Depersonalizing the service encounter may help the employee cope with the emotional demands of frequent interactions (Hochschild, 1983; Pogrebin & Poole, 1995).

As mentioned earlier, job satisfaction has had mixed relationships with emotional labor, depending on how it is measured. When the employee's emotional regulation is considered, the relationships is positive. Surface acting was a strong predictor of job satisfaction, beyond the other variables, as predicted by Hypothesis 3. If the employee needs to fake emotional expressions at work, he or she will be less satisfied with the job. Studies need to include other aspects of work, such as hours and pay, to see if surface acting predicts beyond these factors of job satisfaction. It is also possible that job satisfaction is a cause of surface acting; if one is dissatisfied, one needs to do more surface acting. Longitudinal studies are needed to separate the cause-effect relationship. However, *post hoc* analyses controlling for job satisfaction found that surface acting is a separate concept from job satisfaction, as surface acting contributed unique variance to all the

outcomes except turnover intentions. The direction of these relationships deserves more attention.

In addition to these results, it as also of interest to note that sex and variety of expression were related to job satisfaction. Women and those who reported higher expectations of emotional variety were more satisfied with their jobs. Others have mentioned that service work is often a female-dominated field, and that women also do more emotion management at home (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Perhaps they are more satisfied than men because they are familiar and skilled at emotion regulation. Greater variety of emotional expressions may not require more effort, but instead may suggest emotional autonomy at work. This autonomy may result in more satisfaction, as suggested by the job characteristics and emotional labor literature (Adelmann, 1995; **Hackman & Oldham,**).

Turnover is a large problem in the service industry, though withdrawal behaviors have not been previously assessed in the emotional labor literature. Results of this study supported Hypothesis 5, that emotional labor positively related to turnover intentions. In particular, surface acting explained unique variance beyond the other variables. The more one has to regulate his or her expression, the more that employee desires to change or avoid the situation (Gross, 1998b). As mentioned above, however, when job satisfaction was considered, the effect of emotional labor on turnover intentions was greatly diminished. Lastly, in line with the idea mentioned above that women are more satisfied, men were more likely to have turnover intentions. For both sets of relationships, surface acting and gender, the situation may be providing cues that this job is not a good fit.

Emotional estrangement, or self-alienation, had been proposed as an outcome of emotional labor by several authors (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). The emotional regulation lab studies suggest that even when emotions are not expressed or even not reported, there are physiological responses to emotional stimuli. According to emotion theory (Freud, 1936/1961), the physiological response acts as a cue to interpret the

situation. If people suppress "hearing" this cue over time, they may become out of touch with their own emotional responses. In other words, the demands of service jobs may create individuals who feel emotionally numb after working for a period of time. The results of this study supported that surface acting was related to estrangement (partially supporting Hypothesis 6), as were display rules. Thus, perceiving that the workplace demands emotional displays to customers, and showing customers a display which may not be true, may both contribute to feeling emotionally estranged. The long-term implications of this consequence, and how it relates to other concepts, needs to be explored. For example, may emotionally estranged people become less functional in work and social relationships? Longitudinal studies can help understand whether this is a response to working with customers over time, or a individual difference.

The final outcome, customer service, finished the integration of the previous models. No known study has explored the effect of the individuals' process of emotional regulation on both individual outcomes of stress and the organizational outcome of customer service. Another limitation of previous emotional labor research is that all measures used are self-reported, raising the possibility of method bias. This study responded to both of those limitations. Peers who have the opportunity to observe the participant interact with customers regularly completed a survey regarding the participant's interaction with customers. The findings show that employees who report they are surface acting, or regulating the emotional *expression*, may be rated lower by observers in terms of their interaction with customers. People do not like interactions with faked emotional expressions. When surface acting was controlled in the regression equation, deep acting had a *positive* relationship with customer service. This suggests that those who work to regulate their feelings, rather than expressions, may be seen as more genuine and thus as interacting better with customers. As a caveat, the very high ratings of service from peers must be taken into account here. "Lower" service ratings are still in the middle of the 5-

point scale. Other methods of obtaining service ratings may provide more variability in future studies.

The final hypothesis predicted main and interaction effects between emotional labor and peer and supervisor support variables. Receiving support from coworkers should provide a positive climate in which to work. The emotion regulation literature suggests that the situation induces the process of managing emotions; working in a positive climate should mean that expressing positive emotions requires less effort. Thus, Hypothesis 8a proposed that peer support and supervisor support would relate negatively to emotional labor. Indeed, surface acting related negatively to both support variables, and deep acting related negatively to supervisor support. These correlations suggest that if an employee perceives that the workplace supports them emotionally, and will help if needed, the employee engages in less emotion regulation.

It was proposed in Hypothesis 8b that having peer and supervisor support would diminish the detrimental relationships between emotional labor and the outcomes. This is in accordance with the buffering hypothesis of the social support literature. Out of 14 moderating regression equations, five (36%) were either significant or marginally significant. A few had small effects, but did not quite achieve significance, probably due to sample size. They are mentioned here to minimize making a Type II error.

For all but one of these five effects, having either very supportive peers or supervisors acted as a buffer. For employees who perform emotional labor through surface acting, those who reported higher levels of support had lower levels of job dissatisfaction than those who have lower levels of support. Again, the median used in these analyses were high for both support variables, so "low" support may still be above a score of four on a five-point scale. Peer support buffered the impact surface acting had on turnover intentions and customer service. Having peers and supervisors who are supportive may make up for the need to regulate emotional expressions on the job, so one is still satisfied, wants to remain, and will provide friendly service. However, one of these

interaction effects was in the opposite direction predicted. Reporting a higher level of peer support meant that surface acting was *more* related to emotional estrangement. Perhaps having good relationships with peers means one continues to manage emotions, even when not interacting with customers, so one still may become emotionally numb. There may also be a third variable which is driving this relationship that is yet unknown.

Limitations

Several limitations exist which should be taken into consideration when interpreting the above results. The sample was homogeneous; all participants held the same job title - administrative assistant - in the same university setting, and they were mostly women. The fact that they held the same job may limit the variability in responses. The antecedents may not have been related to the outcomes due to range restriction, particularly in the case of the frequency variable (see Table 2). In addition, the results gleaned here cannot necessarily be generalized to service jobs as a whole. Providing information may be very different than providing a product, for example. However, these individuals were mostly female, reported high frequency of interactions, short duration, and high perception of emotional display rules. Such characteristics are fairly representative of many service jobs (Hochschild, 1983, Wharton & Erickson, 1995). Another issue with the sample was the moderate return rate (28%). The extra request to ask a coworker to complete a rating scale may have diminished the returns. The potential issue is that those administrative assistants who completed a survey were substantively different than the population in a way that would bias the results. However, demographically, the sample was comparable to the university population of administrative assistants.

There were a few issues in terms of measurement which should be addressed. The deep acting items had reasonable internal consistency and formed a separate factor in confirmatory factor analyses. However, it is possible that these items, developed by Brotheridge and Lee (1998), were not tapping the idea of deep acting as it is presented in this paper. This possibility can be demonstrated empirically and conceptually.

Empirically, two of the three deep acting items had cross-loadings with the surface acting dimension. This increased the multicollinearity of the two dimensions, and may have diminished the effects of deep acting in regression analyses. Also, deep acting was not correlated with genuine expression (r=-.02). However, that may be explained by the fact that in the immediate situation, deep acting as a form of emotional effort would relate negatively to genuine expression. But after being performed, it is expected that deep acting would result in more genuine displays, and so have a positive relationship. This bi-directionality of the relationship may have washed out any correlation. Conceptually, deep acting is more problematic than surface acting. The emotion regulation theory applied to this topic would suggest that items should ask about the use of antecedent-focused regulation techniques such as attention deployment and reappraisal. Future studies may want to flesh out the deep acting items with such types of questions.

A common limitation of psychology studies is the use of self-report surveys, which can lead to inflated correlations due to method bias. The majority of variables in this study were completed by the same individual, at the same time, by the same method. However, there are two arguments against method bias explaining the findings of this study. First, the correlations ranged from r=.00 to r=.78. Inflation of correlations due to method bias would be a constant amount for all relationships, and so method bias cannot explain the strength of the correlations in this study. Second, the one non-self-report measure, customer service, did relate significantly to a coworkers' reported levels of surface acting, burnout, and job satisfaction.

Finally, in the process of analyzing the results in the moderating analyses, the sample size of 168 did not provide quite enough statistical power to detect moderately small effects as significant (Cohen, 1988). Thus, it is possible that a Type II error was made, and meaningful interactions were not noted. However, this author drew attention to interactions which approached acceptable significance levels (p<.10), and took note of effect sizes in addition to significance.

Future Research and Implications

This paper is a beginning step toward a broader understanding of emotional labor. It has drawn on previous research and theory, and it is hoped that future studies will draw upon the ideas proposed here. Further testing of the validity of the emotional labor scale is needed. Studies are needed with employees who have a variety of job types, in order to generalize the results. Comparing full-time and part-time employees might also be interesting; the part-time employees may be less invested in the job, which may impact the amount of emotional labor. The emotional labor scale, in general, needs to be expanded as mentioned earlier, and the results stated here replicated.

Studies which test other relationships of emotional labor would also make a contribution. The lack of relationships in this paper between the antecedents and surface and deep acting may be due to the homogeneity of the sample, but perhaps other antecedents should be tested. Motivational factors, such as pay and job involvement, may predict deep acting (a "good faith" effort, as Rafaeli and Sutton [1989] stated) more than surface acting. This paper tested a number of outcomes of emotional labor, but others may be of interest as well. For example, absenteeism and other withdrawal behaviors would be a very relevant issue to service work and which may be predicted by emotional labor. One known paper has explored the actual withdrawal behaviors, such as leaving the work floor, which are responses to emotional encounters (Bailey, 1996). An current study by the author assesses relationships between levels of surface and deep acting and absenteeism. Obtaining aggregated service ratings from customers should also be a goal of future studies to see if the type of emotional labor affects the service ratings from their actual customers.

Lab and longitudinal studies would also be useful to extend the field of emotional labor. Lab studies could extend the emotion regulation experiments. Customer service employees are expected to not only inhibit negative emotions, but to express those positive emotions. This may require more effort than the situation where subjects are asked to only suppress emotions (Gross, 1998a; Gross & Levenson, 1997). Experiments are needed

which test the effort and effectiveness of surface versus deep acting. Researchers could provide training in different emotion regulation techniques to employees, and test long-term effects on service as well as burnout. This could have implications for training packages that organizations provide customer service employees. Using multiple measures to assess emotion and stress in these studies would be informational. As the Gross (1998a; 1998b) paradigm demonstrates, physiological measures, behavioral measures, as well as self-reported experience can all be seen as signs of emotion. How does surface and deep acting affect these signs of emotion, and what are the long-term consequences of engaging in this emotion regulation for a wage? Longitudinal studies of service employees would be useful in answering these questions.

Testing other moderators of emotional labor would also provide useful information. This paper assessed organizational climate variables, and found limited evidence for a moderating effect. Perhaps individual differences are more indicative of whether a person will engage in emotional labor, or whether that labor will have a detrimental outcome. Related concepts include emotional intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1993), negative and positive affect (Agho, 1992), and self-monitoring (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 19982; Snyder, 1974), to name a few. Research needs to demonstrate how these individual differences relate to or change the emotional management performed at work. Relationships between personality variables and emotional labor may have selection implications for organizations; those who perform more deep acting, or those for whom emotional labor has less detrimental effects, may be better suited for service jobs.

The present results indicate that emotional labor may be an important process for organizations to consider. Managing feelings for the organization, especially if one needs to fake emotions, was related to detrimental outcomes for the individual. Jobs which involve emotional labor are traditionally low-status, female-dominated jobs (Hochschild, 1983), and such research may help raise awareness of the taxing nature of this work. With future lab and longitudinal research, there are potential implications for selection, training,

and organizational change, as well as general organizational policy. For example, employees of a grocery store chain recently brought emotional labor into the courtroom, saying that the policy of being friendly to customers was resulting in sexual harassment. The crux of the problem was not the employees were expected to smile, but that the smile was expected *no matter what*, even in situations where the employee was uncomfortable. As this paper demonstrates, faking a smile may not have positive outcomes for the individual, or for the customer service provided. Perhaps emotional autonomy, to some degree or in some situations, should be policy. Emotion management training could be another implication of emotional labor research; this study and emotion regulation studies suggest that antecedent-focused emotion regulation (deep acting) may be less detrimental than response-focused (surface acting). Other applications might involve changing the work environment so that less emotion work is necessary; if there is a supportive environment, as suggested in this study, less emotional labor may be needed.

The current paper provides evidence for a conceptualization of emotional labor which integrates previous definitions and theories. It is assumed that understanding this concept better, including what its antecedents and consequences are, could help improve both employees' work experience and organizational outcomes. This paper proposed a model of this emotional labor process as a step in understanding the process, and in the hopes that future works will continue this stream of research.

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Appendix:

Survey Items

Survey Items*

*Items shown in bold are the items used in the final analyses in this study.

Emotional Labor

(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always

In order to do your job effectively on an average work day, how often do you do the following things?

1. ____ Behave in a manner that differs from how I really feel
2. ____ Pump myself up so I feel the emotions expected of me
3. ____ **Easily express positive emotions to customers as expected for my job.†**
4. ____ Suppress my true reactions to customers in order to respond appropriately
5. ____ Smile and act friendly when I feel terrible
6. ____ **Just pretend to have the emotions I need to display for my job ****
7. ____ Work at managing the emotions I express
8. ____ Try to be a good actor by showing the right "face" at work.

9. ____ Resist expressing my true feelings
10. ____ Pretend to have emotions that I don't really feel
11. ____ Show an emotion that I don't really feel
12. ____ **Make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display toward others.¥**
13. ____ **React to customers' emotions naturally and easily.†**
14. ____ Put effort into ensuring that I'm displaying emotions appropriate for my job
15. ____ Pretend that I am not upset or depressed when dealing with customers
16. ____ **Fake a good mood ****

17. ____ **Put on a "show" or "performance." ****
18. ____ Control my feelings in order to do my job well
19. ____ Express emotions on the job which do not correspond with my mood
20. ____ **Put on an act in order to deal with customers in an appropriate way ****
21. ____ **Work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show to others ¥**
22. ____ **Try to actually experience the emotions that I must show ¥**
23. ____ Actually feel the emotions that I need to show to do my job.
24. ____ **Put on a "mask" in order to express the right emotions for the job ****
25. ____ Hide my true feelings from customers.
26. ____ Work at showing the emotions that my organization wants me to show

** = Surface Acting items
¥ = Deep Acting items
† = Genuine Expression items

Customer Interaction Expectations

(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always

In order to do your job effectively, how much are you expected to...

1. ____ Interact with customers (non-employees)
2. ____ Display specific emotions to customers as required by the job
3. ____ Adopt certain emotions for the job
4. ____ Show a certain emotion state when interacting with customers
5. ____ Use a wide variety of emotions in dealing with people
6. ____ Display many different emotions when interacting with others
7. ____ Interact with customers face-to-face
8. ____ Show basically one emotion almost all the time at work (R)
9. ____ Interact with customers for long periods of time
10. ____ Spend only a few minutes with customers
11.____A typical interaction I have with a customer lasts about (choose one from below)
(1) 1 to 5 min. (2) 5 to 15 min. (3) 15 min. to 30 (4) 30 min. to an hour (5) over an hour

1 Disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neutral	4 Somewhat agree	5 Agree

Display Rules

1. ____ The organizational policies are specific about the kind of emotions I should express when interacting with customers
2. ____ In general, I can act however I feel on the job. (R)
3. ____ I am expected to suppress my bad mood or negative reaction to customers.
4. ____ There are emotional expressions (i.e., friendly) that I am expected to show at work.
5. ____ Our organization gives special rewards or incentives if employees display specific emotions when interacting with customers.
6. ____ Part of my job is to make the customer feel good.
7. ____ My workplace does not expect me to express positive emotions to customers as part of my job. (R)
8. ____ I have received a lot of training and coaching on how to express specific emotions when I interact with others
9. ____ Our organization tries to hire people who are likely to display certain emotions
10. ____ This organization would say that part of the product to customers is friendly, cheerful service.

Burnout

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Agree

All items presented for the next three measures were used in analyses.

1.____ I feel emotionally drained from work.
2.____ I feel used up at the end of the workday.
3.____ I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.
4.____ I can easily understand how customers feel about things.
5.____ I feel I treat some customers as if they were impersonal objects.
6.____ Working with people all day is really a strain for me.
7.____ I deal very effectively with the problems of my customers.
8.____ I feel burned out from work.
9.____ I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through work.
10.____ I've become more callous toward people since I took this job.
11.____ I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally.
12.____ I feel very energetic.
13.____ I feel frustrated by my job.
14.____ I feel I'm working too hard for my job.
15.____ I don't really care what happens to some customers.
16.____ Working with people directly puts too much stress on me.
17.____ I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere with customers.
18.____ I feel exhilarated after working closely with customers.
19.____ I have accomplished many worthwhile things on this job.
20.____ I feel like I'm at the end of my rope.
21.____ In my work, I deal with emotional problems very calmly.
22.____ I feel customers blame me for some of their problems.

Turnover Intentions

1. ____ I intend to remain with this job indefinitely.
2. ____ I intend to leave this job before the end of the year.
3. ____ I would leave this job if I could.

Job Satisfaction

1. ____ In general, I don't like my job.
2. ____ All in all, I am satisfied with my job.
3. ____ In general, I like working here.

Customer Service Rating by Peer

1. ____ This person seems sincere when dealing with the public.
2. ____ "Customers" seem to like interacting with this person.
3. ____ This person shows friendliness and warmth to most customers

4. ____ **This person treats customers with courtesy, respect, and politeness**
5. ____ **This person smiles and communicates expressively with customers**
6. ____ **This person shows enthusiasm when dealing with customers.**
7. ____ This person has revealed their true feelings to the public when upset or angry. (R)
8. ____ When in a bad mood, this person has trouble hiding those feelings from customers. (R)
9. ____ This person has seemed "fake" while interacting with customers. (R)

Supervisor support

1. ____ **I can rely upon my supervisor when things get difficult.**
2. ____ **It is easy to talk to my supervisor.**
3. ____ **After dealing with a difficult situation, I can talk to my supervisor about it.**
4. ____ When things get stressful, I can't talk my supervisor at work about it. (R)
5. ____ **When dealing with a difficult situation, my supervisor will help out.**
6. ____ **When I need a break, my supervisor will cover for me if he/she can.**

Peer support

1. ____ **I can rely upon my coworkers when things get difficult.**
2. ____ **It is easy to talk to my coworkers.**
3. ____ **After dealing with a difficult situation, I can talk to other employees about it.**
4. ____ When things get stressful, I can't talk to anyone at work about it. (R)
5. ____ **When dealing with a difficult situation, other employees will help out.**
6. ____ **When I need a break, my coworkers will cover for me if they can.**

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always

Emotional Estrangement

1. ____ **I have trouble identifying what emotion I'm feeling.**
2. ____ It takes me a while to decide how I feel about something.
3. ____ I look to others around me to know how to feel.
4. ____ **It sounds strange, but I feel really distant from my self.**
5. ____ **I feel very in touch with my emotions. (R)**
6. ____ **I feel out of touch with my true feelings.**
7. ____ When people ask me, "what's wrong?," I usually know. (R)
8. ____ **I feel emotionally numb.**

Table 1

Principle Components Analysis with Varimax Rotation on Final Emotional Labor Items

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
EL3	-.126	.084	.869
EL6	.734	.272	-.142
EL12	.191	.838	-.013
EL13	-.197	-.058	.844
EL16	.764	.180	-.212
EL17	.882	.086	-.081
EL20	.854	.161	-.109
EL21	.335	.757	.020
EL22	.135	.856	.020
EL24	.785	.356	-.112

Note: n = 168. See emotional labor items in Appendix.

Table 2

Correlation Matrix of Study Variables

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Surface Acting	2.29	.75	.90														
2. Deep Acting	2.49	.86	.47**	.80													
3. Frequency	4.14	.82	-.03	.11	.79												
4. Duration	2.28	.65	.03	.08	.33**	--											
5. Variety	2.85	1.08	-.01	.06	.39**	.23**	.94										
6. Display Rules	4.39	.78	.10	.22**	.27**	.17*	.22**	.74									
7. Emotional Exh.	2.26	1.06	.63**	.41**	.04	.14	.00	.13	.90								
8. Depersonalization	1.93	.86	.55**	.17*	.04	.03	-.02	-.07	.57**	.78							
9. Personal accompl.	3.87	.65	-.42**	-.07	.31**	.19*	.23**	.13	-.46**	-.36**	.78						
10. Estrangement	1.95	.68	.40**	.28**	-.14	-.02	-.14	.11	.41**	.43**	-.32**	.87					
11. Job Satisfaction	4.28	1.00	-.50**	-.23**	-.03	-.06	.06	-.06	-.65**	-.38**	.35**	-.30**	.91				
12. Turnover Intent	2.19	1.18	.41**	.21**	.11	.07	-.01	.09	.45**	.29**	-.16*	.16*	-.78**	.80			
13. Customer Service	4.69	.60	-.31**	.00	-.10	.06	-.04	-.02	-.28**	-.29**	.23**	-.03	.17*	-.16	.93		
14. Peer Support	4.11	.92	-.23**	-.14	.09	-.08	.10	.01	-.42**	-.27**	.21**	-.22**	.38**	-.25**	.12	.90	
15. Supervisor sup.	3.98	1.13	-.40**	-.30**	.01	-.04	.16*	.09	-.54**	-.37**	.35**	-.32**	.49**	-.32**	.22**	.52**	.92

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Personal accompl. = personal accomplishment. Emotional exh. = emotional exhaustion, Supervisor sup = supervisor support.

Table 3

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Emotional Labor Predicting Burnout

	Emotional Exhaustion				Depersonalization				Personal accomplishment			
Variables	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		1.89	.02	.02		8.14**	.10	.10**		1.63	.02	.02
Age	.01				-.19**				.01			
Sex	-.11				-.08				-.02			
Step 2		2.17*	.08	.06		2.88*	.10	.01			.13	.11**
										3.60**		
Frequency	.00				.09				.19*			
Duration	.10				.02				.12			
Variety	-.09				-.04				.11			
Display rules	.07				-.05				.04			
Step 3		14.52**	.44	.36**		10.63**	.37	.26**		7.24**	.28	.15**
Surface acting	.56**				.55**				-.44**			
Deep acting	.11				-.08				.14			

Note: n=168, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Emotional Labor Predicting Attitudes and Estrangement

Variables	Job Satisfaction				Turnover Intentions				Emotional Estrangement			
	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		2.61	.03	.03		5.19**	.06	.06**		.40	.01	.01
Age	-.05				-.06				-.05			
Sex	.18*				-.22**				-.07			
Step 2		1.89	.07	.04		3.14**	.11	.05		2.10	.08	.07
Frequency	-.05				.10				-.15			
Duration	-.04				.03				-.02			
Variety	.16*				-.13				-.11			
Display rules	-.07				.13				.17*			
Step 3		7.25**	.28	.21**		5.63**	.23	.12**		4.34**	.19	.11**
Surface acting	-.49**				.37**				.28**			
Deep acting	.06				-.03				.11			

Note: n=168, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation. Sex is coded male = 0, female = 1.

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Emotional Labor Predicting Customer Service

Variables	Customer Service			
	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		1.35	.03	.03
Age	.00			
Sex	.05			
Peer Sex	.13			
Step 2				
Frequency	-.14	.91	.02	.05
Duration	.07			
Variety	-.02			
Display rules	-.03			
Step 3				
Surface acting	-.38**	2.56**	.16	.11**
Deep acting	.20*			

Note: n=132, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 6

Summary of Moderating Analyses for Peer and Supervisor Support Interacting with Emotional Labor To Predict Burnout

	Emotional Exhaustion			Depersonalization			Personal Accomplishment		
Variables	ß	F	ΔR2	ß	F	ΔR2	ß	F	ΔR2
Step 1: Main effects		75.38**	.48**		39.96**	.33*		19.80**	.19**
Surface acting	.43			.38			-.58*		
Peer support	-.40			-.27			-.02		
Step 2: Interaction		50.28**	.00		26.68**	.00		13.38**	.00
Surface acting x Peer support	.16			.16			.21		
Step 1: Main effects		80.90**	.50**		41.01**	.33		22.94**	.22**
Surface acting	.55**			.56**			-.55*		
Supervisor support	-.28			-.09			.00		
Step 2: Interaction		53.67**	.00		27.26**	.00		15.62**	.00
Surface acting x Supervisor support	-.06			-.09			.24		

Note: n=168, *p<.05, *p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 7

Summary of Moderating Analyses for Peer and Supervisor Support Interacting with Emotional Labor To Predict Work Attitudes and Emotional Estrangement.

	Job Satisfaction			Turnover Intentions			Emotional Estrangement		
Variables	ß	F	ΔR2	ß	F	ΔR2	ß	F	ΔR2
Step 1: Main effects		40.40**	.33**		19.92**	.19**		18.17**	.18**
Surface acting	-.94**			.44			-.21		
Peer support	-.12			-.11			-.61**		
Step 2: Interaction		29.45**	.02*		13.23**	.00		14.48**	.03*
Surface acting x Peer support	.58*			-.07			.68*		
Step 1: Main effects		45.15**	.35**		20.84**	.20**		19.70**	.19**
Surface acting	-1.04**			.73			.18		
Supervisor support	-.35			.21			-.34		
Step 2: Interaction		36.98**	.05**		15.20**	.02†		13.26**	.00
Surface acting x Supervisor support	.79**			-.46†			.17		

Note: n=168, †p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 8

Summary of Moderating Analyses for Peer and Supervisor Support Interacting with Emotional Labor To Predict Customer Service

	Customer Service		
Variables	ß	F	ΔR2
Step 1: Main effects		7.42**	.10**
Surface acting	-.99**		
Peer support	-.42		
Step 2: Interaction		6.28**	.02†
Surface acting x Peer support	.79†		
Step 1: Main effects		8.18**	.11**
Surface acting	-.13		
Supervisor support	.26		
Step 2: Interaction		5.48**	.00
Surface acting x Supervisor support	-.16		

Note: n=132, †p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 9

Summary of Post-Hoc Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Genuine Expression Predicting Burnout

	Emotional Exhaustion				Depersonalization				Personal accomplishment			
Variables	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		1.89	.02	.02		8.14**	.10	.10**		1.63	.02	.02
Age	-.02				-.25**				.05			
Sex	-.14				-.08				-.05			
Step 2		2.17*	.08	.06		2.88*	.10	.01		3.60**	.13	.11**
Frequency	.05				.11				.14			
Duration	.17*				.07				.08			
Variety	-.09				-.03				.10			
Display rules	.23**				-.06				-.04			
Step 3		5.88**	.22	.14**		5.12**	.19	.09***		7.28**	.25	.13**
Genuine expression	-.39**				-.32**				.38**			

Note: n=168, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 10

Summary of Post-Hoc Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Genuine Expression Predicting Attitudes and Estrangement

	Job Satisfaction				Turnover Intentions				Emotional Estrangement			
Variables	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		2.61	.03	.03		5.19**	.06	.06**		.40	.01	.01
Age	.00				-.09				-.05			
Sex	.18*				-.23**				-.09			
Step 2		1.89	.07	.04		3.14**	.11	.05		2.10	.08	.07
Frequency	-.08				.12				-.09			
Duration	-.08				.06				-.02			
Variety	.15				-.13				-.11			
Display rules	-.17				.20*				.27*			
Step 3		4.21**	.16	.09**		3.80*	.15	.04**		4.28**	.17	.09**
Genuine expression	.33**				-.21**				-.32 **			

Note: n=168, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation. Sex is coded male = 0, female = 1.

Table 11

Summary of Post-Hoc Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Genuine Expression Predicting Customer Service

	Customer Service			
Variables	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		1.35	.03	.03
Age	.05			
Sex	.00			
Peer Sex	.14			
Step 2		.91	.02	.05
Frequency	-.15			
Duration	.05			
Variety	-.06			
Display rules	-.07			
Step 3		1.80	.11	.06**
Genuine expression	.26**			

Note: n=132, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation.

Table 12

Summary of Post-Hoc Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Emotional Labor Predicting Burnout While Controlling for Job Satisfaction

	Emotional Exhaustion				Depersonalization				Personal accomplishment			
Variables	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		2.17*	.08	.08		2.88**	.10	.10		3.60**	.13	.13**
Demographics												
Expectations												
Step 2		16.18**	.43	.35**		5.52**	.21	.10**		6.41**	.23	.10**
Job satisfaction	-.43**				-.10				.19*			
Step 3		21.79**	.57	.14**		9.71**	.37	.17**		7.22**	.31	.08**
Surface acting	.35**				.50**				-.35**			
Deep acting	.14*				-.08				.13			

Note: n=168, *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation. Demographics = age and sex of participants. Expectations = frequency, duration, variety, and display rules expected by job.

Table 13

Summary of Post-Hoc Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Emotional Labor Predicting Turnover Intentions, Emotional Estrangement, and Customer Service While Controlling for Job Satisfaction

	Turnover Intentions				Emotional Estrangement				Customer Service			
Variables	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2	ß	F	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1		3.14**	.11	.11**		2.10*	.08	.08*		.91	.05	.05
Demographics												
Expectations												
Step 2		35.19**	.62	.51**		3.36**	.14	.06**		1.26	.08	.03
Job satisfaction	-.74**				-.13				.05			
Step 3		27.04**	.62	.00		4.13**	.20	.07**		2.31*	.17	.09*
Surface acting	.01				.22*				-.35**			
Deep acting	-.01				.12				.20*			

Note: n=168, except for customer service analyses, where n=132. *p<.05, **p<.01. ß is the coefficient after all variables have been entered into the regression equation. Demographics = age and sex of participants. Expectations = frequency, duration, variety, and display rules expected by job.

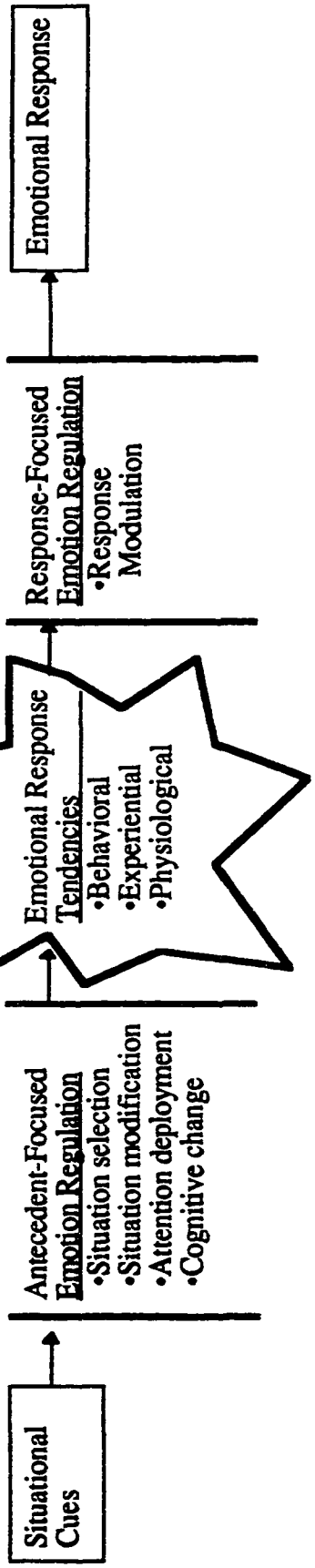

Figure 1. Gross' (1998b) process model of emotion regulation.

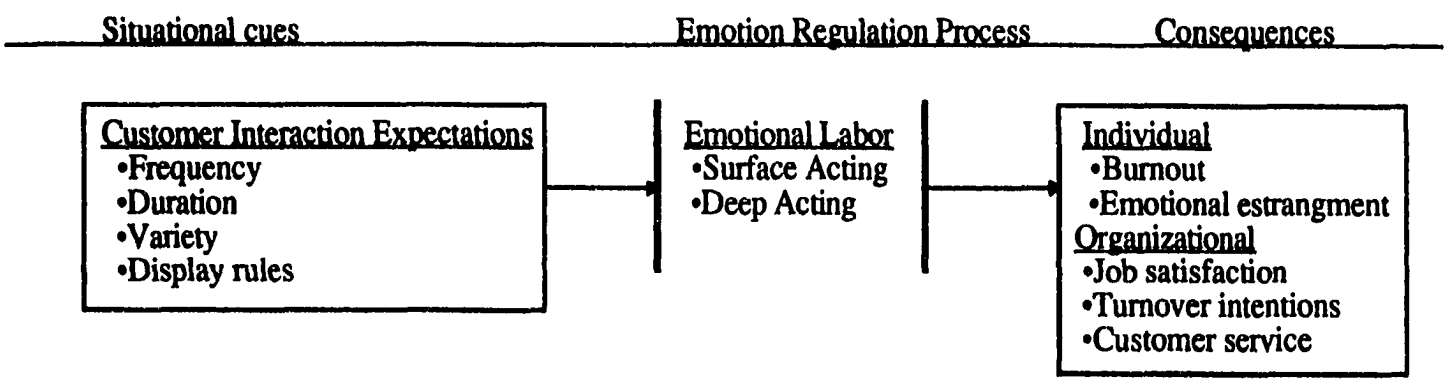

Figure 2. The process model of emotional labor tested in this paper

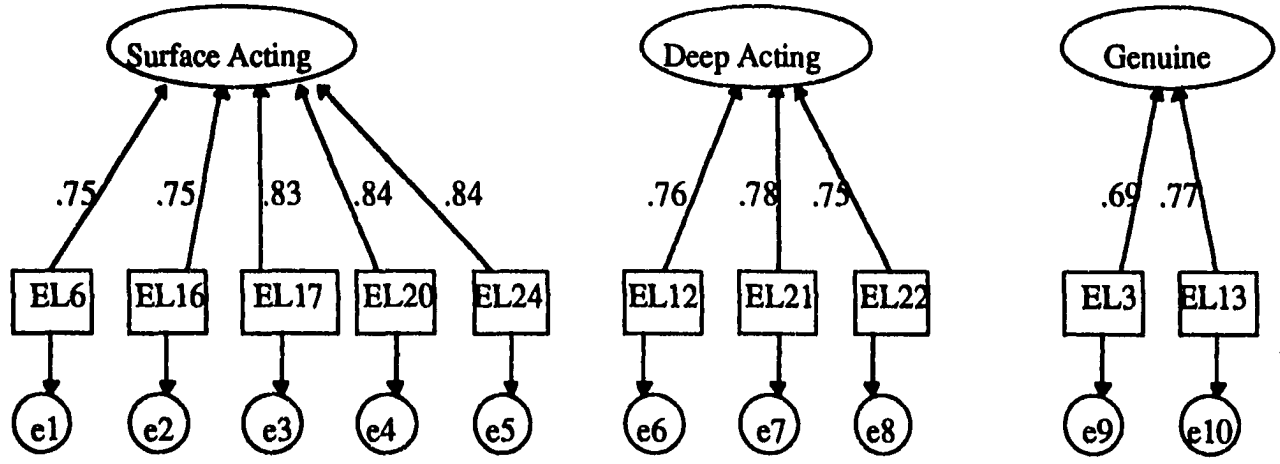

Figure 3. Summary of a confirmatory factor analysis on a three-factor model of emotional labor.