At the Heart of Policing
Emotional labor among police officers

Benjamin van Gelderen

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"It is costly wisdom that is brought by experience"

R. Ascham

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Chapter 1

Introduction

During my work as a police officer, I encountered many emotional demanding situations in which my colleagues and I often seemed to act unfelt emotions or suppressed emotions that would better not be displayed at that particular moment. For instance, during my first weeks of duty I wondered how police officers could stay seemingly untouched while being confronted with drunk and offensive people. One colleague once told me: "I don't take it personally, it's part of the job and so it doesn't frustrate me anymore". At other times, it turned out to be proper to display empathy although this emotion was not always genuinely felt (anymore). In contrast, when interrogating a criminal I learned that sometimes acting friendly may help to acquire important information. Otherwise, unfelt emotions such as anger had to be displayed in order to correct an offender and to prevent an interaction from escalating.

These anecdotes illustrate the benefits of acting emotions during the work of police officers. Moreover, emotions form an inherent part of people's (work) lives on a daily basis. Not surprisingly, the management and display of emotions in the workplace receives considerable attention as they may influence both individual well-being and organizational outcomes. The term emotional labor was first introduced by Hochschild (1983) and refers to how employees regulate their emotions as part of the work role and the consequences of doing so. The types of emotions that a company considers appropriate to show to clients are often part of its policy and are part of the company's so-called display rules (Ekman, 1973; Grandey, 2000). To adhere to these display rules, employees may engage in emotional labor by suppressing felt emotions or displaying emotions that are different from their genuinely experienced emotions (Hochschild, 1983). This emotion regulation technique, termed surface acting, may lead to emotional dissonance, which refers to a state of discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions. Accumulating evidence from the past three decades reveals that both surface acting and emotional dissonance are detrimental to employee well-being (cf. Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, & Wax, 2012; Zapf, 2002).

Because of the growth of the service economy, an increasing number of organizations focus on how to increase their level of service quality (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Consequently, employees in most service professions, engage in emotional labor on a regular basis (Grandey, 2000). Flight attendants, call-center employees, retailers and waiters have in common that they are generally required to display (unfelt) positive emotions and suppress felt negative emotions to deliver the impression of a high-quality service (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labor is presumably also relevant for the profession of police officers, who form the target group of the current thesis. Interactions between police officers and civilians may be quite different from interactions that take place in regular service settings. Although the display of positive emotions may be relevant during the work of police officers, in some circumstances it seems appropriate to immediately *suppress* positive emotions, such as during tragic incidents. In addition, negative emotions may sometimes be appropriate to display, for example when a police officer needs to correct an offender or interrogates a criminal. At yet other times, negative emotions (e.g., anger or frustration) may need to be suppressed to

prevent an interaction from escalating. Thus, police officers may engage in emotional labor by displaying unfelt positive and negative emotions. Additionally, in some circumstances positive as well as negative emotions can better be suppressed. These examples illustrate the various facets of emotional labor that may differentiate the work of police officers from other service occupations; emotional labor may be applied to deliver a high-quality customer service but also, for example, to serve the purpose of handling emotionally demanding situations and controlling the emotions of civilians and offenders.

Emotional labor forms an important part of the work of police officers (Martin, 1999). There is substantial empirical support for the detrimental effects of surface acting and emotional dissonance on employee well-being. However, research that examines the possible *positive* effects of surface acting on well-being and performance is lacking. Furthermore, the dynamics of the display and suppression of various emotions during the work of police officers may ask for a more refined understanding of the relationship between emotional labor and employee well-being. The current thesis aims to validate the stressful consequences of emotional labor among police officers. Moreover, and seemingly in contrast, this thesis is also directed at substantiating the viewpoint that emotional labor among police officers may not always be inherently detrimental. In aiming to fill this gap in the extant body of research, I present a series of studies that investigate emotional labor among police officers on a day-to-day basis. Most previous emotional labor studies have tested the relationship between emotional labor, strain and performance using a survey or between-person approach. Thus, an additional contribution of the present thesis is that it extends emotional labor research by specifically investigating emotional labor on a daily basis (a within-person approach). This point is relevant because interactions that evoke emotional labor may vary not only between individuals but also within individuals over time. Furthermore, using a diary design permits the study of employees' experiences in their natural work context and reduces recall bias by decreasing the time of the actual experience and its documentation (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003; Ohly, Sonnentag, Niessen, & Zapf, 2010).

1.1   Acting emotions

Before turning to the theoretical background and specific research aims of this thesis, I will address some interesting parallels of emotional labor and the work of actors on stage. Although the term 'emotional labor' was first introduced by Hochschild (1983), the principles can be related to earlier concepts originating from the theater world (cf. Konijn, 2000, 2004). To perform on stage, the Russian theater director Stanislavsky (1965) stated that actors should play their roles by trying to change what they feel to become the character they play. Based on this interpretation, Strasberg (1988) developed the technique of method acting, in which the actor immerses him- or herself in the character's emotions. Method acting comes close to what emotion work researchers define as

'deep acting'. Both method acting and deep acting imply controlling personal thoughts in order to really feel the actual emotions that have to be displayed to the audience instead of just faking them (i.e., surface acting).

Notwithstanding the popularity of method acting, the notion that the private emotions of the actor should parallel the character's emotions onstage is a long-standing concept in the theater world (Chambers, 2000). The debate on acting emotions centered around the question whether the actor should feel or not feel the emotions portrayed on stage (Konijn, 2004). The actor may apply 'detachment acting' (without the corresponding inner feelings) in such a fine way that the spectator is convinced that they are seeing the real emotions of the character. Clearly, both styles can be recognized in the regulation techniques called deep acting and surface acting, respectively. Both 'method' acting and deep acting promote to actually feel the portrayed emotions. When these notions are brought from the theater world into the 'real world' of police officers, one may argue that police officers may be able to generate certain impressions (e.g., appear 'untouched') in order to achieve performance success by, for instance, calmly dealing with emotionally taxing situations. Is 'the audience' convinced to recognize the police officers' displayed confident emotions and do they rate the performance as successful, or do they recognize emotions such as fear, disgust or anger? In addition, accomplishing the job by deliberately acting emotions, for instance acquiring the confession of a criminal, may cost energy but could also evoke feelings of professional efficacy. Thus, when conducting police work, the debate about the effectiveness of acting emotions or really trying to feel the displayed emotions is of particular importance for both performance success and employee well-being.

1.2   Previous emotional labor research among police officers

Although emotional labor has some interesting parallels with acting on stage, the practice of police work is more confronting. Police officers should guarantee public safety 24 hours a day. During their work, police officers are confronted with occupational stress, emotionally taxing situations and human sorrow as a regular part of their job (Biggam, Power, & Macdonald, 1997; Brown & Campbell, 1994; Johnson et. al., 2005). For example, police officers are confronted with incidents regarding (domestic) violence, traffic accidents, drug crimes, shoplifting, and burglary on a daily basis. Despite the interesting characteristics of police work for emotional labor research, such as the daily high frequency, duration, variety and the intensity of felt emotions or expressed emotions during emotional demanding interactions, this occupational group has received relatively little attention within this area of research. However, some previous and important studies should be mentioned.

Stenross and Kleinman (1989) interviewed police detectives and showed that the detectives used emotional labor to catch criminals and even turned the interactions into a game. Furthermore,

Pogrebin and Poole (1998) found that police officers used humor to mask their personally felt disgust and fear and were thereby better able to display self-control during dangerous and tragic situations. Although daily police work is full of dangerous and tragic incidents, humor still seems to be an important means to deal with these impactful experiences. Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) used a qualitative study among criminal investigation officers to examine the use of emotional social influence strategies to bring about compliance in others. This study showed that suspects may comply with the investigation because of the perceived kindness of the "good" cop and are inclined to escape the interaction with the "bad" cop. In practice, this technique is still commonly used. Police officers may first socialize with the suspect to acquire valuable information. In turn, a more stringent style can be used when in doubt on the suspect statements and to make the suspect more thoughtful on possible committed crimes. Glomb and Tews (2004) investigated the validity of an emotional labor scale among several occupational groups, of which one sample consisted of investigators at a large US Midwestern metropolitan police force. The results of their study showed that home assisted living employees reported falsifying positive emotions more frequently than did police investigators. In contrast, the police investigators reported both feigning and genuinely expressing negative emotions more often. Further, Bakker and Heuven (2004) conducted a cross-sectional study among nurses and police officers. They found that police officers were more often exposed to emotionally charged interactions, and concluded that emotional dissonance mediated the relationship between emotionally demanding interactions and burnout. Finally, a recent four-week study by Bechtoldt, Rohrmann, De Pater, and Beersma (2011) among nurses and police officers showed that employees with higher emotion recognition ability - who also used surface acting or deep acting - did not report lower work engagement after four weeks, whereas employees with low emotion recognition ability did.

1.3　Guiding theories and specific research questions

I will now turn to the guiding theories, concepts and specific research aims of the present thesis.

Surface acting, deep acting, and emotional dissonance

Within emotional labor research, three important emotion regulation strategies are of interest: deep acting, surface acting (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), and deliberative dissonance acting (Zapf, 2002). Deep acting refers to the way in which the employee alters inner feelings in an active way to feel the emotions that are required for the job (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999). The employee needs to efficaciously strive to arouse thoughts, images and memories to bring about or suppress a specific emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). For instance, a police officer who knows before the start of the work shift that he/she will be confronted with annoying and drunk people may alter personal thoughts on forthcoming interactions beforehand. Accordingly, the police officer may believe that abusive interactions are not directed personally. Thus, thought may avoid personal

feelings of irritation. A police officer may also try to merely change the outward appearance and behavior to display the required emotions or suppress emotions that should better not be displayed; this is called surface acting. The core of this regulation technique lies in modifying the emotional *expression* and not in modifying the underlying feelings (Grandey, 2000). For example, an irritated police officer may display a neutral look to appear calm and under control.

A third emotion regulation strategy introduced by Zapf (2002) and empirically investigated in this thesis is deliberative dissonance acting, which refers to the deliberate acting or suppression of emotions to achieve one's primary work goals (Zapf, 2002). For instance, police officers may feel sympathy for a crime victim while simultaneously displaying unfelt sympathetic emotions to criminals to accomplish their primary task (i.e., successfully interrogating a criminal) (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Stenross & Kleinmann, 1989; Zapf, 2002). Deliberative dissonance acting may appear similar to surface acting in its result; both strategies may lead to a contrast between felt and displayed emotions. However, deliberative dissonance acting distinguishes itself by its deliberate, strategic, conscious, and goal-directed use of displaying emotions to accomplish the primary work task (Zapf, 2002). A police officer may, for example, deliberately choose to display stringent emotions during the situation at hand, with the goal of making an offender more obedient.

Grandey (2000) linked surface acting and deep acting to emotion regulation theory as proposed by Gross (1998). According to this emotion regulation model, emotions can be regulated in two different ways. First, antecedent-focused emotion regulation corresponds to modifying the situation or altering the perception of the situation before the emotion is fully activated. Changing the perception of the situation is also referred to as cognitive change. Thus, the individual then 'changes' the perception of the situation with the goal of adjusting the emotions. This modification of feelings presumably also results in a more genuine expression of the emotion and can be linked to the regulation technique of deep acting. The second regulatory strategy is called response-focused emotion regulation. The person modifies experiential, behavioral, or physiological responses after the emotion response tendencies are already fully activated (Gross, 1998). This modification can be linked to surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting.

Using surface acting or deliberative dissonance acting may over time result in an inward state of imbalance between felt and displayed emotions called emotional dissonance; a person-role conflicting state (Abraham, 1998). Van Dijk and Kirk Brown (2006) argued that emotional dissonance is distinct from surface acting and may arise as the consequent experience from performing emotional labor (i.e., surface acting). Thus, surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting can be perceived as a technique directed at the outward expression of an 'as-if' emotion, while emotional dissonance is directed at an inner state that refers to a felt state of imbalance. For example, a police officer who displays interest to a criminal while actually feeling disgusted about the committed

crime (i.e., surface acting) may during the interaction become aware of the inner imbalance between displayed and felt emotions (i.e., emotional dissonance).

The research in the current thesis will bring the various theoretical perspectives as described above together in studying how each of the emotion regulation techniques will be related to emotional labor outcomes such as strain, work engagement, and service performance. Furthermore, I will investigate if the emotion regulation technique that is used will influence the interaction partner (i.e., the receiver) in rating the success of the police officer's performance. Moreover, I will examine the influence of initial strain as an important antecedent of the use of surface acting, deep acting, and the experience of emotional dissonance.

Specific research aims and overview of studies

The studies in this thesis serve several specific objectives that can be summarized into five research aims and questions.

Research question 1: How can initial strain be positioned in emotional labor research?

A police officer who starts the work shift may, for other reasons, already have an increased level of strain. Based upon Conservations of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1988), I expect that this initial level of strain at the start of a work shift will be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift via the experience of daily emotional dissonance. Police officers who start the work shift with less energy have a higher likelihood of losing energy during the work shift. Also, starting the work day with a low level of resources will lead to a future loss spiral (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001). In addition, people who feel more exhausted are less able to put much effort into regulating their emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997), which therefore, may result in an emotional dissonant state. For example, when a police officer has had inadequate rest or personal problems, he/she most likely experiences lower energy levels at the start of a work shift. The research question on the influence of initial strain on daily emotional dissonance and strain at the end of the work shift will be addressed in **Chapter 2**. Insights from this study on the important role of initial strain for daily emotional labor research will be built on throughout the following studies in this thesis.

After introducing the impact of initial strain on the experience of emotional dissonance, I will focus on the role of suppressing emotions as a specific form of emotional dissonance (**Chapter 3**). Although emotional dissonance may arise as a consequence of suppressing or faking positive as well as negative emotions, I will argue that particularly the suppression of negative emotions will be related to daily exhaustion, controlling for exhaustion at the start of the work shift.

Research question 2: What is the role of suppressing specific negative emotions in relation to police officers' well-being?

Previous research has shown that the suppression of emotions may result in weakened social support and being less well-liked (Gross & John, 2002). Suppressing emotions may also increase the sympathetic activation of the cardiovascular system, and be cognitively costly (Gross, 2002). Furthermore, emotional suppression could be connected with a sense of spuriousness and estrangement, as well as with feelings of inauthenticity at work (Butler & Gross, 2004; Erickson & Ritter, 2001). Finally, people who use suppression strategies may have a greater risk for experiencing prolonged periods of depression and negative emotions (Gross & John, 2003). By contrast, the suppression of positive emotions implies the simultaneous feeling of positive emotions (i.e., positive emotions are not displayed but nevertheless are present). Feeling positive emotions broadens people's thought-action repertoire and leads to enduring personal resources (Fredrickson, 1998). Moreover, positive emotions are linked to strengthened self-capacity for regulation, and they recharge emotional batteries (Tice, Baumeister & Zhang, 2004), which may lead to a state of happiness and improved job performance (Cropanzano & Wright, 2001). Thus, I expect that police officers who encounter emotional job demands will specifically experience exhaustion at the end of the work shift via the suppression of negative emotions, such as sadness, disgust, or abhorrence.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 present studies based on *intra*personal experiences of emotional labor by police officers. However, (service) interactions usually take place in an *inter*personal context and thus imply the presence of an interaction partner (Côté, 2005). Therefore, both the intrapersonal and the interpersonal aspects of emotion regulation need to be studied from both sides of emotional labor: How felt emotions affect the sender and how they affect the interaction partner (the receiver). Therefore, I will examine the interpersonal process of emotional labor, while incorporating both the perspective of the sender and the receiver. Further, I will examine the important role of perceived positive emotions, regardless of the senders' used emotion regulation technique as used.

Research question 3: What is the relation between emotional labor and the receivers' perception of performance success?

Various scholars have argued the importance of the effect of authenticity on both the customer and the employee (cf. Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Further, Grandey et al. (2005) showed that authentic smiles resulted in elevated satisfaction with the interaction compared to inauthentic smiles, beyond the effect of friendliness or competence. Similarly, Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen and Sideman (2005) showed that satisfaction was higher when the service provider's display was authentic. Côté (2005) argued that inauthentic displays have a more unfavorable outcome due to the receiver's negative response and will thereby increase its positive relationship with work strain. However, I will argue that it is difficult to fully recognize senders' emotional labor and thus to

distinguish between real or acted emotions (i.e., deep acting or surface acting), following Konijn's analysis of acting emotions by professional actors (Konijn, 1995; 2004). Research shows that people were capable of recognizing some basic facial emotional expressions, such as anger, sorrow, joy, fear, surprise, and disgust (Frijda, 1988; Ekman, 1982). However, observers seemed to be better able to recognize these emotions when the emotions were deliberately posed instead of spontaneously shown (Ekman, 1989). Photos of spontaneous emotions were more difficult to recognize (Russell, 1994). Hess and Kleck (1990) showed that spectators were not able to tell the difference between posed and spontaneous emotional facial expressions. Baumeister and Bushman (2008) presumed that this inability might be the consequence of a culture that teaches people to not always display felt emotions. As the sender learns to be able to hide feelings, it might be more difficult for others to interpret facial expressions during emotional interactions. In addition, it may be difficult for the receiver to recognize the senders' emotion regulation techniques, especially when the receiver is in an emotional state (Konijn et al., 2009). When people come into contact with a police officer this may often be the case. Being in an emotional state may further bias the receivers' capabilities to rate the sender's possibly inauthentic display. Beyond a certain point, stress makes people feel worse and leads to negative performance (Chajut & Algum, 2003). To recognize and interpret emotions, information processing forms an important element. However, this process can be disturbed, as felt emotions may lead to specific framing of pieces of information (Brosius, 1993; Nabi, 2003) and may influence the receiver's information-processing capabilities (Forgas, 1994; Konijn et al., 2009).

What is important for an observer to judge a police officers performance? As the display of emotions serves an important function in social interactions (e.g., Côté, 2005; Frijda, 1986; Manstead, 1991; Oatley & Jenkins, 1992), I assume that the valence of the emotions displayed in emotional labor may be directly related to the way the receiver will judge the performance success of the police officer. Positive emotions may especially contribute to evaluate an interaction as successful. The perceived display of positive emotions may have a positive effect in and of itself (cf. Fredrickson, 1998; Pugh, 2001) regardless of the acting style. Research has shown that positive displays are related to experienced service quality, overall performance and increased likability (Clark & Taraban, 1991; Grandey et al., 2005; Tsai & Huang, 2002). Summarized, I expect that the perceived display of positive emotions during police work may elevate the rating of perceived authenticity and performance success, irrespective of the police officer's used emotion regulation technique. This research question will be addressed in **Chapter 4**.

After examining the influence of the police officer's emotion regulation technique on the interaction partner and the evaluation of performance success, I will return to the intrapersonal effect of a specific form of acting emotions, namely deliberative dissonance acting. Deliberative dissonance acting refers to the deliberate and goal-directed acting to achieve one's work goals.

Research question 4: How can deliberately acting emotions be beneficial to police officers' well-being?

I will examine the beneficial consequences of daily deliberative dissonance acting in relation to daily job accomplishment, daily strain and daily work engagement. Most previous studies on emotional labor have focused on the relationship between emotional dissonance, surface acting, and burnout. Work engagement has not often been studied as a positive outcome of emotional labor. However, it can be argued that acting may be functional in achieving one's work goal(s). For instance, police officers who suppress emotions or fake negative emotions can prevent an interaction from escalating. Additionally, faking positive emotions may help a suspect to confess a committed crime, help to collect criminal information from civilians, or help to deliver a high-quality service. Dedicated employees who identify with their organization may understand that acting is a part of the work role, and they may understand that behaving in an inauthentic way may serve their assigned roles (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Consequently, it can be argued that the deliberate acting of emotions may lead to job accomplishment, which in turn, can be presumed to be positively related to daily work engagement; accomplishing a difficult work task can give the police officer a good feeling, can be motivating, and can positively affect personal resources such as self-efficacy, optimism, and self-esteem, all of which have been related to work engagement in previous diary studies (e.g., Sonnentag, Dormann, & Demerouti, 2010; Xanthopoulou, et al., 2007; Xanthopoulou, et al., 2009). As work engagement is mainly predicted by resources (i.e., personal or contextual job resources) (Bakker, 2011), I expect deliberative dissonance acting to be positively related to daily work engagement via daily job accomplishment. This research question will be addressed in **Chapter 5**.

Finally, **Chapter 6** will highlight the role of initial strain and its relationship with daily surface acting, daily deep acting and daily emotional dissonance on both strain at the end of the work shift and service performance.

Research question 5: How are deep acting and surface acting related to well-being and service performance when taking initial strain into account?

According to COR-theory (Hobfoll, 1988), it can be assumed that strain at the start of the work shift may play an important role in relation to the application of daily surface acting. Consistent with COR-theory, I assume that police officers with a high level of strain at the start of a work shift are more vulnerable to losses throughout the work shift. Namely, a lack of resources can inflict coping with different job demands and stressors during the rest of the work shift. Therefore, I expect that police officers with a higher level of strain at the start of the work shift will be more inclined to use surface acting instead of a more cognitively demanding technique, such as deep acting. In the end, a lack of resources may result in impaired psychological well-being (Hobfoll, 2001; Maslach, Schaufeli, &

Leiter, 2001). When applying surface acting in combination with a high level of initial strain, a higher level of emotional dissonance may be experienced, because of the more prolonged use of surface acting as a result of a low energy level needed to regulate personal emotions. Furthermore, initial strain at the start of the work shift may be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift and negatively to service performance via daily surface acting. In contrast, it can be argued that deep acting can be considered a more suitable strategy for enhancing service performance among others due to it's authentic display (cf. Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005). Finally, reappraisal (i.e., deep acting) is positively related to the experience and expression of positive emotions (Gross & John, 2003).

Together, the outcomes of the presented studies contribute to an increased insight in the refined dynamics of emotional labor among police officers. The findings are summarized and further discussed in **Chapter 7**, whereby the research aims and questions will be addressed in an overall evaluation. Furthermore, recommendations for practical implementations of the results and implications for relevant future research will be provided.

Chapter 2

Psychological Strain and Emotional Labor among Police Officers: A Diary Study

Abstract

I examined the relationship between psychological strain, emotional dissonance and emotional job demands during a working day of 65 Dutch (military) police officers, using a five-day diary design. It was hypothesized that emotional dissonance will partly mediate the relationship between psychological strain at the start and at the end of a work shift. I also tested the mediating role of emotional dissonance between emotional job demands and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. Results of structural equation modeling analyses showed that psychological strain at the start of a work shift had a positive effect on the experience of emotional dissonance and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. Emotional dissonance partly mediated the relationship between psychological strain at the start and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. Results are discussed in light of Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1988).

Introduction

Emotional labor refers to how employees regulate their emotions as part of the work role, and their consequences of doing so (Hochschild, 1983). Most emotional labor research has been conducted within the human service industry, in which human interactions play an important part of the job. Emotional labor is mainly instigated by implicit or explicit display rules that state which emotions are appropriate for employees to express. As a result of obeying these rules, employees who engage in emotion work may experience emotional dissonance, which refers to a discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional dissonance is considered to be an important predictor of impaired psychological well-being in the form of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998, 2003; Grandey 2000; Heuven & Bakker, 2003; Zapf, 2002).

The present study among police officers examines how psychological strain at the start of a work shift may increase the likelihood of emotional dissonance during the shift. The innovation of our research is found in the addition of psychological strain at the start of a work shift. This was based on the theoretical assumptions regarding the conservations of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1998). Following COR-theory, it will be argued that a higher level of psychological strain at the start of a work shift will affect the experience of emotional dissonance; a higher level of psychological strain at the start of a work shift will leave less energy for regulating one's emotions during work. Also, the mediating role of emotional dissonance, mediating psychological strain at the start and at the end of a work shift, will be explored. The idea is that this initial state may 'steam through' the experiences of the police officers during the rest of the work shift and may increase the level of emotional dissonance and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. Past research did examine the relationship between strain, task-regulation and task-performance (e.g., Schellekens, Sijtsma, Vegter, & Meijman, 2000), but put less emphasis on the effects of initial strain. This hitherto unstudied temporal pattern offers an interesting addition in studying the effects of emotional dissonance within emotional labor research. In addition, the mediating role of emotional dissonance in the relationship between emotional job demands and psychological strain at the end of a work shift will be examined. It is expected that emotional demanding situations will contribute to the arise of emotional dissonance, which in turn will lead to a higher level of psychological strain at the end of a work shift.

Emotion regulation among police officers

Police officers are a very relevant and highly intriguing population to study. In performing police work many emotionally demanding interactions take place. On a daily basis police officers are confronted with human sorrow in the form of violence, aggression, accidents, crime victims and death (e.g., Brown & Campbell, 1990). Since police officers constantly have to show the right emotions in order to

keep up a professional appearance and achieve organizational goals, the management of emotions holds a central role in conducting police work. It is therefore not surprising that the expression and suppression of a wide variety of emotions is an important element in the performance of police work. Most service jobs require employees to suppress negative emotions and express positive emotions. Expressing these socially desired emotions are assumed a key dimension of delivering a high-quality service and reach a higher level of customer satisfaction (Tsai & Huang, 2002). However, in comparison with most other service occupations, a typical characteristic of police work is, that police work calls for constantly switching between more different types of emotional expressions depending on the situation. Next to the expression of positive or neutral emotions, police officers sometimes are required to suppress positive emotions and express negative emotions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). For example police officers are required to express anger when correcting an offender, while at the successive moment they should be able to simulate sympathy for a crime victim.

Emotional dissonance and psychological strain

Police work is demanding in many ways. The experience of emotional dissonance by police officers is clearly contributing to this. The causes and consequences of emotional dissonance is the topic of several theoretical approaches, that will be addressed in this section. First, emotional dissonance can be seen as a dependent variable caused by different factors that pressure the employee to identify to his work role and withholds him or her to feel the appropriate emotions that ought to be displayed (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1997). Other authors treat emotional dissonance as one of the dimensions of emotion work itself (Morris & Feldman, 1997; Kruml & Geddes, 1998) or as a feeling of unease arising when the felt emotion is, according to internal standards, evaluated as a threat to the person's own identity (Jansz & Timmers, 2002). According to Zapf (2002), emotional dissonance can also be seen as a regulation problem and a work stressor. The work situation prescribes a certain emotion expression from the employee, irrespective of whether the actual emotion is felt. The organizational prescription of emotions that ought to be expressed is also referred to as feeling rules or display rules (Ekman, 1973). In conducting police work, a police officer has to pay attention to the elements of the job itself, for example writing down a statement of a victim. Simultaneously, the police officer also has to regulate his or her emotional expression, for example showing sympathy for the victim. When this emotion is not actually felt, emotional dissonance will be experienced. Emotional dissonance is expected to be related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation (Zapf, 2002). Different empirical studies showed a positive relationship between emotional dissonance and elements of burnout (Bakker & Heuven, 2003; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, et al., 1999). Emotional dissonance can thus be assumed an important predictor of the experience of psychological strain. It is hypothesized that the experience of emotional dissonance during a shift will be positively related to psychological strain at the end of a work shift (Hypothesis 1).

Psychological strain at the start of a work shift

A police officer who starts a work shift might for different reasons already have an increased level of psychological strain. This increased level of psychological strain can for example be a result of inadequate sleep or personal problems in private life. It is expected that this initial level of psychological strain at the start of a work shift plays an important role in experiencing emotional dissonance during work and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. The Conservation of Resource (COR) approach offers an integrative stress theory that considers external environmental processes as well as internal ones (Hobfoll, 1988, 1989). Resources can be defined as the things that are important to people or that help them to attain valuable things (Hobfoll, 1988). Some examples of resources are the amount of energy, endurance, time for adequate sleep, free time, personal health and motivation to get things done. When a police officer for example has no time for adequate rest, this can result in lower energy levels at the start of a work shift. This might increase the level of psychological strain at the start of a work shift. One of the main principles of the COR theory is that starting a job with a low level of resources will lead to a future loss spiral (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001). According to COR-theory it can be assumed that those police officers with higher psychological strain at the start of a work shift are more vulnerable to losses throughout the work shift. Resources can be important to cope with the different job demands and stressors during the rest of the shift, by buffering the impact of job demands on burnout (Bakker, Demerouti & Euwema, 2005). Expending effort in the form of emotional dissonance will draw further on the resources of the individual police officer and will in line with COR-theory, contribute to the described 'loss spiral' during the work shift. This effort expenditure can lead to a further depletion of the total amount of available resources. Starting with lower resources, it is more difficult preventing losses occurring during the shift. This presumption is also supported by a study of Demerouti, Bakker and Bulters (2004), which showed that work pressure, work-home interference and exhaustion, predict each other over time. Police officers who have less energy at the start of their work shift, are thus more likely to lose energy than colleagues who start their working day freshly. The importance of having enough resources during work, is also in line with the Demand-Control model (DCM) (Karasek, 1979) and more specifically, the Job Demands-Resources Model (JD-R) (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner & Schaufeli, 2001). The Demand-Control model states that stress is a result of a high work pressure combined with a lack of resources like job autonomy and regulation possibilities (Karasek, 1979). The JD-R model assumes that a combination of high job demands and limited resources will lead to the development of burnout. As a result of higher psychological strain at the start of a work shift, energy-related resources are expected to be low. Combined with mental demands in the form of emotional dissonance, a higher likelihood of psychological strain at the end of a work shift can be expected. The level of psychological strain at the start of a work shift, may thus partly predict the level of psychological strain that is experienced at the end of a work shift.

Moreover, it is also assumed that psychological strain at the start of a shift will not only lead to more psychological strain at the end of a shift, but also makes police officers more vulnerable to the experience of emotional dissonance. This assumption is consistent with the COR-theory, stating that people low on resources are more vulnerable to resource losses and are likely to adopt a defensive and protective attitude (Hobfoll, 2001). Also, there is less energy left for emotion regulation. People who feel more exhausted are less able to put much effort in regulating their emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). In the end, a lack of resources may lead to an impaired psychological well-being (Hobfoll, 2001; Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001). Because of the described 'loss spiral' and energy-related losses in the form of emotional dissonance occurring during the work shift, it will be hypothesized that emotional dissonance will partly mediate the relationship between psychological strain at the start of a work shift and psychological strain at the end of a work shift (Hypothesis 2).

Emotional job demands and psychological strain

Police officers are confronted with a high amount of demanding situations. Demanding situations can for example consist of a high workload or difficult client interactions. Police officers frequently have to deal with intense interactions with civilians or suspects. Continuously dealing with emotionally charged interactions has been traditionally proposed as a primary source of burnout complaints among human service employees in general (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Maslach & Jackson, 1984). A work environment with demanding situations may lead to an increase of emotional exhaustion, a component of burnout (Leiter & Maslach, 1988). Research of Dorman and Zapf (2004) showed that next to the influence of emotional labor on burnout, other customer-related social aspects can also be important. Verbal aggressive clients and unpleasant customers turned out to form a serious component in predicting burnout (Dorman & Zapf, 2004). In addition, dealing with these kind of emotional job demands in police work, is expected to be directly related to psychological strain at the end of a work shift. It will thus be hypothesized that emotional job demands will be positively related to psychological strain at the end of a work shift (Hypothesis 3).

Besides emotional job demands, job related stressors are also supposed to form a predictor of burnout complaints. Especially among police officers, they are found to be an even more important predictor than emotional job demands (Brown & Campbell, 1990). The experience of emotional job demands is expected to influence the level of emotional dissonance. Next to the primary task of dealing with difficult clients and emotional demanding situations, police officers might have to regulate their emotions as part of their job. This in turn, makes the arise of emotional dissonance more likely. Within emotional labour research this is a common assumption based on the fact that emotional demanding situations will trigger more emotional reactions that require the police officers to fake or suppress certain emotions (e.g., Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Grandey, 2000, Heuven, Bakker, Schaufeli & Huisman, 2006).

In addition, emotion work can be seen as a secondary task in support of the main task of dealing with emotional demanding situations (Zapf, 2002). A police officer has to deal with the demanding situation and can at the same time experience feelings of emotional dissonance. A study conducted by Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini and Holz (2001), showed the importance of a combined effect of emotion work variables and other stressors. Emotional job demands combined with emotional dissonance can result in even higher levels of burnout. It was thus hypothesized that emotional dissonance will mediate the relationship between emotional job demands and psychological strain at the end of a work shift (Hypothesis 4). Figure 2.1 summarizes the combined hypothesized relationships and describes the different paths from psychological strain at the start of a work shift (Time 1) to the dependent variable psychological strain at the end of a work shift (Time 2).

The current research

Study hypotheses were tested using a diary study. More specifically, subjects received a questionnaire in which questions could be answered at different occasions during the day, during consecutive days and directly after the measured experiences take place. The main advantage of a diary study is that experiences of the respondents can be examined in their natural context. Also the time between the experiences and documentation of these experiences is shorter than with a regular survey (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003). This makes the measurement more accurate which can be especially advantageous in measuring psychological strain. In addition, a diary study makes it possible not only to measure differences between persons but also to measure intra-individual differences. This offers the opportunity to look at the development of measures over a certain time frame. The diary study technique used in this study is the Experience Sampling Method (ESM). Within the ESM-method questions are being answered during the work performance (Bolger et al, 2003).

Method

Participants

150 Dutch police officers and 70 Dutch military police officers were asked to participate. The police officers were working in a police district in the south of the Netherlands. The work of these participants mainly consisted of community policing or offering first aid police service to civilians. The military police officers were working at the Dutch National Airport and most of their work consisted of police duties. All the participants were confined to tasks in which there was a high interaction rate with recipients. Participation on this study was confidential and voluntary. Of the 150 police officers 28.7% ($N = 43$) completed the diary study questionnaires. Of the military police officers the response rate was 31% ($N = 22$).

Procedure

Participants were approached in person or by telephone. They were informed about the study and were asked to participate. Participants were told that a study about the regulation of emotions and its effects on psychological strain among police officers was being conducted. They were asked to fill in a five day diary study. In this diary study questions had to be answered at the beginning and at the end of a shift during five consecutive shifts. Those who were willing to participate were given or sent a dairy study booklet and a return envelope. With this envelope the participants were able to confidentially return the questionnaire to the University.

Measures

In the diary questionnaires, participants responded to scales assessing psychological strain, emotional job demands and emotional dissonance. The scales are discussed below and the exact questions are found in the Appendix. All questions were to be answered on 7-point scales, with endpoints labeled "no that's not correct" (1), and "yes that's correct (7).

Psychological strain time 1 (5 items, α = .68); Psychological strain time 2 (5 items, α = .63). Psychological strain was measured twice, -at the beginning and at the end of a work shift. For measuring psychological strain, the same measure was used on both occasions. In measuring psychological strain elements of exhaustion and dysfunctional attitudes concerning work were taken into account. These two dimensions can be considered as the most important elements of burnout (Demerouti et al., 2001). Psychological strain was measured using questions, adopted from the Utrecht Burnout Scale (UBOS) (Schaufeli & van Dierendonck, 2000), the Oldenburg Burnout Inventory OLBI (Demerouti, Bakker et al., 2001) and the Checklist Individual Strength (CIS-20) (Vercoulen et al. 1999).

Emotional job demands (7 items, α = .77). The emotional job demands scale was a self-developed scale based on the most prominent categories of civilians and suspects with whom the police officers have to deal, during their duties. The categories were based on the most common emotional demanding interactional experiences of Dutch police officers. Emotional job demands were measured at the end of a shift.

Emotional dissonance (4 items, α = .84). Emotional dissonance was measured at the end of a shift, using the emotional dissonance scale of Erickson and Wharton (1997). Questions concerned the suppression or faking of feelings.

Statistical analyses

The conceptual model described in Figure 2.1, hypothesizes certain causal relationships among the core variables in this study. It makes clear that psychological strain at the start of each shift (T1) has an effect on emotional dissonance experienced during that shift. Psychological strain at the start of a shift also has an effect on psychological strain measured at the end of the shift (T2). The model

stipulates further that first, the relationship between the two measures of psychological strain are partially mediated by emotional dissonance. Second, the relationship between emotional job demands and psychological strain at the end of a shift is partially mediated by emotional dissonance. The same conceptual model is assumed to apply at each of the five shifts for which data on the core variables are available. It is important to note that the conceptual model only specifies the relationships among the variables from the same shift, but lets the relationships among variables across shifts unspecified.

On the basis of the conceptual model described above, a structural model (Kline, 2005) was defined for all variables from the five shifts. Next to the hypothesized relationships, the first analysis will take the relationship between all the mentioned variables into account. In the next step the model will be further simplified to test the described conceptual model. For each shift a path model consisting of three regression equations was formulated. In the first equation emotional job demands was regressed on psychological strain at T1. In the second equation emotional dissonance was regressed on psychological strain at T1 and emotional job demands. Finally, in the third equation, psychological strain at T2 was regressed on psychological strain at T1, emotional job demands and emotional dissonance (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Since the conceptual model did not specify anything about the relationship among variables measured at different shifts, the corresponding covariance parameters were left free to vary.

In a first analysis, the complete path model (Model S) was fitted to the data without imposing any constraint on the regression parameters across the shifts. Since the covariances between variables measured at different shifts were left free to vary, model S is a saturated model against which the fit of more restrained submodels can be tested by means of conditional likelihood tests. In a second analysis, the same model was fitted under the constraint that corresponding unstandardized regression parameters were set equal across shifts (Model T). In this way it was tested whether the parameter estimates in the structural model were invariant over shifts. Since the variances of the variables involved may slightly fluctuate over time, equality of unstandardized regression coefficients does not imply equality of standardized regression coefficients. Based on the results of the second analysis, a third analysis was carried out in which the non-significant shift-invariant regression parameters were set equal to zero (Model U). It was hoped that in this way a parsimonious path model could be obtained, whose results were easy to interpret. Finally, the model was further simplified by removing the arrow between psychological strain at T1 and emotional job demands. All analyses were carried out using AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2003). The fit of model T was assessed by a conditional likelihood ratio test against the saturated model S. The fit of model U was assessed by a conditional likelihood ratio test against model T.

Before carrying out the SEM analyses, missing values in the data were regression imputed using the Missing Value Analysis procedure from SPSS. From a total of 1290 scores, 141 were missing (11%). A missing value was replaced by a score defined by its expected values under a regression model in which only the variables observed at the same shift were used as predictors to which a randomly selected regression residual was added.

Results

Table 2.1 shows the means, standard deviation and product-moment correlations of all the major variables. The variables were measured on five different shifts. Results showed however that the measures stayed constant over time and no intra-individual development on the measures during the five shifts took place. This means that the relationships between the measured variables stayed constant, independent of the specific work shift. Although the fit of the saturated model S, having zero degrees of freedom, cannot be assessed, this model acts as a baseline model against which the fit of the restricted time- or shift-invariant model T can be tested. The conditional likelihood was χ^2 = 36.505 with df = 24 and p = .049, RMSEA = .09, Pclose = .139. Model U was obtained by setting the non-significant regression parameters in model T equal to zero. This was the case for two of the six coefficients: psychological strain at T1 had no significant effect on emotional job demands and emotional job demands itself had no significant effect on psychological strain at T2. The conditional likelihood ratio test of model U against model T yielded χ^2 = 1.182 with df = 2 and p =.554, for model U it was also found that RMSEA = .084, Pclose = .176. If we simplify the model further by removing the removing the arrow from Psychological Strain T1 to Emotional Job Demands, the analysis results in χ^2 = 36.669 with df = 25 so that p = .062. The conditional likelihood ratio test of this model against the original one is equal to 0.164 with df = 1 so that p =.67, showing that the more restrictive model does not yields a significantly worse fit. The outcomes of both conditional likelihood ratio tests indicate that the results obtained under model U can serve as a basis for substantive conclusions. Figure 1 depicts the final parsimonious model together with the unstandardized regression parameters for the significant effects. Emotional dissonance was positively related to psychological strain at time 2 (b = .159, p < .01) which gives support to the first hypothesis. Psychological strain at time 1 was positively related to emotional dissonance (b = .405, p < .01) and psychological strain at time 2 (b = .388, p < .01), but no significant relationship was found with emotional job demands. Emotional dissonance is a mediator between psychological strain at T1 and at T2, although a strong direct effect of psychological strain at T1 on its measurement at T2 remains present. This is in support of Hypothesis 2. No direct relation was found between emotional job demands and psychological strain on time 2 (b = .038, p > .05). The third hypothesis was rejected.

Table 2.1. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix Among Variables for Each Shift*

	Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4
Shift 1:	Emotional Job Demands	2.20	1.12	-			
	Emotional Dissonance	1.84	.97	.47**	-		
	Psychological Strain Time 1	1.86	.84	.28*	.59**	-	
	Psychological Strain Time 2	2.49	.86	.25	.47**	.47**	-
Shift 2:	Emotional Job Demands	2.41	1.23	-			
	Emotional Dissonance	1.79	1.06	.14	-		
	Psychological Strain Time 1	1.92	.93	-.12	.43**	-	
	Psychological Strain Time 2	2.68	1.00	.04	.42**	.58**	-
Shift 3:	Emotional Job Demands	2.02	1.16	-			
	Emotional Dissonance	1.84	1.16	.01	-		
	Psychological Strain Time 1	2.10	1.04	.09	.34*	-	
	Psychological Strain Time 2	2.89	1.13	2.97*	.45**	.51**	-
Shift 4:	Emotional Job Demands	2.71	1.50	-			
	Emotional Dissonance	1.90	1.24	.31*	-		
	Psychological Strain Time 1	2.02	.91	.08	.20	-	
	Psychological Strain Time 2	2.66	1.11	.06	.33*	.48**	-
Shift 5:	Emotional Job Demands	2.21	1.25	-			
	Emotional Dissonance	1.90	1.47	.19	-		
	Psychological Strain Time 1	2.20	1.18	.07	.07	-	
	Psychological Strain Time 2	2.74	1.22	.07	.30*	.54**	-

*p<.05. **p<.01.

Emotional job demands were positively related to emotional dissonance ($b = .102$, $p < .05$). Emotional dissonance completely mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and psychological strain at time 2. Moreover, the relationship between emotional demands and psychological strain at T2 is entirely due to the mediating role of emotional dissonance. This is in support of hypothesis 4.

Figure 2.1. Significant (unstandardized) regression coefficients in final time-invariant model.
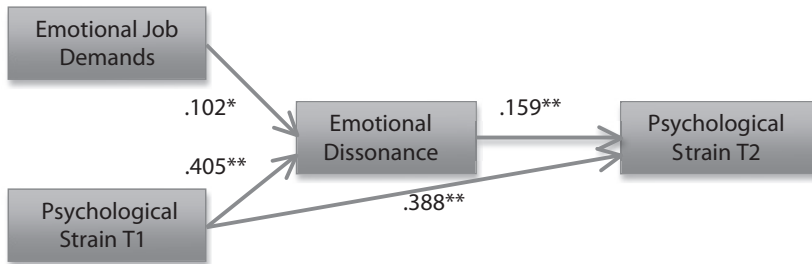
Note. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Discussion

First, the results showed that during the five work shifts the relations between all examined variables stayed constant over time. This implies that within person variations over time were not significantly present. Second, results suggest that police officers who started the work shift with more psychological strain were more vulnerable to the experience of emotional dissonance than the police officers who started the shift with less psychological strain. This effect supported the COR-theory (Hobfoll, 1998), stating that people who have an increased level of psychological strain at the start of a shift are more vulnerable to future losses. This result may implicate that in studying emotional dissonance, psychological strain at the start of the work shift may partly explain the individual's sensitivity to experiencing emotional dissonance. It might be clarified by the fact that people who feel more exhausted are less able to put much effort in regulating their emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). Furthermore, emotional dissonance costs energy and might prevent the acquisition of other energy-related resources. As one of the underlying elements in anticipatory coping (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997), it is less likely that a lack of resources will lead to much effort in regulating one's emotions. So, not being able to put enough effort in the regulation process makes the experience of emotional dissonance worse and the arise of it even more likely. Also the experience of psychological strain at the start of a work shift can lead to a more negative attitude. When people feel negative emotions, they seem to put top priority and energy in feeling better and thereby abandon self-control (Tice, Baumeister & Zhang, 2004). This makes the regulation of emotions even more difficult and will make police officers more vulnerable to the experience of emotional dissonance. Emotional dissonance appeared to mediate the relationship between emotional job demands and psychological strain at the end of a work shift, but the relationship was not very strong. More interestingly though, was the effect of psychological strain at the start of a work shift and the mediating effect of emotional dissonance. Emotional dissonance partly mediated the relationship between psychological strain at the start of a work shift and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. In contrast, no direct relationship was found between emotional job

demands and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. It appeared that emotional dissonance as a work stressor has a greater impact on the arise of psychological strain. An explanation for not finding the same effect of emotional job demands might be that job demands form a basic part of the work of police officers. It is something they choose to do and are professionally trained for. This is in line with findings of Brown and Campbell (1990) and Biggam et al. (1997), who supported that, the elemental contents of police work are not experienced as the main stressors for police officers.

The partly mediating effect of emotional dissonance between psychological strain at the start and at the end of a work shift shows that emotional dissonance offers a contribution in increasing the level of psychological strain during a work shift. The experience of emotional dissonance as a resource loss, resulted in more psychological strain at the end of a shift. This finding is in line with the COR-theory (Hobfoll, 2001) as well as the JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001). Police officers with a higher level of psychological strain at the start of a shift, possess less energy-related resources. This results in more resource losses and a lesser change of reaching gains during the work shift, finally resulting in a higher level of psychological strain.

Strength, limitations and implications for further research

The present study offers an interesting insight in the concept of emotional labor among police officers. It emphasizes the important role of psychological strain at the start of a work shift in studying the implications of emotional dissonance. Moreover an important strength of this study is the use of a diary study, thus measuring the effects in its natural context and on the moment the measured variables are in real experienced. The results of this study offered some interesting findings for the practice of police work. Emotional dissonance at work clearly contributes to the level of psychological strain of police officers. The training of police officers to not just deal with the work itself, but also to understand the simultaneously arising emotional regulatory demands, might benefit their overall psychological well-being. Second, early identification and assistance of police officers with higher levels of psychological strain in general, offers an opportunity to make this category less vulnerable to energy losses during their work shift.

Some limitations of this study should be noted. First, the rather small number of respondents who contributed to this diary study can affect the generalizability of our findings. Second, the influence of energy-related gains during a work shift were not taken into account. Only demands like job demands and emotional dissonance that is felt during the shift, were taken into consideration. It is interesting to expand future research with taking into account some important gains that might arise during a work shift. Even for recipients who start their shift with more psychological strain and are experiencing emotional dissonance, it should be theoretically possible to reach gains that high, that the effect on psychological strain at the end of a shift might be more in favour of the individual employee. It could be questioned in what way the balance would end up when the amount of

psychological strain during the shift is significantly decreased as a result of greater gains and what gains would be important for police officers to turn back the negative effects of psychological strains. Third, emotional dissonance was measured looking at the suppression and faking of emotions in general. The use of discrete emotions and a further refinement of the different forms of emotional dissonance might show separate effects of suppressing and faking these emotions and can have unequal results on psychological strain.

In addition, in testing the effects of emotional job demands, a further refinement of psychological strain into emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation ought to be made. Also, the important role of emotional labor and emotion regulation for police officers was partially demonstrated. In interacting with recipients future research should expand beyond emotional dissonance in testing the effects of emotion regulation techniques and psychological strain among police officers more general. Testing these effects in relationship with the psychological effects of the responses of interaction partners might be beneficial. Notwithstanding the described limitations, it should be noted however, that this study offers an interesting extension in emotional labor research and especially in examining the effects of emotional dissonance. It shows on a day-to-day basis, the importance for police officers to be aware of taking adequate rest and recovery. Recovery and loading the batteries can lead to a desired energy level that is needed to make a good performance during the next work shift. These insights can thus contribute in creating and maintaining a healthier police force.

Chapter 3

Daily Suppression of Discrete Emotions during the Work of Police Service Workers and Criminal Investigation Officers

Abstract

The aim of the present research among Dutch police officers was to examine whether fluctuations in emotional job demands predict exhaustion through the suppression of discrete emotions. A first diary study ($N = 25$), tested how the suppression of discrete emotions is related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift of police call-center service workers. Results revealed that suppressing *anger* was positively related to exhaustion at the end of a work shift, whereas suppressing *happiness* was not. A second study ($N = 41$) among criminal investigation officers showed that the emotions *anger*, *abhorrence*, and *sadness* were among the most common negative emotions that were suppressed as part of the emotional labor of this specialized occupational group. Results of a third (diary) study ($N = 39$) confirmed that emotional dissonance, and more particularly the suppression of *abhorrence* mediated the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of a work shift.

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Introduction

During their duty, police officers are regularly confronted with non-cooperative civilians or suspects. As a consequence, police officers engage in emotional labor on a daily basis. Emotional labor can be described as the employee's management of feelings, in order to create an observable display in accordance with situational demands (Hochschild, 1983). Display rules can usually be derived from a company's policy, stating which emotions the company considers appropriate to show to clients. In the case of policing, crime victims and offenders are important clients whom have to be dealt with. In order to make a professional appearance and reach organizational goals, police officers may need to suppress their felt emotions (e.g., anger), or display emotions that are not felt (e.g., sadness). This state of discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions is called emotional dissonance, which is considered to be detrimental to one's psychological well-being (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Heuven & Bakker, 2003). Most emotional labor research shows that the general construct of emotional dissonance is related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation (Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Zapf, 2002). Previous research on emotion regulation emphasizes the negative social and detrimental health effects of suppressing emotions. Suppression of emotions may disrupt communication and, heighten stress levels, is cognitively demanding, and may even impair memory (Butler et al., 2003; Gross, 1998; Richards & Gross, 1999, 2000). As previous research mainly focused on the detrimental health effects of the *general* construct of emotional dissonance, it is important to broaden these insights by taking the effect of suppressing *discrete* emotions into account (cf., Glomb & Tews, 2004). This is because suppression of some, specific emotions can be more detrimental for individual well-being than suppression of other emotions.

I will report two diary studies and a pilot study among groups of police officers. A diary design has advantages above other research designs for field studies. First, a diary design has the advantage of studying the respondents' experiences in their natural context. This shortens the time between the actual experience and its documentation (Bolger, Davis & Rafaeli, 2003). Furthermore, diary research is still rare in the emotional labor literature, but offers the opportunity to study the effects of emotional labor on employee psychological well-being 'in-vivo' – throughout subsequent days. Next to investigating the daily consequences of emotional dissonance, the present research aims to extend emotional labor research by focusing on the suppression of different discrete emotions relevant for the occupational group under study.

Emotional demands and psychological well-being

Emotion regulation is a way of dealing with the emotionally demanding situations that a police officer may encounter during the line of duty. Emotional job demands may thus form an important precursor of having to suppress emotions, and consequently the experience of emotional dissonance. Police work can be emotionally demanding in many ways. Police officers are frequently

confronted with emotionally taxing situations and human sorrow (Brown & Campbell, 1990; McCafferty, Domingo, & McCafferty, 1990), and generally experience a high workload (Biggam, Power, & MacDonald, 1997). Furthermore, police officers often experience emotionally demanding interactions with crime victims and offenders. Dealing with such emotionally taxing job demands costs energy and may lead to burnout complaints in the long run (Lee & Ashfort, 1996; Leiter, 1993; Maslach & Jackson, 1984). Interacting with verbally aggressive and unpleasant customers may also elevate the experienced level of burnout (Dorman & Zapf, 2004). A study of Bakker and Heuven (2006) showed that emotional job demands may evoke emotional dissonance, which in turn appeared to be related to burnout. However, this study related job demands to 'trait' burnout and was measured at one point in time. The purpose of the present study is to test how during daily changing conditions, state levels of emotional job demands are related to state exhaustion through experienced levels of emotional dissonance. Evidence of this relationship at the within-person level would further validate the mediating relationship of emotional dissonance between emotional job demands and employee well-being, which has only been confirmed at the between-individual level of analysis.

Emotion suppression and psychological well-being

While experiencing negative emotions, employees often need to abstain from expressing these felt emotions, or express positive emotions to deliver a qualitative service (Tsai & Huang, 2002). During their duty, police officers may also need to suppress or fake emotions. Research of Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) showed that as a means of socially influencing a crime suspect under interrogation, police officers might show other emotions as felt. Likewise, negative emotions can be faked when arresting an offender or can be suppressed in order to keep up a professional appearance. Our study focused on the psychological health effects of *suppressing* emotions. The suppression of emotions can be seen as a response-focused emotion regulation technique, implying that the emotion is regulated after it is actually felt (Gross, 1998). As the outward sign of inner feelings is inhibited, the behavioral expression will be prevented but the experience of the emotion is still present (Gross, 2002). The suppression of emotions is a specific form of emotional dissonance that is presumed to have subsequent negative consequences for employee well-being in at least four ways.

First, suppression of emotions can have physiological consequences. Research of Gross and Levenson (1993, 1997; Gross, 1998) showed that the suppression of emotions led to increased sympathetic activity (i.e., increased skin conductance and finger pulse amplitude). In addition, suppression while watching a disgust-eliciting movie was related to a decreased control of cardiac sympathetic activity (Demaree, Schmeichel, Robinson, Pu, & Everhart, 2006). Second, suppression seems to be cognitively costly, due to the verbal demands of self-instructions in the course of suppressing the unwanted emotions (Gross, 2002). Richards and Gross (2000) showed that suppression was even related to poorer memory functioning. After participants were shown emotion-eliciting slides,

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suppressors appeared to have more difficulty in memorizing the accompanying verbally encoded information, whereas participants who used the reappraisal technique did not. Third, emotion suppressors are generally less liked by others and receive little social support. This negative effect on one's social interactions is supposed to be a consequence of not sharing one's emotions (Gross, 2002). The lack of social support may also contribute negatively to one's psychological well-being –either directly, or indirectly since one lacks the necessary resources to cope with job demands (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005). Fourth and finally, suppression also seems to be connected to a sense of spuriousness and estrangement to the suppressor himself (Butler & Gross, 2004) and increased negative emotional experiences (Butler et al., 2003).

Suppression of positive and negative emotions

When employees are conducting emotional labor, positive as well as negative emotions can be suppressed. However, it can be debated whether the suppression of positive and negative emotions will both have the same detrimental effects on employee well-being. Suppression of positive emotions implies that felt positive emotions are not shown but may still be felt. As a result of (just) feeling positive emotions this may bring about positive side effects for the employee. Feeling positive emotions is assumed to be linked to strengthening the self's regulatory capacity by recharging the batteries (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004). Further, according to Fredrickson's (1998) broaden-and-build theory, positive emotions can broaden people's thought-action repertoire leading to enduring personal resources. In turn, this may facilitate behavioral flexibility and well-being (Fredrickson, 2005). Contrary to the described benefits of feeling positive emotions, suppressing negative emotions indicates that the individual feels the negative emotions. These felt negative emotions cannot be displayed in the given job context, and therefore better be suppressed. Erickson and Ritter (2001) found that the suppression of negative emotions is linked to feelings of inauthenticity at work. Other researchers assume that the experience of negative emotions can have negative consequences for one's physical health and psychological well-being due to increased autonomic nervous system responses (i.e., Beiser, 1974; Gross & Levenson, 1997). For instance, it has been found that people who experienced more negative emotions have a weaker immune system and have a higher risk of getting ill beyond people who experience positive emotions (Barak, 2006). When people feel negative emotions, they may abandon self-control as a result of putting top priority and energy in trying to feel better or to present themselves more positively. Furthermore, experiencing negative emotions may impair self-regulation through prioritising short-term feeling states above more long-term goals (Tice et al., 2004). In addition, chronically responding to negative events with expressive suppression may lead to an exacerbation of the experience (Butler & Gross, 2004).

Overview of the studies

In order to examine daily emotional labor among police officers, two diary studies and a pilot study were set up. Study 1 uses diary data of police call-center service workers, a group of police

employees who are in contact with civilians through the phone. This study was used to examine the possible contrasting effects of the suppression of positive versus the suppression of negative emotions. In this study suppressing *anger* was used as a common specific discrete negative emotion, and suppressing *happiness* as a common specific discrete positive emotion. Anger and happiness are important emotions (Baumeister & Bushman, 2008). Anger refers to a response to a threatening situation to one's self-esteem, whereas happiness refers to feeling good. According to Russell's (1980) circumplex model, both emotions differ in their state of pleasantness and arousal level. Anger falls into the unpleasant category, and happiness in the pleasant category. Both emotions can be categorized as high-arousal emotions, although happiness can be seen as less arousal evoking than anger. Consequently, it will be studied how both emotions may differ in their effect on daily job exhaustion. The second sample comprised of another group of police officers, namely criminal investigation officers who are directly confronted with more severe criminals and crime scenes. An interview study (Study 2) with this sample of criminal investigation officers was conducted. The goal of this second study was to examine which discrete negative emotions were most commonly suppressed during the work of the occupational group under study. Following this pilot study, a second diary study (Study 3) was conducted among another sample of criminal investigation officers in order to test the mediating role of emotional dissonance and of suppressing discrete negative emotions (resulting from the pilot study) in the relationship between emotional job demands and daily exhaustion. The specific hypotheses in which the discrete emotions are included will be described below.

Study 1

In diary Study 1, the relationship between the suppression of the discrete emotions *anger* (in Dutch: woede) and *happiness* (in Dutch: blijdschap) on daily exhaustion will be examined. When interacting with clients, police call-center service workers may experience various discrete emotions. Research of Mann (1999), conducted within 12 different UK office-based companies, showed that anger was the most frequently suppressed emotion. Especially as a result of customer verbal abuse, *anger* is a common emotion that may be felt and subsequently should be suppressed by the employee within the job context (Grandey, Kern, & Frone, 2007; Grandey, Tam, & Brauburger, 2002). In contrast to feeling angry, emotional labor studies have shown that happiness is an emotion relevant in providing "service with a smile", which is related to customer satisfaction (Barger & Grandey, 2006). However, *suppression* of happiness is also potentially relevant in the work of police officers. An emergency call or an impolite client may suddenly interrupt a positive and happy mood (i.e., having fun with colleague workers). Having to suppress happiness feelings does not necessarily need to exhaust energy reservoirs of employees because the effect of felt positive emotions may act as resources that protect future losses (cf. Fredrickson, 2005; Hobfoll, 2002). Happiness may still be felt, but should not be displayed to the client. It is thus hypothesized that suppressing the discrete negative emotion anger will be positively related to the employee's experience of exhaustion at the

end of the work shift, whereas happiness will be unrelated to exhaustion at the end of the work shift, controlling for exhaustion at the start of the work shift (Hypothesis 1).

Method

Participants and procedure

Participants were employees of a police service call-center. Civilians who need non-emergent police intervention should call this center. Employees of the police call-center decide whether police intervention is necessary. A total of 25 employees participated in a five-day diary study (N = 125 study occasions). The sample included 20 women and 5 men. Participants recorded their entries both at the start and at the end of a work shift. All employees participated voluntarily. The total response rate was 33%.

Diary measures

Anger and *Happiness* were measured by reporting the intensity of each felt emotion (referring to a whole working day) on 4-point rating scales ranging from "not felt at all" (1) to "strongly felt" (4). Further, the intensity with which each emotion was displayed was measured by the respondent on 4-point rating scales ranging from "not shown at all" (1) to "completely shown" (4).

Suppression of Anger and Suppression of Happiness was calculated as the (positive) deviance score between the felt and actually shown emotions (namely felt minus shown emotions) separately. As only the positive values of this measure imply the suppression of emotions, only the positive scores were included in our analysis. Therefore the negative values were replaced with a score of zero.

Exhaustion at the start of the work shift was measured as the police officer's momentary strain level (3 items, Cronbach's α = .83). Exhaustion at the start of the work shift is an important control variable. The items reflected the exhaustion dimension, which is based on the Dutch version of the MBI-General Survey (Schaufeli & van Dierendonck, 2000; Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996). The items were selected and reformulated such that they refer to momentary feelings of exhaustion during the work shift. The items were each followed by a 4-point rating scale ranging from "Not Applicable at all" (1) to "Strongly Applicable" (4). The items are "I am feeling mentally exhausted", "At this moment, I am feeling tired" and "Working all day is very demanding for me".

Exhaustion at the end of the work shift (3 items, Cronbach's α = .84) used the same items as *Exhaustion at the start* of a work shift.

Statistical analyses

The diary data are suitable for multilevel analysis, because the daily reports consist of repeated measures that are nested within individuals (second-level). The first-level predictor variables (i.e., emotional exhaustion at the start of the work shift, suppression of anger, and suppression of happiness) were centered around the person mean, in order to eliminate between-person

variance in the predictor variables (Ilies, Schwind, & Heller, 2007). The likelihood ratio test was used to compare the improvement of each of the tested models. As the variables at the individual level explain part of the individual and the group variance, the multiple correlation coefficient is calculated in approximation. The multi-level analysis was conducted with SPSS 16.0, using the maximum likelihood procedure. From the total scores, 13% was missing.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 3.1 shows the means, standard deviations, and the correlations among the study variables. The possible range on the measures of suppression was 0-3, and on the measure of exhaustion 1-4, where higher scores indicated higher levels of suppression and exhaustion. The obtained range for the suppression of anger was 0-3, for the suppression of happiness 0-2 and for exhaustion at the start and at the end of the work shift 1- 3.

Table 3.1. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix among the Key Variables in Study 1*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3
1. Suppression anger	.28	.53	-		
2. Suppression happiness	.09	.29	.27**	-	
3. Emotional exhaustion 1	1.58	.59	.32**	.25**	-
4. Emotional exhaustion 2	1.81	.65	.32**	.18	.75**

Note. Day-level data was averaged across 5 days; *p < .05; **p < .01.

Hypotheses testing

To test Hypotheses 1 (i.e., whether the suppression of anger and the suppression of happiness are related to exhaustion), four separate models were set up. An intercept-only model (baseline model) was compared to a model in which exhaustion at the start of the work shift (Model 1) was controlled for; and to a model where the suppression of anger was added (Model 2). In Model 2, 59% of the variance of exhaustion at the end of the work shift was attributable to between-person variations. Model 1 had a significantly larger value for deviance than the baseline model (Δ −2*log = 32.07, *df* = 1, *p* < .001), which may be caused by exhaustion at the start of the work shift. In addition, Model 2 showed a significant improvement over Model 1 (Δ −2*log = 38.27, *df* = 1, *p* < .001). Significant predictors in this model were exhaustion at the start of the work shift and the suppression of anger.

Table 3.2. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Emotional Exhaustion at the End of a Shift. $N = 25$, and $N = 125$ observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	1.751	.109	16.054**	1.769	.070	25.365***	1.770	.081	21.861***	1.772	.081	21.816***
Emotional Exhaustion 1				.647	.088	7.385***	.642	.107	5.978***	.645	.108	5.966***
Suppressing happiness							-	-	-	.046	.152	.304
Suppressing anger							.194	.078	2.503*	.191	.078	2.446*
-2 x log	191.673			159.605			121.338			121.250		
Δ−2 x log				32.07***			38.27***			.09		
df				1			1			1		
						R²			R²			R²
Level 1 (within-person variance)	.213	.075		.198	.067	7%	.192	.077	10%	.191	.077	10%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.263	.086		.092	.039	65%	.107	.047	59%	.107	.047	59%

Note. R² percentages are calculated in approximation; * p < .05; **p < .01; *** p < .001.

Results presented in Table 3.2 showed that the suppression of anger was positively related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift ($t = 2.50$, $p < .05$). This result supports Hypothesis 1, relating the suppression of anger to exhaustion in police service officers. In addition, a fourth model was build (Model 3) in which the suppression of happiness was added. Results showed that Model 3 did not show a better fit to Model 2 ($\Delta -2*log = .09$, $df = 1$, $p > .05$). Furthermore, results of Model 3 showed that the suppression of happiness was unrelated to exhaustion ($t = .30$, $p = .76$). This result further supports Hypothesis 1.

Discussion

Results of Study 1 showed that the suppression of the discrete emotion anger was positively related to exhaustion, whereas the suppression of happiness was not. The harder police call-center employees try to suppress the display of felt anger, the higher their level of exhaustion at the end of the work shift will be. Suppressing the display of happiness, however, did not affect exhaustion in a similar way. This offers support for the assumption that suppression of negative emotions is more detrimental for employees' exhaustion than the suppression of positive emotions. While suppressing positive emotions, one may still feel the positive emotions with concurrent positive effects for one's well-being. Negative emotions will also still be felt when employees try not to show them. Thus, the effect of emotional dissonance on exhaustion differs for positive and negative emotions (cf. Tice et al., 2004). Feeling positive emotions may protect the employee against the harmful effects of emotional dissonance (cf., Fredrickson, 2005), whereas feeling negative emotions may not. Thus in studying emotional dissonance it is important to distinguish between suppressing positive and negative emotions.

A second diary study was conducted in order to validate the detrimental effect of suppressing negative emotions on emotional exhaustion for a different group of police employees. Because suppression of positive emotions was unrelated to exhaustion, it was chosen to focus on suppression of negative emotions and to investigate whether the detrimental effect holds true for various, specific negative emotions. Therefore, the second diary study was set up to further differentiate between the possible differential effects of the suppression of distinguished negative emotions on exhaustion at the end of a work shift. Before conducting this second diary study, first an interview study was conducted to examine *which* specific negative emotions are relevant for police officers to be suppressed while at work.

Study 2

In contrast to the call-center police service workers of diary Study 1, criminal investigation officers often have to deal with situations that involve traumatic circumstances like severe crime scenes, wounded, and murdered victims, vice cases, and other crimes against human dignity. It can be argued that this special group of police officers should be able to generate certain impressions

when confronted with civilians in order to handle emotional taxing situations (e.g., look untouched). Thus, negative emotions usually need to be suppressed as part of the criminal investigation officer's emotional labor to meet job demands. In diary Study 1, anger and happiness were assumed to be emotions that commonly had to be suppressed as part of the work role of police call-center service workers. Results of diary Study 1 showed that only the suppression of the negative emotion anger was related to exhaustion. Accordingly, a pilot study was conducted to investigate which negative emotions commonly have to be suppressed during the work of criminal investigation officers. This pilot study was conducted with a total of 41 participants from a Criminal Investigations Department in the Netherlands. The sample included 5 women and 36 men. Their mean age was 44 years, and they had a mean level of working experience as a police officer of 23 years. All criminal investigation officers participated voluntarily. They were asked to describe a critical work incident in which they had to suppress their actually felt emotions while at work. Accordingly, the participants were asked to rate to what extent they suppressed each of the emotions anger (in Dutch: woede), abhorrence (in Dutch: afschuw), fear (in Dutch: angst), sadness (in Dutch: verdriet), guilt (in Dutch: schuld), shame (in Dutch: schaamtegevoel), and shyness (in Dutch: verlegenheid) on 7-point rating scales. The possible range on the measures were 1-7, where higher scores indicated higher levels of suppression. The obtained range for the suppression of the described emotions was 1-7.

Results showed that next to *anger* ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 2.11$), *abhorrence* ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 2.01$) and *sadness* ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 1.46$) were among the most prominent negative emotions (i.e., had the highest mean scores and were considered most relevant for this occupational group) that were suppressed during the work of the criminal investigation officers. Descriptive analyses of the other emotions showed the following results: *fear* ($M = 1.56$, $SD = 1.40$), *guilt* ($M = 1.66$, $SD = 1.30$), *shame* ($M = 1.39$, $SD = 1.09$) and *shyness* ($M = 1.24$, $SD = .73$). Thus, as in diary Study 1, anger was found to be a common negative emotion to be suppressed while at work. In addition, criminal investigation officers reported abhorrence and sadness as negative emotions that they had to suppress regularly as part of their emotional labor. Therefore, these emotions were also taken further into account during the subsequent diary study.

Study 3

Following the result of diary Study 1, Study 3, only focussed on the effect of the suppression of negative emotions. Emotional dissonance implies the presence of a discrepancy between felt and shown emotions. Thus far, emotional dissonance has been studied as a general phenomenon in emotional labor, not taking discrete emotions into account separately. Yet, suppressing each of the discrete negative emotions anger, abhorrence, and sadness can all be seen as a form of emotional dissonance. The suppression of these emotions is expected to cost energy, hence emotional exhaustion will be increased as a result. However, it can be questioned if the suppression of all separate discrete emotions will have the same detrimental effect on exhaustion.

In addition, it can be presumed that emotional dissonance, in particular the suppression of each of the discrete negative emotions mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion (cf. Bakker & Heuven, 2006). It indicates that emotional job demands is presumed to affect emotional dissonance, in particular the suppression of discrete negative emotions. When dealing with emotional job demands, the chances are higher that the police officer may feel emotions, or has to suppress them. In turn, as with emotional dissonance in general, the suppression of each of the relevant negative emotions is expected to have a negative influence on exhaustion. Hence, it was hypothesized that emotional dissonance mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of a work shift, while controlling for exhaustion at the start of a work shift (Hypothesis 2). In addition, it was hypothesized that the suppression of anger (Hypothesis 3), abhorrence (Hypothesis 4), and sadness (Hypothesis 5) mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of a work shift, while controlling for exhaustion at the start of a work shift.

Method

Participants and procedure

As in Study 1, a five-day diary design was used. Participants of Study 3 were employees of several Criminal Investigation Departments of the Dutch Police Force. A total of 39 participants from a criminal investigation department specialized in vice activities, a forensic investigation department, and a general criminal investigation department participated in a five-day diary study ($N = 195$ study occasions). The sample included 11 women, and 28 men. Participants recorded their entries at the start and at the end of a work shift. All employees participated voluntarily. The response rate was 36 %.

Diary measures

Emotional Job Demands (9 items, Cronbach's α = .75), were measured with a scale specifically developed to meet the purposes of the present study. Items provided statements of specific and common demands that are part of the criminal investigation officer's job. Examples are: "Today, I had to deal with verbal intimidation of civilians or suspects" and "Today I had to deal with civilians or suspects who were under the influence of alcohol or drugs". The complete scale has been included in appendix A. Each item was followed by a 7-point rating scale ranging from "not applicable at all" (1) to "strongly applicable" (7).

Emotional dissonance (4 items, Cronbach's α = .95), was measured with four items of the Frankfurt Emotions Work Scale (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999). This scale was adjusted such that items were referring to the specific day. Examples are: "Today, I had to suppress emotions to look neutral" and "Today, I had to show positive or negative emotions while I felt differently inside". Each item was followed by a 7-point rating scale ranging from "not applicable at all" (1) to "strongly applicable" (7).

3

Anger, *Abhorrence*, and *Sadness*, were measured by reporting the intensity of each felt emotion by the respondent (referring to a whole working day) on 5-point rating scales ranging from "not felt at all" (1) to "strongly felt" (5).

The *suppression of Anger, Suppression of Abhorrence*, and *Suppression of Sadness* were reported as the extent to which each of these emotions actually was displayed on 5-point rating scales ranging from "not shown at all" (1) to "strongly shown" (5). Afterwards, the suppression score of each emotion was calculated as the (positive) deviance score between the felt and shown discrete emotion. As only the positive values of this measure imply the suppression of emotions, we only included the positive scores in our analysis. The negative values were replaced with a score of zero.

Exhaustion at the start of the work shift (3 items, Cronbach's α = .75) and *Exhaustion at the end of the work shift* (3 items, Cronbach's α = .75), were measured with the same items as used in Study 1.

Statistical analyses

In calculating the fixed effects of our multilevel models, the same statistical analysis procedure as in diary Study 1 was used. The first-level predictor variables of Study 3 were exhaustion at the start of the work shift, emotional job demands, emotional dissonance, and the suppression of discrete emotions. In testing mediation models the most widely-used approach is the method described by Baron and Kenny (1986). However, this method does not test the indirect effect between the independent variable and the dependent variable through its mediator (Hays, 2009). Therefore, the indirect effects were calculated and Monte Carlo bootstrapping was used to acquire the 95% confidence intervals in order to test the significance of the indirect effects (Bauer, Preacher & Gil, 2006; Bollen & Stine, 1992). Furthermore, in using hierarchical data (data consisting of two or more nested levels), the mediation effects may vary randomly across upper level units (Kenny, Kormaros, & Bolger, 2003). This means that causal effects can be fixed as well as random. Consequently, the effect of a level-1 predictor can vary across level-2 units (Bauer et al., 2006). Therefore, it was first tested if the random effects model differed significantly from the fixed effects model. If so, the random indirect effects in lower level mediation models were calculated using the method proposed by Bauer et al. From the total scores, 0.3% was missing.

Results

Descriptive analyses

Table 3.3 shows the means, standard deviations, and the correlations among the diary study variables. The possible range on the measures of suppression were 0-6, and for the other measures 1-7, where higher scores indicated higher levels of suppression, job demands, emotional dissonance, and exhaustion. The obtained range for the suppression of anger and abhorrence was 0-4, for the suppression of sadness 0-3, and for emotional job demands, emotional dissonance and exhaustion at the start and at the end of the work shift 1-7.

Hypotheses testing

It was first tested whether the random effects models differed significantly from the fixed effects models. Results showed that in the case of the mediating effect of emotional dissonance, the suppression of disgust, and the suppression of sadness, the model including the random effects did not show a better fit than the fixed effects models (Δ -2 *log likelihood = 8.855, $df = 9$, $p > .05$; Δ -2 *log likelihood = 15.600, $df = 9$, $p > .05$; Δ -2 *log likelihood = 11.079, $df = 9$, $p > .05$, respectively). Contrary, the random effects model with the suppression of anger as a mediator did show a better fit than the fixed effects model (Δ −2*log likelihood = 26.156, $df = 9$, $p < .05$). Therefore, in testing the mediating role of the suppression of anger the *random* indirect effect was calculated (Bauer, et al., 2006). For the other models the fixed indirect effects were calculated.

Table 3.3. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix among the Key Variables in Study 3*

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Suppression anger	.26	.69	-					
2. Suppression abhorrence	.39	.83	.39**	-				
3. Suppression sadness	.29	.71	.61**	.23**	-			
4. Emotional job demands	1.48	.80	.29*	.65**	.11	-		
5. Emotional dissonance	2.33	1.74	.31**	.59**	.23**	.47**	-	
6. Emotional exhaustion 1	2.21	1.28	.40**	.38**	.13	.34*	.24	-
7. Emotional exhaustion 2	2.51	1.38	.59**	.52**	.37**	.31**	.48**	.51**

Note. Day-level data was averaged across 5 days; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Results presented in Table 3.4 show the estimates of the relationship between the emotional job demands, emotional dissonance, and emotional exhaustion at the end of the work shift, controlling for emotional exhaustion at the start of the work shift. The results indicate that the mediator emotional dissonance was significantly related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift ($t = 6.23$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, Model 3 including the mediator emotional dissonance showed a significant improvement over Model 2 (Δ −2*log = 31.65, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). Testing Hypothesis 2 (i.e., emotional dissonance mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of the work shift), showed that the indirect effect was .298, $CI_{.95} = .181$, .435. Hypothesis 2 was thus supported.

Results presented in Table 3.5 show the estimates of the relationship between the emotional job demands, suppression of anger, and emotional exhaustion at the end of the work shift, controlling for emotional exhaustion at the start of the work shift. Results showed that the suppression of anger was significantly related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift ($t = 2.38$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, Table 5 reveals that Model 3 including the mediator suppression of anger, showed a significant improvement over Model 2 ($\Delta -2*log = 9.48$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). Testing Hypothesis 3 (i.e., the suppression of anger mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of the work shift), showed that the random indirect effect was .03, $CI_{.95} = -.022$, .087. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was rejected.

Results presented in Table 3.6 show the estimates of the relationship between the emotional job demands, suppression of abhorrence, and emotional exhaustion at the end of the work shift, controlling for emotional exhaustion at the start of the work shift. Results showed that the suppression of abhorrence was significantly related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift ($t = 2.49$, $p < .05$). Adding the suppression of abhorrence to Model 3, revealed that Model 3 showed a significant improvement over Model 2 ($\Delta -2*log = 10.37$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). Testing Hypothesis 4 (i.e., the suppression of abhorrence mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of the work shift), showed that the indirect effect was .111, $CI_{.95} = .023$, .211. This is in support of Hypothesis 4.

Finally, results showed that the suppression of sadness was not significantly related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift ($t = 1.23$, $p = .22$). The test of Hypothesis 5 (i.e., the suppression of sadness mediates the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of the work shift) showed that the indirect effect was .017, $CI_{.95} = -.010$, .059. Consequently, Hypothesis 5 had to be rejected.

Discussion

Results of Study 3 show that emotional dissonance mediated the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion. Moreover, one discrete negative emotion commonly experienced by criminal investigation officers, namely abhorrence separately mediated this relationship. Suppressing the emotions anger or sadness both did not mediate the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of the work shift. However, in line with our findings from Study 1, the suppression of anger was significant and positively related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift.

The kinds of situational job demands that criminal investigation officers encounter may lead to concerns like feeling ill, being focused on catching the criminal or wanting to help the crime victims.

Table 3.4. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Emotional Exhaustion at the End of a Shift: Emotional Dissonance as a Mediator; $N = 39$, and $N = 195$ observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.463	.161	15.273**	2.477	.142	17.413***	2.486	.140	17.818***	2.486	.130	19.161***
Emotional exhaustion 1				.384	.063	6.134***	.374	.061	6.113***	.359	.058	6.246***
Emotional job demands							.295	.107	2.752**	.036	.100	.359
Emotional Dissonance										.293	.047	6.234***
-2 x log	590.031			558.678			551.872			520.218		
Δ −2 x log				31.35***			6.81*			31.65***		
df				1			1			1		
						R^2			R^2			R^2
Level 1 (within-person variance)	1.07	.305		.934	.263	13%	.902	.256	16%	.761	.217	29%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.811	.230		.617	.180	24 %	.594	.173	27%	.521	.154	36%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 3.5. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Emotional Exhaustion at the end of a shift: Suppression of Anger as a Mediator; $N = 39$, and $N = 195$ observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.463	.161	15.273**	2.477	.142	17.413***	2.486	.140	17.818***	2.489	.131	18.930***
Emotional exhaustion 1				.384	.063	6.134***	.374	.061	6.113***	.374	.062	6.010***
Emotional job demands							.295	.107	2.752**	.259	.109	2.373*
Suppression of anger										.253	.106	2.380*
-2 x log	590.031			558.678			551.872			542.388		
Δ –2 x log				31.35***			6.81*			9.48*		
df				1			1			1		
						R^2			R^2			R^2
Level 1 (within-person variance)	1.07	.305		.934	.263	13%	.902	.256	16%	.901	.260	16%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.811	.230		.617	.180	24 %	.594	.173	27%	.501	.158	38%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p < .05$; **$p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 3.6. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Emotional Exhaustion at the End of a Shift: Suppression of Disgust as a Mediator; $N = 39$, and $N = 195$ observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.463	.161	15.273**	2.477	.142	17.413***	2.486	.140	17.818***	2.467	.133	18.499***
Emotional exhaustion 1				.384	.063	6.134***	.374	.061	6.113***	.350	.061	5.651***
Emotional job demands							.295	.107	2.752**	.181	.113	1.606
Suppression of abhorrence										.240	.096	2.488*
-2 x log	590.031			558.678			551.872			541.507		
Δ –2 x log				31.35***			6.81*			10.37***		
df				1			1			1		
				R^2			R^2			R^2		
Level 1 (within-person variance)	1.07	.305		.934	.263	13%	.902	.256	16%	.907	.257	15%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.811	.230		.617	.180	24 %	.594	.173	27%	.533	.161	34%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Experiencing emotions like *anger* aimed at the criminal offender, feeling *abhorrence* about a particular situation, or feeling *sad* about the crime victims and their relatives, appeared to be experienced emotions with a negative valence among criminal investigation officers. In order to keep up a professional appearance, the police officers need to suppress the display of such felt negative emotions. As a result, emotional dissonance in general and particularly suppressing the display of anger and abhorrence affects exhaustion at the end of the work shift. However, suppressing the display of sadness was unrelated to exhaustion at the end of the work shift. These findings suggest that not every discrete negative emotion has the same detrimental effect on the employees' psychological well-being.

General discussion

The central goal of the present series of studies was to study the effect of daily emotional labor on daily employee well-being. In two diary studies and one interview study with police officers, the prevalence of suppressing certain specific emotions was tested. Further the daily effect of such an emotion regulation strategy on police officers' day-levels of exhaustion was tested. The present results offer an important and innovative contribution to emotional labor research. The concept of emotional dissonance and its effect on employee well-being is namely further refined by making a distinction between the daily effects of suppressing *different* discrete emotions on police officers' daily exhaustion. Our studies offered some interesting findings. One of the main findings from diary Study 1 among police call-center service officers was that the suppression of anger was positively related to exhaustion, whereas the suppression of happiness was not. This result indicates that the suppression of this specific negative emotion may have more detrimental effects on employee's well-being than the effect of the suppression of this specific positive emotion. Although the demand to control for the suppression of positive emotions consumes self-regulation resources, this effect could be due to the fact that the suppression of positive emotions implies still feeling positive emotions. Feeling positive emotions may benefit the employee's well-being (cf. Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998). Consequently, following a positive mood may offer the benefits of just felt positive emotions, and enhance the employee's energy level at the start of the interaction. The relative presence of positive emotions and absence of negative emotions can also lead to a state of happiness which promotes higher job performance, especially in jobs that require social interactions (Cropanzano & Wright, 2001). On the contrary, feeling negative emotions undermines employee well-being, which is in line with previous studies that emphasize the negative health effects of felt negative emotions (i.e., Beiser, 1974; Gross & Levenson, 1993). In addition, the distinction between the difference in the effect of separate discrete emotions on exhaustion is also an important one to make from a physiological point of view. It is in line with findings that different emotions may cause different patterns of autonomic nervous system responses (i.e., Ekman, Levenson & Friesen, 1983), with possible different effects on health outcomes (Danner, Snowdown, & Friesen, 2001).

Results of Study 3 validate earlier presumptions and findings within emotional labor research that shows that emotional dissonance is positively related to burnout (Grandey, 2000; Kruml & Geddes, 2000, Zapf, 2002). These findings are in line with previous research that shows a mediating relationship of emotional dissonance in between emotional job demands and burnout (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Van Dijk & Kirk Brown, 2006). However, these previous findings were not based on diary data, and did not make a distinction between separate discrete emotions. Using diary data makes it possible to examine the daily influence of emotional dissonance on momentary exhaustion. Furthermore, incorporating the influence of various discrete negative emotions offers a further interesting extension to the line of emotional labor research. This refinement is an important one to make, as Study 3 showed that sadness and anger as discrete negative emotions appeared not to mediate the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion, whereas in contrast, the suppression of abhorrence did. Furthermore, the suppression of anger and abhorrence were positively related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift, whereas sadness was not. These findings imply that different suppressed discrete emotions may have different effects on exhaustion, which means that for emotional dissonance to increase employee exhaustion, the specific felt emotion may play a central role. Accordingly, it means that emotional job demands that evoke situations of having to suppress (negative) emotions may not necessarily be detrimental to the police officers' well-being, depending on the emotion that has to be suppressed.

What may explain this difference in the effect of the separate studied discrete negative emotions on exhaustion? One possible explanation for this effect is the higher cost of suppressing anger and abhorrence, compared to sadness. The suppression of anger and abhorrence may have stronger effects in the short run, whereas the suppression of sadness may have more detrimental effects in the long run. Within the police culture and as a means of professionally working with harsh and emotional situations, police officers may be more used to ignoring feelings of sadness that can be felt afterwards when thinking over the encountered situation. Put differently, within the police culture it is not commonplace for police officers to show and feel emotions of sadness during actions in public. Another explanation for the more detrimental effect of suppressing anger and abhorrence on exhaustion could be found within the social consequences of not showing anger and abhorrence. The social consequences of suppressing anger and abhorrence could be that high, that it may cost more energy to suppress these emotions rather than suppressing sadness. Accidentally showing sadness may be less threatening for the social interaction, which may thus make the suppression less effortful. Feelings of sadness may even lead to helping other people, when this helping behavior makes oneself feel better (Manucia, Baumann, & Cialdini, 1984). As police officers like to help people as an important part of their job, feelings of sadness may lead to greater helping behavior and as a consequence to a more positive response from the person in need. In contrast, anger can be seen as a strong emotion that can have important or even detrimental effects on social interactions (i.e., van Kleef, De Dreu & Manstead, 2004). Côté (2005) presumed that the

suppression of anger would lead to a less unfavorable response of the observer because the anger is not shown. In turn, this less unfavorable response would be less detrimental for one´s psychological well-being. Furthermore, Averill (1982) states that anger enables people to maintain social bonding when the relationship is in immediate threat. As it may sound undesirable, social bonding when interrogating a suspect can be helpful in keeping up the contact. Failing to suppress anger can thus have significant consequences in solving the crime case.

Finally, the emotions anger and abhorrence differ from the emotion sadness in their level of arousal (Russell, 1980). This may imply that the motivation and initiative to generate subsequent activity is lower for sadness than for anger and abhorrence. Sadness is often expressed inwardly or in a neutral way (e.g., related to 'doing nothing'), whereas anger and abhorrence may evoke taking action in order to solve or even leave the situation at hand. Consequently, suppressing anger and abhorrence will have a greater impact on prolonging the situation at hand and may thus result in an increase in employee exhaustion.

One additional finding deserves attention here. Exhaustion at the start of the work shift was incorporated in the research model as an important control variable. Previous research has shown that in studying the effects of emotional dissonance on momentary strain at the end of the work shift, it is important to take strain at the start of the work shift into account (Van Gelderen, Heuven, Van Veldhoven, Zeelenberg, & Croon, 2007). Exhaustion at the start of the work shift leaves less energy for regulating one's emotions and may result in an increase in experienced emotional dissonance. Likewise, it can be hypothesized that exhaustion at the start of the work shift leads to a further energy loss spiral and prevents the acquaintance of energy during the work shift (Hobfoll, 1989), which may result in a higher exhaustion level at the end of the work shift.

Our findings thus have important implications for theoretical models that try to explain employee well-being as an outcome of emotional dissonance. The findings suggest that it is important to go beyond studying only the general concept of emotional dissonance within emotional labor research, because different forms of emotional dissonance may have different effects on employee exhaustion. Instead, models that incorporate the daily suppression of different discrete emotions seem to be more plausible in explaining daily levels of exhaustion.

Limitations, strength and implications for future research

The present study has several limitations. A first limitation is a low response rate compared to other survey studies within the field of emotional labor. Diary studies are often sensitive to a low response rate because it takes a lot of time and effort for respondents to participate (Bolger et al., 2003). Especially the occupation of a police officer is very busy and stressful, which may have influenced the response rate. Accordingly, the respondents who participated in this study may be more

committed or have a higher energy level than their colleagues. This could have an effect on the generalizability of the results. Second, our results were obtained with a highly specific occupational group, namely police officers and criminal investigation officers. This specialized occupational group may differ from other service related settings in the way interactions take place with customers and the emotional demanding situations that have to be dealt with. This provided unique insights in a special occupational group, but also restricts the generalization of the findings. Third, this study did not address cause-effect relationships. Although emotional exhaustion was studied at two points in time (i.e., change in exhaustion during the work shift was studied), future studies should focus on lagged effects to study the relationship between emotional suppression at work and employee exhaustion over time. Furthermore, the study has a time-based design and is not complemented with an event-based approach. It may be interesting for future research to incorporate specific events that evoke emotional labor. Fourth, due to taking into account only the cases in which emotional suppression occurred, the data of the predictor variables (i.e., the emotion suppression variables) for both Study 1 and Study 3 became asymmetric, which is at odds with the assumption of normality. Although normality of predictors is not a requirement for multilevel analyses (Hox, 1995), this limitation should be noted. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that there is a skewness in de data of the outcome variable for both Study 1 and Study 3 (i.e., exhaustion at the end of the work shift). However, exhaustion at the start of the work shift and exhaustion at the end of the work shift show similar distributions, and the standardized residuals showed a normal curve, defending our analyses.

The focus was specifically on the effect of suppressing distinct negative emotions in addition to general emotional dissonance. Instead of suppressing emotions as a result of complying to display rules of being neutral, positive or polite, the work of police officers also implies the faking of positive as well as negative emotions. Research of Mann (1999) suggests that in conducting emotional labor, emotions are as much hidden as faked. Faking positive and negative emotions are assumed to have less positive or even negative effects on the employee's psychological well-being because faking emotions is perceived as inauthentic (Côté, 2005; Ekman, 1992). Furthermore, faking negative emotions may evoke a negative customer response because the employee showed negative emotions. Therefore, future research should take the effects of faking different discrete emotions on the employee's psychological well-being, further into account. Finally, it should be mentioned that the various discrete emotions in this study were measured as single items. Multi-item measures are usually less sensitive to errors. Consequently, this single item measure makes it more difficult to establish internal consistency and reliability.

Notwithstanding the described limitations, the present studies offer a unique contribution in uncovering the way that emotional demands eventually enhance feelings of exhaustion through the suppression of discrete emotions. Furthermore, this study shows the importance of specifying

emotional dissonance into the different components of suppressing positive and negative emotions. Suppressing distinct positive or negative emotions may form important distinctions in their effect on day-to-day employee exhaustion. Future studies of the effects of discrete emotions need to be undertaken to further broaden the insights of the effects of different discrete emotions within emotional labor research. For the practice of policing it may be important to train police officers in dealing with different felt emotions like anger and abhorrence, which cannot always be shown during their duty.

3

Chapter 4

Emotional labor among trainee police officers: The interpersonal role of positive emotions

Abstract

The aim of the present study is to gain insight in the *inter*personal process of emotional labor, and the role of positive emotions in the interaction between the sender and receiver, while taking *both* the perspective of the sender and the receiver into account. The influence of the perceived display of positive emotions of Dutch trainee police officers ($N = 80$) was tested during an interaction with offenders on perceived authenticity and perceived performance success, incorporating the senders' emotion regulation technique (i.e., deep acting and surface acting). Consistent with hypotheses, results of structural equation modeling analyses showed that perceived authenticity mediates the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and perceived performance success, while the specific senders' emotion regulation technique was nót related to perceived performance success. Furthermore, results showed that perceived performance success mediated the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction, controlling for senders' positive affect.

4

Introduction

How would you feel when you are confronted with an irritated or even angry service employee? This question is all about emotional labor and the social interaction effect of emotions. The kind of emotions that a company considers appropriate to show to clients are often part of its policy and are a principle of the company's so-called display rules (Ekman, 1973). Display rules thus refer to the emotions that ought to be expressed in public (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993). For instance, call center employees need to show interest in their clients whereas nurses need to show empathy to their patients. Display rules are an integral part of emotional labor, which can be described as the employee's management of feelings in order to create an observable display (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labor is particularly relevant for the human service professions in which frequent contact with clients forms an important element of the job.

In the present study, the interactional dynamics of emotional labor are empirically extended by taking the receiver's observation of the interaction between a police officer and an offender into account. Furthermore, in studying this interaction, the focus was on the role of positive emotions. It was assumed that the display of positive emotions in emotional labor among police officers is more important for the final result than the specific emotion regulation technique used, which will be elaborated below.

Theoretical background

Although emotional labor seems to be beneficial for the attainment of organizational goals, it may be detrimental for the employees' psychological well-being. In order to make a professional appearance and reach organizational goals, employees may need to suppress their private emotions in interacting with customers, or display emotions that are not felt. This discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions is called emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 1983). Research among several occupational groups has related emotional dissonance to the core dimensions of burnout, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Heuven & Bakker, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997). In order to cope with one's emotions, various emotion regulation techniques are proposed. Within emotional labor research, the most commonly studied techniques are surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting refers to a change of the emotional expression without changing the underlying feelings, whereas deep acting refers to a cognitive change in order to bring the felt emotions in balance with the required emotions (Grandey, 2000). Several studies have shown that surface acting is detrimental for one's psychological well-being, because it can be emotionally exhausting and may even affect physiological functioning (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Gross & Levenson, 1997).

Most service professions require an employee to display positive emotions and to suppress possible negative emotions (Hochschild, 1983). An interesting case in this respect is the work of

a police officer. In contrast to many other service professions, a police officer is often confronted with negative or conflict situations. Interactions between police officers and offenders are thus clearly quite different than interactions that take place in more common service settings. Although friendliness is one of the emotions police officers regularly use in their work, negative emotions also are clearly felt and sometimes even appear appropriate to display. For example, when a police officer needs to correct an offender or interrogates a criminal, this may sometimes ask for a repressive role in which the police officer shows negative emotions. On the one hand, showing negative emotions may be functional in interactions with clients. For instance, anger may help to show what one believes is right (Baumeister & Bushman, 2008). Furthermore, showing anger may be especially helpful in negotiations. Research of van Kleef, de Dreu & Manstead (2004) showed that negotiators with an angry opponent made larger concessions. Finally, the display of negative emotions may help in order to adjust the behavior of the interaction partner (Cacioppo & Gardner, 1999). On the other hand, feeling and displaying negative emotions may be harmful for the interaction. For instance, negativity may lead to avoidance (Fazio, Eiser, & Shook, 2004) and anger to misinterpret the consequences of following actions (Scarpa & Raine, 2000). In addition, research has shown that receivers (i.e., clients) prefer to be exposed to a positive attitude and positive displays, which creates a more positive interaction and service quality (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Jones & Pittman, 1980; Tsai & Huang, 2002). Furthermore, positive affect may promote social behavior and social integration (Fredrickson, 2005; Isen, 1987). Hence, a police officer who is confronted with a negative or conflict situation may show negative emotions to reach the goal of getting the situation under control, but should preferably not show the truly felt negative emotions in order to improve the perceived success of the interaction and service quality.

Service interactions usually take place in an *inter*personal context and thus imply the presence of an interaction partner (Côté, 2005). Therefore, both the *intra*personal and the *inter*personal aspects of emotion regulation need to be studied from both sides of emotional labor: How felt emotions affect the sender and how they affect the interaction partner (the receiver). Furthermore, the aim of the present study is to explore the interpersonal role of the display of *positive emotions*. Specifically, it will be assumed that the perceived display of positive emotions is positively related to the perceived performance success as rated by the receiver. Further, it will be expected that this relationship is mediated by authenticity as perceived by the receiver. In addition, the sender's emotion regulation technique such as surface acting or deep acting is expected nót to be related to perceived performance success. Finally, it will be assumed that a positive relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction through perceived performance success, while controlling for prior positive affect.

When addressing the "sender" this refers to the police officer who performs emotional labor. When addressing the "receiver" this refers to the interaction partner (i.e., the civilian) who perceives the

sender's shown positive emotions, the sender's authenticity, and in addition rates the performance success.

Emotion regulation among police officers

Because police officers often have to deal with emotionally taxing situations (McCafferty, Domingo, & McCafferty, 1990), the regulation of emotions forms an important part of the job. According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and based on Hochschild's (1983) view, there are several ways to perform emotional labor. In this study, the focus is on surface acting and deep acting. Previous research has shown that the use of surface acting and deep acting can be differentially related to one's psychological well-being. Brotheridge and Lee (1998) showed that surface acting was uniquely and positively related to emotional exhaustion, whereas deep acting was not. This kind of self-focused emotion management was also found to be related to increased distress (Puglisie, 1999). Subsequently, surface acting appeared to be positively related to depersonalisation, whereas deep acting was not (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). As said, surface acting refers to pretending emotions that are not really felt, which can be done by changing the outward expression, like facial expression, voice tone or gestures (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993). In applying surface acting, the emotional expressions shown to customers are modified, controlled and managed (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, 2002). Simultaneously, the underlying feelings may remain unchanged. This regulation technique keeps the emotional expressions in line with the interaction rules set up by the company's policy (Zapf, 2002). For example, a police officer using surface acting may look untouched in a moving situation, while simultaneously feeling (and hiding) emotions like frustration, irritation, anger or tension. The emotionally taxing situations a police officer most often finds him- or herself in, such as interactions with transgressing civilians or suspects, may lead to playing a role. In putting up a professional performance, it can be beneficial for a police officer to hide certain feelings or show emotions that are not felt. For instance, showing sympathy may help remaining in contact with a crime victim.

Deep acting on the other hand, refers to the control of inner thoughts and feelings, in order to meet the organization's display rules (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). While applying deep acting, the outward expression as well as the inner emotion should be regulated such that they are consonant. In this way, an emotion should be controlled before it comes to its visible expression (Zapf, 2002). When a police officer uses deep acting, given the often emotionally taxing situations, thoughts regarding the professional role of a police officer (i.e., in regard to how a prototypical police officer is supposed to act), for example, may lead to feelings of calmness and control. This should make the police officer able to both feel and express positive emotions in order to meet the organization's goal of satisfied clients. Grandey (2000) linked the emotion regulation technique of surface acting and deep acting to the emotion regulation model of Gross (1998). According to Gross (1998), within the described emotion process, emotions can be regulated in two different ways. First, there is

antecedent-focused emotion regulation. This part of the process corresponds to modifying the situation or altering the perception of the situation, before the emotion is fully activated. Changing the perception of the situation is also referred to as cognitive change. Thus, the individual then 'changes' the perception of the situation with the goal of adjusting the emotions (Gross, 1998). This modification of feelings, is presumed to result in a more genuine expression of the emotion, and can be linked to the regulation technique of deep acting (Grandey, 2000). The second way is called response-focused emotion regulation, in which the person modifies experiential, behavioral, or physiological responses, after the emotion response tendencies are already fully activated (Gross, 1998). This can be linked to surface acting (Grandey, 2000) and it implies the suppression or faking of emotions.

Display of positive emotions

The display of emotions serves an important function in social interactions (e.g., Côté, 2005; Frijda, 1986; Manstead, 1991; Oatley & Jenkins, 1992). Therefore, it will be assumed that the valence of emotions shown in emotional labor may be directly related to the way the receiver will judge the performance success of the police officer. Especially positive emotions may contribute to evaluating an interaction as successful. For example, Tsai and Huang (2002) related expression of positive displays and perceived friendliness to experienced service quality. Research of Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen, & Sideman (2005) showed that the expression of positive displays is related to overall performance. Clark and Taraban (1991) showed a positive relationship between expressions of happiness and increased liking. Likewise, research has shown a positive effect of smiling on experienced customer satisfaction (Barger & Grandey, 2006; Brown & Sulzer-Azaroff, 1994). Finally, the experience of positive emotions is related to better functioning in organizations (Avey, Wernsing, & Luthans, 2008; Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005) and the expression of positive emotions to increased co-worker support (Staw, Sutton, & Pelled, 1994).

Acting versus authenticity

As an explanation for the generally positive effects of deep acting on a sender's strain in emotional labor (Grandey, 2000), it has been suggested that authenticity plays a key role. Feeling authentic within the work role implies being true to oneself, and being able to act and self-express as one chooses with complete understanding (Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997). According to Hochschild (1983), faking or suppressing emotions may lead to *in*authentic feelings on the part of the sender. A study of Gross and John (2003) showed that inauthenticity fully mediated the relationship between suppression of emotions and feeling negative emotions; inauthenticity appeared to make people feel bad about themselves. Moreover, Gross and John (2003) showed that the suppression of emotions was related to feelings of inauthenticity, which were also detected by the receiver. Although positive and negative emotions as displayed in emotional labor are expected to have a direct impact on the receiver's judgment of the performance success, the perceived authenticity of

the shown emotions may also affect the outcome of the interaction. Most likely, deep acting will lead to an authentic display of emotions. This further complicates the police officer's dilemma: deep acting may lead to a more healthy and authentic performance, yet may also be risky given the often negatively valenced emotional labor situations he or she is confronted with.

The inauthentic display, in turn, is presumed to lead to an unfavourable response by the receiver (Côté, 2005). Non-genuine emotions as perceived by the receiver can have a negative impact on the delivered service (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), possibly due to the discovery of faking emotions. In contrast, various studies have shown the positive effects of authenticity. Especially the display of authentic positive emotions is expected to increase the quality of the encounter (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Research of Grandey et al. (2005) showed that authentic smiles resulted in elevated satisfaction of the interaction, compared to inauthentic smiles and beyond the effect of friendliness or competence.

Because of the described positive outcome effects of showing positive emotions, it could be presumed that the display of positive emotions by the sender is positively related to the perceived success of the performance, as judged by the receiver. Furthermore, it can be argued that the display of positive emotions will be positively related to perceived authenticity, which should be positively related to perceived performance success. It will thus be hypothesized that authenticity, as perceived by the receiver, will mediate the relationship between positive emotions as displayed and the perceived performance success (Hypothesis 1). Note, that it is expected that the specific emotion regulation technique as used, that is, surface acting or deep acting, will not be related to perceived performance success. Thus, it is argued that the display of positive emotions is likely perceived as authentic and positively influences the final result of the interaction.

Performance success and felt positive emotions

Perceived performance success may lead to positive feedback given from the receiver to the sender. Performance feedback can be considered an important job resource that may positively affect the worker's well-being (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Job resources like positive feedback and rewards can lead to higher levels of work engagement and buffer the impact of job demands on burnout (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005). Acquired resources as a result of a performance that is perceived as successful may increase one's energy level, which can be helpful in preventing further energy losses during the rest of the work shift (Hobfoll, 1989). Furthermore, positive emotions can broaden people's thought and action repertoire (Fredrickson, 2000). Positive emotions are also able to undo the after effects of negative emotions (Fredrickson, 1998). Therefore, the present study also aims to explore whether senders' felt positive emotions as experienced at the end of the interaction, may be influenced by the display of positive emotions through a successful performance (as perceived by the receiver). It will thus be hypothesized that when the performance is perceived as

successful, this mediates the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' positive emotions as felt after the interaction, while controlling for senders' positive affect prior to the interaction (Hypothesis 2).

Method

Participants

In the present study, 84 Dutch trainee police officers volunteered and four professional actors who acted as offenders were paid for their participation. The trainee police officers were all educated at the Dutch Police Academy. Four police officers failed to fully complete the questionnaires, thus $N = 80$. Our sample included 51.3% female police officers and the mean age of the participants was 27 years. The trainee police officers did not have much practical experience in policing yet. The professional actors were all associated with an acting company and all were experienced police training actors.

Procedure

The police officers participated in a course in which they were trained to distribute a ticket to civilians committing an offence. The professional actors played an uncooperative civilian interacting with the trainee police officer and created an emotionally taxing situation. The intensity of the "taxing" situation was intended to be the same for each trainee police officer. Two police officers worked together to write out a fine. The participants and the actors were informed that a study on their performance was being conducted and were asked to participate. Those who were willing to participate were given a questionnaire. The police officers had to fill in the questionnaire on three occasions; before the interaction, right after the interaction, and after the feedback of the interaction partner (actor). The actors were asked to fill in a separate questionnaire directly after the interaction.

Measures

Just after the interaction with the actor, the trainee police officers were asked to respond to questions concerning the emotion regulation technique they had applied and emotions they felt. Note that the police officers were not assigned to a regulation condition and could indicate their use of both surface acting and deep acting. Also, right after the interaction, the civilians (i.e., actors) were asked to judge which emotions the police officers had shown, rate the authenticity of the police officers, and judge the police officer's performance success. Then, the trainee police officers received feedback on their performance and were asked to rate the emotions they felt at that moment. All items described below were followed by 5-point rating scales ranging from "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (5).

 Displayed positive emotions (6 items, Cronbach's α = .79) of the police officer as rated by the receiver (i.e., actor), were measured using five discrete emotions from the two different positive

quadrants of the emotion circumplex model (Russell, 1980). The emotion list included pleasure, contentment, calmness, interest, and satisfaction. The intensity of each emotional display was reported by the receiver.

Authenticity (3 items, Cronbach's α = .92) of the police officer as perceived by the receiver, was measured using a scale specifically constructed for the present study. Items measured to what extent the sender is perceived to behave like oneself, being true and sincere, and not behaving different than felt.

Performance success (3 items, Cronbach's α = .92). Success of the police officer's performance was rated by the receiver and was measured with a scale developed to meet the purposes of the present study. Items provided statements as how successful specific actions of the police officer had been, such as "The police officer's approach was appropriate." and "The police officer achieved the required goal.".

Surface acting (5 items, Cronbach's α = .68) was measured with the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998), consisting of three items. This three-item scale was expanded with two items. One item assessed to what extent the respondent felt behavior necessary for the situation different from the originally felt emotion. The second added item measured the faking of emotions. Example items are: "I resisted showing my true feelings" and "I didn't feel the emotions that I showed.".

Deep acting (4 items, Cronbach's α = .70) was measured with questions of the reappraisal scale of the Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ) (John & Gross, 2004). Questions reflect to what extent one changed one's thoughts in order to change specific emotions. An example item is: "I changed my thoughts in order to feel more positive emotions.".

Positive emotions felt after the interaction (5 items, Cronbach's α = .81) as rated by the sender (i.e., police officer), were measured using the emotion list pleasure, contentment, calmness, interest, and satisfaction. The intensity of each emotional display was reported by the sender.

Positive Affect (5 items, Cronbach's α = .78) as rated by the sender (i.e., police officer), were measured using the emotion list pleasure, contentment, calmness, interest, and satisfaction. The intensity of each emotional display was reported by the sender.

Statistical analyses

To test the model and the hypotheses derived, structural equation modeling analyses with Amos 5.0 was conducted (Arbuckle, 2003). Because of the sample size in relation to the number of parameter estimates, the emotion regulation variables surface acting and deep acting were included in two different models. Model 1 (M1) was specified according to the described hypotheses including surface acting. Model 2 (M2) was a competing model to model 1 including the path from surface acting to the display of positive emotions. Model 3 (M3) was specified according to the described hypotheses including deep acting. The fit of the model was assessed with the chi-square (χ^2) statistic, the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the Incremental Fit Index (IFI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Browne & Cudeck, 1992; Steiger, 1990).

To test the mediation effects, the standardized indirect effects were calculated and Monte Carlo bootstrapping was used to acquire the 95% confidence intervals in order to test the significance of the indirect effects (Bollen & Stine, 1992).

Results

Descriptive analyses

Table 4.1 shows the means, standard deviations, and the correlations among the model variables.

Table 4.1. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix among the Key Variables, N= 80*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Felt negative emotions[1]	1.68	.54	-						
2. Deep acting[1]	2.80	.65	.23*	-					
3. Surface acting[1]	2.81	.64	.43**	.48**	-				
4. Display positive emotions[2]	2.55	.90	-.13	.02	-.28*	-			
5. Authenticity[2]	3.63	.87	-.26*	.10	-.17	.25*	-		
6. Performance success[2]	3.54	1.01	-.13	.06	-.16	.50**	.64**	-	
7. Felt positive emotions[1][3]	1.37	.45	-.15	-.19	-.12	.10	.27*	.27*	-
8. Positive affect[1]	3.42	.55	-.18	.08	-.24*	-.01	.09	-.06	.30**

*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. [1]Rated by the sender. [2]Rated by the receiver. [3]Rated after the interaction.*

Hypotheses testing

Table 4.2 displays the SEM fit indices of the different models. Results of structural equation modeling analyses showed that the hypothesized mediation model (M1), including surface acting, showed the following (poor) fit to the data (x^2 = 14.92, df = 8, GFI = .94, CFI = .91, IFI = .92, RMSEA = .11). The alternative model (M2), with the inclusion of a path from surface acting to the display of positive emotions, showed a better fit to the data than model 1 (x^2 = 8.64, df = 7, GFI = .97, CFI = .98, IFI = .98, RMSEA = .05). Thus, model 2 proved to be superior to the hypothesized model (M1) and fitted significantly better (Δx^2 (1) = 6.28, p < .05). Hence, model 2 was used as the final model and is displayed in Figure 1.

Results further showed that surface acting was negatively related to the perceived display of positive emotions (γ = -.28, p < .05; see Figure 5.1). Furthermore, senders' positive emotions as

perceived by the receiver were positively related to performance success as judged by the receiver (γ = .38, p < .001), while surface acting appeared not to be related to performance success (γ = .04, p > .05). The indirect effect of the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the perceived performance success through perceived authenticity is .14 (SE = .06), $CI_{.95}$ = .02, .26. This supports Hypothesis 1. The indirect effect of the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction, through perceived performance success is .16 (SE = .07), $CI_{.95}$ = .04, .32. This supports Hypothesis 2.

Results of structural equation modeling analyses showed that the hypothesized mediation model (M3) which includes deep acting, fit well to the data (χ^2 = 9.78, df = 8, GFI = .96, CFI = .98, IFI = .98, RMSEA = .05). Hence, model 3 was used as the final model including deep acting and is displayed in Figure 4.2. Results further showed that deep acting was not related to the perceived display of positive emotions (γ = .02, p > .05; see Figure 2). In addition, senders' positive emotions as perceived by the receiver were positively related to performance success, as judged by the receiver (γ = .37, p < .001), while deep acting appeared not to be directly related to performance success (γ = -.01, p > .05).

Table 4.2. *Results of Structural Equation Modeling Analyses (Maximum Likelihood Estimates) for the Total Sample, N = 80*

Model	χ^2	df	GFI	CFI	IFI	RMSEA
M1 Hypothesized model SA	14.92	8	.94	.91	.92	.11
M2 Alternative model	8.64	7	.97	.98	.98	.05
M3 Hypothesized model DA	9.65	8	.96	.98	.98	.05
Null model M2	95.38	15	.72	-	-	.26
Null model M3	89.85	15	.75	-	-	.25

Note. *df = degrees of freedom; GFI = Goodness-of-Fit Index; CFI = Comparative fit index; IFI = Incremental Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation.*

The indirect effect of the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the perceived performance success through perceived authenticity is .14 (SE = .06), $CI_{.95}$ = .02, .27. This further supports Hypothesis 1. The indirect effect of the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction through perceived performance success is .15 (SE = .07), $CI_{.95}$ = .04, .30. This further supports Hypothesis 2.

Figure 4.1. Final model M2 with parameter estimates including surface acting.
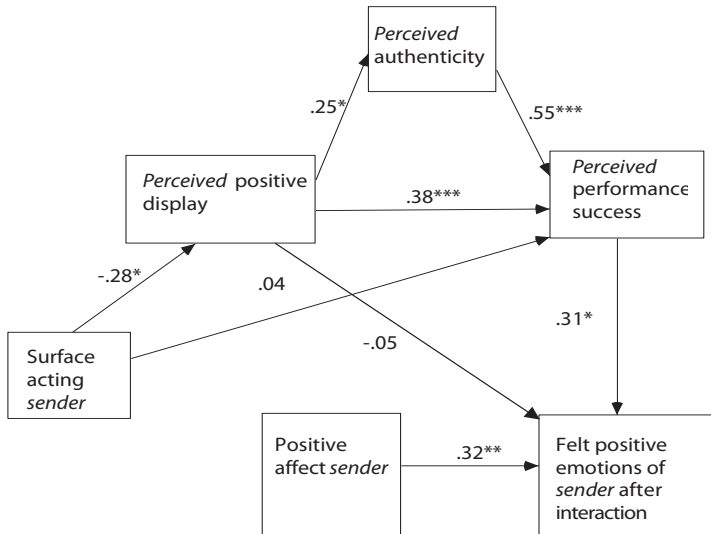
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Figure 4.2. Final model M3 with parameter estimates, including deep acting.
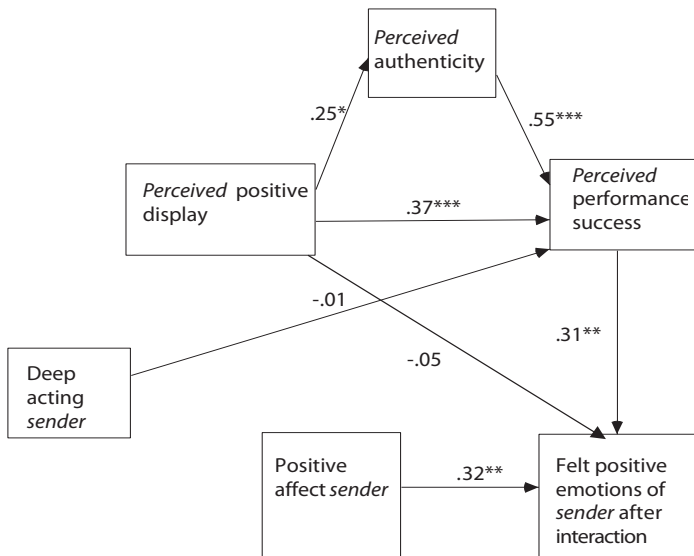
*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Discussion

The goal of the present study was to examine the *intra*personal and *inter*personal effects of emotional labor, that is, both from the perspective of the sender and from the perspective of the receiver. In studying these effects: (1) the mediating role of authenticity between the positive emotions displayed by the sender and receivers' judgment of the senders' performance success was examined; and (2) the mediating role of perceived performance success between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction was examined, while controlling for the sender's prior positive affect.

An important finding of this study is that the perceived displays of positive emotions in emotional labor has a direct effect on the receiver's perception of how well the sender (i.e., the police officer) carried out his job. That is, the display of positive emotions directly influences performance success, irrespective of the (direct) effect of the regulation technique of surface acting or deep acting that the sender used. Results showed that none of these regulation techniques were directly related to the receiver's perceived performance success. This means that trying to change one's cognitions to bring felt and shown emotions into balance, showing faked emotions or suppressing felt emotions does not affect the receiver in rating the interaction as successful. Thus, no matter how the police officer does it, but showing positive emotions is decisive for performance success, though partly through the way the performance is perceived as authentic.

Based on previous emotional labor research it was argued that emotion regulation influences the sender's psychological well-being. Furthermore, the importance of authenticity in showing positive emotions and the use of deep acting as a preferred regulation technique was emphasized by various scholars (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Likewise, surface acting was presumed to lead to an unfavorable response by the receiver due to its inauthentic nature (Côté, 2005). Findings of our study showed that surface acting appeared to be negatively related to the perceived display of positive emotions, indicating that police officers that score high on surface acting are perceived as showing less positive emotions. Moreover, the findings of the present study indicate that deep acting had no direct effect on the perceived display of positive emotions, and neither on the receiver's perception of authenticity, nor on performance success.

Two important elements of the present study that might have influenced these findings can be mentioned. For example, when a police officer writes out a fine, the relationship between the sender and the client is quite different than in a common customer service setting (e.g., that of a flight attendant). A police officer correcting the offender will probably result in a negative setting for the receiver. Showing positive emotions might then have a supporting or relieving effect, irrespective of the authenticity of the displayed emotions. Second, in writing out a fine, the receiver may become emotional. Emotional clients may perceive the sender's authenticity or used regulation technique

in a different way than neutral clients. Being emotional may bias the receivers' capability in rating authenticity or the corresponding emotion regulation technique of the sender. More specifically, felt emotions may lead to framing pieces of information (Nabi, 2003), costs energy (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998), and may influence the receivers' thought processes and the attended information (Forgas, 1994, 1995). As a result, such biasing effects may lead to the narrowing of a receiver's attention focus, thereby biasing the perception of authenticity of the emotions displayed by the sender or, perhaps, even not attending them. Future studies may further explore this suggestion.

In addition, results showed that the success of the sender's performance as rated by the receiver was significantly related to the positive emotions senders felt after the interaction, (while controlling for prior positive affect). Côté (2005) assumed that being authentic is beneficial for one's psychological well-being. Results of the current study, however, showed that the perceived display of positive emotions had a positive effect on the perceived success of the interaction independent of surface acting or deep acting. This means that the display of positive emotions in emotional labor might be decisive to benefit the employee's well-being in terms of feeling positive emotions and feeling well after the interaction. However, when feeling negative emotions and using surface acting as a regulation technique in trying to portray positive emotions, this may become more difficult. Our findings showed that surface acting was actually negatively related to the perceived display of positive emotions. Thus, it may not be easy to act such as to appear positive.

Limitations, strengths, and implications for future research

Some limitations of this study should be noted. First, the study was conducted with a specific occupational group, namely police officers. Second, the finding that the emotion regulation techniques did not contribute to the perceived performance success may imply that it has been more difficult for the receiver to rate the senders' emotion regulation technique than to rate the valence of the emotion expressed. As a third limitation, it should be noted that the participants in the present study did not have much practical experience in policing yet, although the training situation reflects rather realistic repressive interactions. The professional actors in such trainings are very experienced and act true-to-life. Thus, the interactions evoke truly felt emotions in the trainee police officers and they feel triggered to respond as they would in real life. However, using different raters could have accounted for dependencies in the data for the combination between raters and respondents.

Given the possibilities to carry out such a study, I believe our study comes rather close to what is needed. However, it should be noted that the feedback given after this training situation probably differs from the way the police officer would receive feedback in practice. In practice, feedback may be received through the offender's accompanying behavior. As is the case for most emotional labor

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research, it may be more difficult to distinguish whether this feedback is related to the repressive act of the employee (i.e., the police officer) or due to his/her emotional display. For future research, studying the influence of emotions as shown by a sender on how the receiver feels in response, specifically when the sender displays negative emotions, seems relevant. Following research on experiencing negative emotions, this may have negative consequences for one's physical health and psychological well-being (Beiser, 1974; Gross & Levenson, 1997; Barak, 2006). When people feel negative emotions, they seem to put top priority and energy in feeling better and thereby abandon self-control (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004). Moreover, the research of Tice et al. (2004) has also shown that feeling negative and unpleasant emotions impairs self-regulation through shifting self-regulatory attempts from long term goals to short term feeling states. It could thus be presumed that negative emotions would leave less energy for investing in a constructive positive social interaction. In interacting with others, negative emotions like anger are related to conflict (Averill, 1982). Furthermore, Melnick and Hindshaw (2000) showed that children who expressed negative responses were less socially liked, while others showed that anger in negotiations resulted in making larger concessions to the interaction partner in order to avoid a costly impasse (van Kleef et al., 2004). In line with these results, it can be argued that displaying negative emotions in emotional labor has an adverse impact on the receiver's judgment of the success of the performance, irrespective of the sender's specific regulation technique used.

Experimental research is needed to examine the effects of emotion regulation on the interaction partner in a more controlled setting, in which the emotion regulation technique as well as the emotional state of the receiver can be experimentally manipulated. Notwithstanding the described limitations, our study offers an important contribution to the emotional labor literature as a first step to simultaneously examining the intra- and interpersonal dynamics of emotion regulation, in particular among police officers. Theoretical and empirical consequences of showing positive emotions in emotional labor, while being in an emotionally negative situation, on how the performance success is evaluated by the interaction partner as well as on how the sender feels, were discussed. The findings offer important insights into the effects of senders' emotion regulation on the receiver's perception of the interaction. Finally, results can be used in the practice of police work. Training police officers in how showing positive (in)authentic emotions may affect the receiver in a positive sense, may be beneficial in coping with civilians in emotionally demanding situations. For instance, showing positive emotions might result in a more positive evaluation of the interaction. Accordingly, this may result in a more positive evaluation of the service quality, helps to prevent an emotionally demanding interaction to escalate, and finally may increase the employees' work engagement.

Chapter 5

Daily Deliberative Dissonance Acting among Police Officers: Impact on Strain and Work Engagement

Abstract

This study aims to gain insight into the relationships of daily deliberative dissonance acting (DDA) with daily strain and daily work engagement. DDA refers to the deliberate acting of emotions to achieve one's work goals. We hypothesized that daily DDA is positively related to strain at the end of the work shift through feelings of emotional dissonance. In addition, we predicted that DDA is positively related to daily work engagement via job accomplishment. We applied a five-day quantitative diary design with two measurement occasions per day using a sample of 54 police officers (i.e., 270 measurement occasions). In the multilevel analyses, we controlled for previous levels of the dependent variables in order to analyse change. Multilevel analyses revealed that police officers deliberatively engaged in emotional labor with both detrimental and beneficial consequences, as assessed via their daily reports of strain and work engagement.

Introduction

Emotional labor can be described as the employee's management of feelings, to create an observable display that is consistent with situational demands (Hochschild, 1983). To adhere to the organization's display rules, employees may engage in emotional labor by suppressing their emotions or display emotions different from their true emotions (Hochschild, 1983). However, suppressing or faking emotions may lead to a state of emotional dissonance. Accumulating evidence reveals that emotional dissonance is detrimental to employee well-being (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Zapf, 2002). However, is the acting (i.e., faking or suppressing) of emotions during work always bad for one's psychological well-being, or may acting sometimes help the employee to accomplish the tasks and remain engaged in the job? The central aim of the present diary study was to focus on day-to-day fluctuations in emotional labor, strain, and work engagement. Two important emotion regulation strategies within emotional labor research are surface acting (i.e., faking or suppressing emotions) and deep acting (i.e., a cognitive change to feel the appropriate emotions). I examined the influence of a third emotion regulation strategy, namely deliberative dissonance acting. Deliberative dissonance acting refers to the deliberate acting or suppression of emotions to achieve one's primary work goals (Zapf, 2002), which is comparable to the way in which professional stage actors perform (Konijn, 2000, 2004). Different rules may exist for the display of emotions and for the emotions that should be felt to better deliver a more optimal professional performance (e.g., a flight attendant that continues smiling but also remains internally calm to monitor flight safety). We specifically investigated whether daily deliberative dissonance acting may be both negatively and positively related to employees' daily well-being. Acting among service workers is expected to be detrimental to psychological well-being, presumably because of psychological strain via the experience of emotional dissonance (e.g., Heuven & Bakker, 2003; Van Gelderen, Heuven, Van Veldhoven, Zeelenberg & Croon, 2007). Although most previous emotional labor studies have focused on the detrimental effects of acting emotions during work, it is questionable whether acting is always negatively related to employee well-being. This issue is important to investigate because acting emotions during work may also be beneficial in accomplishing the work goal and, in turn, may even enhance employee well-being. Therefore, we argue that a refinement and expansion of this viewpoint should be performed. Based on an action theory perspective (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Zapf, 2002), we proposed that the particular acting style of deliberative dissonance acting can also be positively related to employee work engagement through feelings of job accomplishment. Stated differently, acting may also be related to accomplishing the primary work tasks, which may be positively related to employee well-being.

In the present study, we used a diary approach to test our hypotheses using daily reports from professional service employees in a specific occupation: police officers. Most service occupants (e.g., waiters, call-center employees, receptionists, and flight attendants) are required to display positive emotions to keep the customer satisfied. In contrast, next to the display of positive emotions, police

officers may also have to suppress positive emotions. Furthermore, police officers may need to display and suppress negative emotions on a daily basis (cf. Van Gelderen, et al., 2011). Additionally, police officers encounter a wide variety of emotionally demanding situations on a daily basis, such as helping people in need, interacting with crime suspects and victims and dealing with happy or aggressive and intoxicated civilians. Furthermore, using a diary design allowed us to both decrease the time between the actual experience and its documentation and to study the employees' experiences in their natural work context (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003; Ohly, Sonnentag, Niessen, & Zapf, 2010). In addition, next to measuring between-person variation, a diary design also accounts for within-person variation. This feature is important because police officers' interactions that evoke emotional labor may vary not only *between* individuals (i.e., between different police officers) but also *within* individuals over time (i.e., the individual experiences of a police officer during different working days in which different situations may be encountered) (e.g., Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009).

Deliberative dissonance acting and emotional dissonance

In the field of emotional labor, most researchers agree that employees who engage in emotional labor can apply one of two main acting strategies. One such strategy is called surface acting, which refers to a change in emotional expression without changing the underlying feelings (Grandey, 2000). For example, a police officer may fake negative emotions to stringently correct an offender or may suppress frustration to prevent the escalation of an interaction with a civilian. A second strategy is called deep acting, which refers to a real change in felt emotions to balance felt and required emotions before they must be shown (Grandey, 2000). For example, a police officer may attempt to change his/her thoughts regarding annoying, drunken individuals to prevent feeling irritated during a forthcoming interaction.

Zapf (2002) introduced a third strategy called deliberative dissonance acting. Deliberative dissonance acting is based on Ashfort and Humphrey's (1993) idea of "detached concern". The authors describe detached concern as an internal neutral emotional state coupled with a display of moderate emotions. This indicates that to apply deliberate dissonance acting, emotions could be faked and that to maintain an internal neutral state, felt emotions ought to be suppressed. For instance, police officers may feel sympathy for a crime victim while simultaneously displaying unfelt sympathetic emotions to criminals to accomplish their primary task (i.e., successfully interrogating a criminal) (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Stenross & Kleinmann, 1989; Zapf, 2002). Deliberative dissonance acting appears theoretically similar to surface acting; both strategies imply an emotional display that contrasts with felt emotions, which indicates that emotions are faked or suppressed. However, deliberative dissonance acting is unique in its deliberate, strategic, conscious, and goal-directed use of displaying emotions to accomplish the primary work task without the organizational requirement to actually display or feel these emotions (Zapf, 2002). Deliberative dissonance acting is a more proactive and conscious acting style than surface acting – which is more defensive. This has very

important implications that can be considered comparable to how professional actors deal with stage fright; instead of repressing these feelings, transforming them into more workable emotional expressions that support the achievement of work goals leads to a better performance. Hence, the implication for emotional labor research is that conscious, deliberate, and goal-directed acting may lead to better accomplishment of the work goals. For instance, a police officer may deliberately fake empathy for a victim of a low prioritized crime with the goal to deliver a qualitative service, or a police officer may deliberately suppress irritation with the goal of preventing the escalation of an interaction. The goal-directedness of deliberative dissonance acting can be based on an action theory perspective of emotional labor (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Zapf, 2002). Action theory refers to the psychological regulation of work activities and proposes that individuals may apply these activities to achieve a specific goal (Frese & Zapf, 1994). Emotional labor is a component of this goal-directed behavior; the goal is to apply emotional labor. Action theory is also based on self-regulation, whereby the work goal is a relevant parameter for such actions as deliberative dissonance acting (Zapf & Frese, 1994).

Zapf (2002) stated that different levels of psychological processes substantiate action regulation; goals may regulate actions on an intellectual level (i.e., a complex analysis of situations and actions), a level of flexible action patterns (i.e., routine actions are controlled and require only little attention), and a sensorimotor level (i.e., automatic without conscious attention). If a person does not feel the emotions that ought to be felt according to the company's display rules, a reaction may be surface acting. Zapf (2002) argued that flexible action patterns, with schemata at the sensorimotor level, may trigger this process, which implies that surface acting is partly a routine process. Surface acting does not necessarily involve conscious processes. Furthermore, surface acting is a form of response-focused emotion regulation, which is also defined as response modulation (Grandey, 2000; Gross, 1998). This indicates that emotion response tendencies are influenced after they have been elicited. Namely, surface acting can be applied after an (intense) emotion is felt and the employee routinely or consciously expects that this felt emotion is not in accordance with the emotion that ought to be displayed. In contrast, deliberative dissonance acting differs from surface acting by its conscious process and is explicitly applied to achieve the primary work goal. Accordingly, deliberative dissonance acting is expected to be more goal-driven than the response modulation process of surface acting. Deliberative dissonance acting is thus not necessarily a response to felt emotions but strategic behavior to actively use emotions to reach one's work goals.

Theoretically, both surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting result in a state of emotional dissonance. That is, as a consequence of 'acting emotions', the employee may experience a state of discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions. On days that police officers engage in more deliberative dissonance acting, they may experience more emotional dissonance. Therefore, it was hypothesized that daily deliberative dissonance acting is positively related to daily emotional dissonance.

Deliberative dissonance acting and strain

Police officers are generally exposed to a high workload and emotionally taxing situations (Biggam, Power, & MacDonald, 1997; Brown & Campbell, 1994). In addition to coping with their core job demands, acting emotions may also be a component of the police officers' job, particularly when interacting with civilians, crime victims, and criminals. Acting unfelt emotions is proposed to cost psychological effort because of the self-regulation of emotions (Martínez-Inigo, Totterdell, Alcover, & Holman, 2007). Consequently, several emotional labor studies have shown that surface acting is related to burnout (i.e., increased emotional exhaustion and depersonalization) (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Judge et al., 2009; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Emotional dissonance is a state characterized by an imbalance between felt and displayed emotions and is a consequence of the endurance of an emotion regulation technique that incorporates faked or suppressed emotions.

Despite the described difference between surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting two main similarities are of importance. First, both surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting imply expressing emotions. Second, both regulation strategies of surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting may result in an emotional dissonant state for the employee (Zapf, 2002). Therefore, it can be argued that daily emotional dissonance may arise as a consequence of daily deliberative dissonance acting. In turn, as several between-person studies have shown, emotional dissonance may be related to burnout (e.g., Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Heuven, Bakker, Schaufeli, & Huisman, 2006). Van Gelderen et al. (2007) replicated these findings with a diary study showing that daily emotional dissonance was significantly related to strain at the end of the work shift. On days with high emotional job demands, police officers experienced the highest increase in fatigue via emotional dissonance.

In the present diary study, I conceptualized daily job strain based on the two core components of burnout: emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Emotional exhaustion refers to an absence of energy and the depletion of emotional resources. Depersonalization refers to strong feelings of detachment from work (Schaufeli & Van Dierendonck, 2000). Taken together, it is expected that on days when police officers engaged in more deliberative dissonance acting, they would experience more emotional dissonance which would, in turn, affect their level of strain at the end of the work day. Therefore, it was predicted that daily deliberative dissonance acting is positively related to strain at the end of the work shift via daily emotional dissonance, after controlling for strain at the start of the work shift.

Job accomplishment

Police work is highly demanding because it involves frequent contact with crime victims and criminals, among other reasons. Moreover, during their work shift, police officers are regularly confronted with

emotionally taxing situations and human sorrow (Brown & Campbell, 1994; McCafferty, Domingo, & McCafferty, 1990). Nevertheless, the primary task of the police officer is completing the job, which generally entails helping people in need and maintaining the law. Completing the primary work task may lead to satisfied citizens and may increase the police officer's contentment regarding his/her daily job. Importantly, emotional labor research has indicated that in addition to completing the work task, expressing socially desirable emotions during service interactions (affective delivery) is also important to achieve organizational goals (i.e., sales and satisfied customers) (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Tsai & Huang, 2002).

Consistent with this viewpoint, Zapf (2002) described emotional labor as a secondary task serving the primary work goal. Employees can cope with this secondary task in various ways. Some employees use a fake smile when serving clients; others deliberately increase their effort in an enthusiastic display (Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005). However, putting less effort into the acting style may lead to less authentic performances. Several studies have shown that decreasing authenticity simultaneously decreases the quality of the encounter (Côté, 2005; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Grandey et al., 2005). When employees deliberately put effort into their acting style, they look more authentic, adapt their acting style to the customer's response, and express more socially desirable emotions to accomplish their main work goal. Similarly, police officers may be required to display unfelt emotions that may be applicable in social interactions that are important in accomplishing their primary work task. Therefore, the employees may interact with more satisfied clients. In this sense, we assume that acting emotions during work may also help police officers to accomplish their primary task. Therefore, it was hypothesized that daily deliberative dissonance acting is positively related to daily job accomplishment.
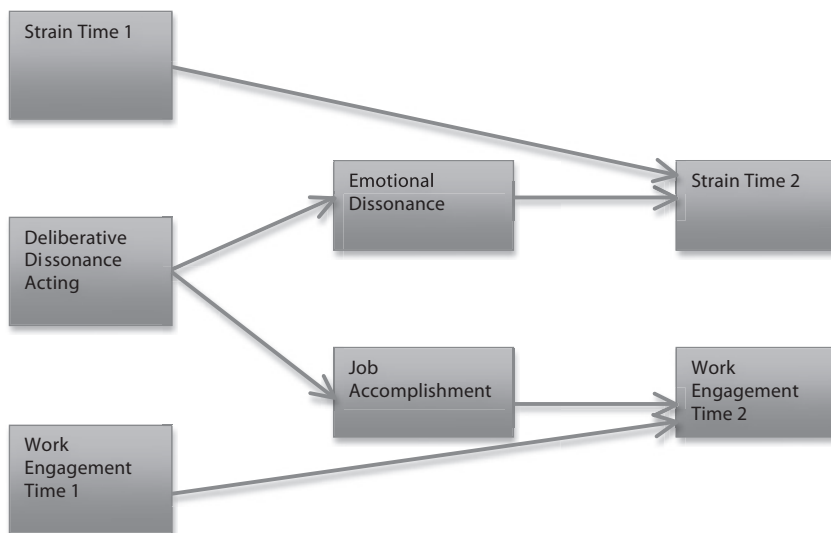
Deliberative dissonance acting and work engagement

Many previous studies on emotional labor have focused on the relationship between emotional dissonance, or surface acting, and burnout. Although work engagement can be viewed as an important indicator of employee well-being, it has not often been studied as a positive outcome of emotional labor. The two core dimensions of work engagement are vigor and dedication. Vigor refers to high energy and stamina when working. Dedication refers to identification with the job and feelings of pride, enthusiasm, and challenge (Schaufeli, Bakker, & Salanova, 2006). The present study focused on the relationship between daily dissonance acting and daily work engagement (Sonnentag, Dormann, & Demerouti, 2010), thereby offering a unique extension to the possible positive outcomes of emotional labor.

I predicted that daily deliberative dissonance acting would be positively related to daily work engagement via daily job accomplishment. First, deliberative dissonance acting should be functional in achieving a work goal and should thus lead to job accomplishment. In turn, job accomplishment

may create new job resources, including positive feedback and opportunities for growth (Bakker & Bal, 2010). For example, job accomplishment leads to positive customer feedback, which may, in turn, have a positive effect on employee-customer interactions (Grandey et al., 2005). Job resources, such as positive feedback and rewards, lead to higher levels of work engagement because they satisfy basic psychological needs (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Bakker, Hakanen, Demerouti, & Xanthopoulou, 2007). According to the Job Demands-Resources model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007), job resources may also help when coping with emotional job demands, which, in turn, fosters work engagement. Moreover, when a work goal is accomplished, this can motivate the employee and positively affect personal resources, such as self-efficacy, optimism, and self-esteem, which have been related to work engagement in previous diary studies (e.g., Simbula, 2010; Sonnentag, Dormann, & Demerouti, 2010; Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2007; Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2009).

Figure 5.1.: *Research Model*

Second, I assume that employees who apply deliberative dissonance acting to achieve their work goals have a stronger identification with the organization. Employees who identify more strongly with their organization are presumably are more inclined to understand that they may regularly need to behave in an inauthentic way to serve their assigned roles (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Put differently, employees who are more dedicated to their job may better understand that acting is a component of the work role and may thereby apply deliberative dissonance acting as the preferred regulation technique. In turn, deliberate dissonance acting may be positively related to work engagement at the end of the work shift. Because work engagement is mainly predicted

by resources (i.e., personal or contextual job resources) (Bakker & Bal, 2010), I expected daily job accomplishment to be positively related to daily work engagement. Therefore, it was predicted that daily deliberative dissonance acting is positively related to daily work engagement via daily job accomplishment, after controlling for work engagement at the start of the work shift.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The participants were police officers of the Dutch Police Force. All participants worked in one police district in the southern Netherlands. The total population of this police district consists of approximately 400 police officers. A total of 54 police officers participated in a paper-and-pencil five-day diary study (i.e., 270 study occasions). The sample included 42 men and 12 women. The mean age of the participants was 43 years ($SD = 11.54$). Employees participated voluntarily and recorded their entries at the start and end of a work shift over five work days. Participants either returned the diary booklet anonymously in a closed envelope, or returned the diary booklet in a closed box. Each participant was entered into a drawing for of two available portable music players as a reward for participation. The total response rate was 26%. One of the disadvantages of using diary studies is that they are time consuming, particularly for employees who work irregular hours and have highly stressful jobs. Because of the effort it requires to respond to a diary study, relatively low response rates are common among diary studies (Bolger et al., 2003). However, diary studies provide the unique opportunity to study daily emotional labor. Furthermore, the subset that participated was demographically similar to the population (the mean age of the population was 40 years ($SD = 10.83$) and included 76.30% male police officers).

Measures

All items described below were followed by 7-point rating scales ranging from "Not applicable at all" (1) to "Strongly applicable" (7).

Deliberative Dissonance Acting (3 items, Cronbach's α = .91) was assessed with a scale specifically developed to meet the purposes of the present study. The scale was based on the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). The original items from this scale were modified to measure the deliberate expression or suppression of emotions and to measure the work-related goal-directedness of the regulation effort. The three items included in the DDA-scale were: "Today, I deliberately hid my true feelings in order to reach my work goal," "Today, I deliberately faked emotions to reach a work goal," and "Today, I deliberately resisted showing my true feelings in order to reach my work goal." An exploratory factor analysis (Principle Axis Factoring) with a promax rotation on the three items of the DDA-scale was conducted on data gathered from the 54 participants. An examination of the Kaiser-Meyer Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable (KMO = .752). The analysis yielded a one-factor solution with a simple structure (all factor loadings > .85). The factor explained 78.54% of the variance.

CHAPTER 5

Emotional Dissonance (4 items, Cronbach's α = .96) was measured with items derived from the Frankfurt Emotions Work Scale (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999). Four items were derived from the original five-item scale that was designed to measure emotional dissonance. The scale was adjusted so that the items referred to a specific day. The examples included: "Today, I showed emotions that were different than what I actually felt" and "Today, I had to suppress emotions to look neutral."

Job Accomplishment (2 items, Cronbach's α = .75, r = .60) was measured with a self-developed scale to meet the purposes of the present study. The items were: "During this shift, the actions I performed had the desired outcome" and "During this shift, I solved difficult situations well."

Strain at the start of the work shift (6 items, Cronbach's α = .83) *and Strain at the end of the work shift* (6 items, Cronbach's α = .81) measured the police officer's immediate strain level. The items reflected the exhaustion and cynicism dimensions of the Dutch version (Schaufeli & van Dierendonck, 2000) of the MBI-General Survey (Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996). Both dimensions can be considered the core dimensions of the burnout measure (cf. Maslach et al., 1996). The original scale consists of ten items from which six items were suitable to modify for assessing current strain. Example items included "At this moment, I am feeling mentally exhausted" and "I am in doubt about the usefulness of my presence."

Work Engagement at the start of the work shift (6 items, Cronbach's α = .90) and *Work Engagement at the end of the work shift* (6 items, Cronbach's α = .91) measured the police officer's immediate engagement level. The items reflected the vigor and dedication dimensions of the Dutch short version of the 9-item UWES-General Survey (Bakker & Leiter, 2010; Schaufeli et al., 2006). Vigor refers to high levels of energy and resilience. Dedication refers to involvement and identification with the work (Schaufeli et al., 2002). Vigor and dedication can be viewed as the core dimensions of work engagement (Gonzalez-Roma, Schaufeli, Bakker & Lloret, 2006). Six items were selected and adjusted to assess current engagement. Example items included "Today, I felt fit and strong" (vigor) and "Today, I was proud of my work" (dedication).

Strategy of analyses

In analyzing the diary data, multilevel analysis was used because the daily reports consisted of repeated measures nested within persons (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992). The predictor variables (deliberative dissonance acting, emotional dissonance, job accomplishment, and emotional exhaustion and work engagement at the start of the work shift) were centered around the person's mean to examine within-person effects and eliminate interpretations based on between-person variance in the predictor variable (Ilies, Schwind, & Heller, 2007). Strain at the start of the work shift is presumably a major predictor of strain at the end of the work shift and thus served as an important control variable when measuring the effects of emotional labor on strain at the end of the shift (Van Gelderen et al., 2007). Similarly, work engagement at the start of the work shift is presumably a major predictor of work engagement at the end of the work shift. Thus, work engagement served

as a control variable when measuring the effects of emotional labor on work engagement at the end of the work shift. In addition, gender was accounted for as a control variable, as women may be more likely to engage in emotional labor than men (Hochschild, 1983; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000).

Multilevel-analyses were conducted with SPSS 18.0, using the maximum likelihood procedure. The improvement in comparing the different models was estimated by the likelihood difference ratio test. Because the variables at the individual level explained a portion of the individual and group variance, the multiple correlation coefficient was calculated as an approximation. From the total scores, 1.3% was missing. There were no variables with 5% or more missing values. A sample size of at least 30 participants is required for robust estimations of fixed effects in multilevel modeling (Maas & Hox, 2005). The present sample size ($N = 54$) meets this criterion; therefore, we had sufficient statistical power to conduct the required analyses. We followed the procedure proposed by Mathieu and Taylor (2006, see also Scott & Judge, 2006) to test the mediating effects. In case the conditions for mediation were met, we applied the Sobel test (1982) to investigate whether the mediators carried the effect of deliberative dissonance acting on strain and work engagement at the end of the work shift. In addition, to quantify the product of the constituent paths we extended our analysis by including the indirect effect (Hayes, 2009) and used Monte Carlo bootstrapping to acquire the 95% confidence intervals to test the significance of the indirect effects (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006; Bollen & Stine, 1992).

Results

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and the correlations among the study variables. To calculate the correlations, day-level variables were averaged across the five days. Discriminant validity of the DDA and ED scales was established using the average variance extraction (AVE) method. The results showed that the AVE of the DDA-scale was .83. The AVE of the ED scale was .91. The shared variance between both latent variables was .64. Because the AVE's were greater than the shared variance and both AVE's were greater than .50, discriminant validity of the scales was established (Fornell & Larcker, 1981; Hair et al., 2006).

Variability over time

Before testing our hypotheses, we determined the amount of variance to be attributed to the different data levels (i.e., day and person level). Based on the baseline model, the intraclass correlation (ρ) can be calculated, which indicates the proportion of variance explained by the individuals (Hox, 2002). We calculated the day-level variance for each dependent variable separately. This variance is important to establish because it indicates the proportion of variance explained by the individuals and days, which may validate the day-level predictors of individuals differences in the dependent variables. Regarding emotional dissonance, 58% of the total variance was attributable to within-

person variation, whereas 42% was attributable to between-person variation. With respect to job accomplishment, 61% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. Regarding, strain at the end of the work shift, 50% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation, and for work engagement at the end of the work shift the percentage was 45%. With respect to strain and work engagement the variance at the day-level and the person level can be observed in the baseline model presented in Table 2 and Table 3. For instance, the within-person variance of work engagement was .668 and the between-person variation was .844. From the total variation, 45% was thus attributable to within-person variation. These findings clearly indicate that significant and substantial amounts of variance can be explained both by *between-* and *within-*person variation, which validates the multilevel approach.

Table 5.1. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix among the Key Variables*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Work engagement Time 1	5.07	1.14	-					
2. Strain Time 1	2.32	.96	-.68**	-				
3. Deliberative dissonance acting	2.78	1.47	.13*	.20**				
4. Emotional dissonance	2.65	1.44	-.18*	.41**	.78**	-		
5. Job accomplishment	5.45	1.10	.57**	-.48**	-.04	-.16**	-	
6. Work engagement Time 2	4.98	1.20	.88**	-.62**	.17**	-.12	.55*	-
7. Strain Time 2	2.79	1.10	-.60**	.74**	.18**	.43**	-.28**	-.62**

Note. Day-level data was averaged across 5 days; *p < .05; **p < .01.

Hypotheses testing

According to Hypothesis 1, daily deliberative dissonance acting would be positively related to daily emotional dissonance. The results of multi-level analyses showed that daily deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to daily emotional dissonance (γ = .65, t = 15.28, p < .001). Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was supported. Hypothesis 2 stated that daily emotional dissonance would mediate the relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and strain at the end of the work shift. To test this hypothesis, we followed the procedure proposed by Mathieu and Taylor (2006). According to Mathieu and Taylor (2006), three conditions should be met to support mediation: (1) daily deliberative dissonance acting should be positively related to daily emotional dissonance; (2) daily emotional dissonance should be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift; and (3) the relationship between the daily deliberative dissonance acting and strain at the end of the work

shift becomes weaker (partial mediation) or non-significant (full mediation) after inclusion of daily emotional dissonance (cf. Pitariu & Ployhart, 2010). The first condition for mediation (whether the predictor variable was related to the mediator) was previously confirmed by the results of Hypothesis 1. To test the other conditions, four separate nested models were examined. We compared an intercept-only model (baseline model) to a model in which we controlled for gender and strain at the start of the work shift (Model 1) a model in which the independent variable, deliberative dissonance acting, was added (Model 2) and a model in which the mediator daily emotional dissonance was added (Model 3). Multilevel estimates for models predicting strain at the end of the work shift are presented in Table 2. The results of Model 1 showed that gender was not significantly related to strain at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = $ -.07, $t = $ -.36, $p = $ .72) and was therefore excluded from further analyses. The results presented in Table 2 show that the mediator daily emotional dissonance was also significant and positively related to strain at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = $ .13, $t = $ 2.46, $p < $ .05). The inclusion of the mediator daily emotional dissonance resulted in a non-significant relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and strain at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = $ .04, $t = $ 0.92, $p = $ .36).

Furthermore, Model 3 showed a significant improvement over Model 2 (Δ −2*log = 17.27, $df = $ 1, $p < $ .05). The Sobel test confirmed that daily emotional dissonance fully mediated the relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and strain at the end of the work shift, controlling for strain at the start of the work shift ($z = $ 2.42, $p < $ .05). In addition, the results showed that the indirect effect between daily deliberative dissonance acting and strain at the end of the work shift via daily emotional dissonance was .09, $CI_{.95} = $ .02 , .15. Thus, the results supported Hypothesis 2.

According to Hypothesis 3, daily deliberate dissonance acting would be positively related to daily job accomplishment. The results showed that daily deliberative dissonance acting was indeed positively related to daily job accomplishment ($\gamma = $ .11, t = 2.48, $p < $ .05). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Hypothesis 4 stated that daily job accomplishment would mediate the relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and work engagement at the end of the work shift. We again examined the required conditions for mediation analyses as proposed by Mathieu and Taylor (2006). The first condition for mediation (whether the predictor variable was related to the mediator) was previously confirmed by the results of Hypothesis 2. To test the other conditions, four separate nested models were examined (see Table 3).

Table 5.2. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Strain at the End of the Work Shift. $N = 54$ persons, and $N = 270$ measurement observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.791	.116	23.995**	2.877	.262	10.976***	2.785	.084	33.025***	2.778	.083	33.290***
Gender				-.073	.203	-0.358	-	-	-	-	-	-
Strain T1				.487	.066	7.329***	.477	.066	7.260***	.450	.067	6.695***
DDA							.121	.037	3.256***	.044	.048	.920
Emotional Dissonance										.130	.053	2.461*
-2 x log	714.246			676.928			666.985			649.718		
Δ −2 x log				37.318**			9.943*			17.267**		
df				2			0			1		
						R²			R²			R²
Level 1 (within-person variance)	.602	.140		.586	.134	3%	.563	.129	6%	.536	.124	11%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.614	.143		.268	.182	56%	.273	.081	56%	.270	.079	56%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

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Table 5.3. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Work Engagement at the End of the Work Shift. $N = 54$ persons, and $N = 270$ measurement observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	5.052	.131	38.469***	5.004	.228	21.973***	5.014	.073	69.021***	5.008	.072	69.443***
Gender				.011	.176	0.062	-	-	-	-	-	-
Work Engagement T1				.614	.047	12.953***	.606	.046	13.065***	.534	.048	11.102***
DDA							.076	.030	2.535**	.044	.030	1.479
Job Accomplishment										.216	.046	4.676***
-2 x log	719.024			614.370			608.487			570.206		
Δ –2 x log				104.654**			5.883*			38.281**		
df				2			0			1		
						R²			R²			R²
Level 1 (within-person variance)	.668	.157		.578	.127	16%	.575	.126	16%	.456	.104	34%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.844	.182		.225	.068	73%	.223	.065	74%	.217	.062	74%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; $* p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $*** p < .001$.

We compared an intercept-only model (baseline model) to a model in which we controlled for gender and engagement at the start of the work shift (Model 1) a model in which the independent variable daily deliberative dissonance acting was added (Model 2) and a model in which the mediator daily job accomplishment was added (Model 3). The results of Model 1 showed that gender was not significantly related to engagement at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = .01$, $t = .06$, $p = .95$) and was therefore excluded from further analyses. The results of Model 3 showed that the mediator daily job accomplishment was also positively related to strain at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = .22$, $t = 4.68$, $p < .001$). The results further showed that the inclusion of the mediator daily job accomplishment resulted in a non-significant relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and engagement at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = .04$, $t = 1.48$, $p = .14$). Furthermore, Model 3 showed a significant improvement over Model 2 ($\Delta -2*\log = 38.28$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). The Sobel test confirmed that daily job accomplishment fully mediated the relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and engagement at the end of the work shift, controlling for engagement at the start of the work shift ($z = 2.20$, $p < .05$). In addition, the results showed that the indirect effect between daily deliberative dissonance acting and daily work engagement via daily job accomplishment was .02, $CI_{.95} = .01$, .05. Thus, the results supported Hypothesis 4.

Discussion

The goal of the present study was to examine both the *positive* and the *negative* consequences of daily deliberative dissonance acting among police officers. We investigated whether daily deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to strain via feelings of emotional dissonance. In addition, we investigated whether daily deliberative dissonance acting was also positively related to work engagement via perceptions of job accomplishment. Both processes were supported by our results. Daily deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to strain at the end of the work shift via emotional dissonance. Conversely, daily deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to work engagement via job accomplishment. We will discuss the most important contributions of our study.

Deliberative dissonance acting and daily strain

A main finding of this study is that daily emotional dissonance mediates the relationship between daily deliberative dissonance acting and strain at the end of the work shift. This result indicates that on days during which a police officer deliberatively displays certain emotions to accomplish a work goal (e.g., showing empathy to comfort a crime victim or acting strictly to correct an offender), he or she may show different emotions than actually felt. The emergence of emotional dissonance may then occur because acting different emotions than those that are felt (or suppressing emotions) may lead to an on-going state in which there is a discrepancy between the emotions acted *versus* the emotions felt. Although this deliberative dissonant state serves the purpose of achieving the

work goal and is not necessarily obliged by the company's rules (Zapf, 2002), the discrepancy between felt and shown emotions depletes self-regulatory resources (Hochschild, 1983) and thus decreases the police officers' energy level during the working day. Because the effort of acting or suppressing emotions requires energy, this results in higher strain levels at the end of the work shift. This study thus confirms the prior results from between-person studies showing a positive relationship between emotional dissonance and strain (e.g., Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Tewksbury & Higgins, 2006). Our research extends this relationship for daily employee well-being by incorporating a within-person perspective. Furthermore, our findings expand emotional labor research because deliberative dissonance acting has not been studied before, at either the between-person or the within-person levels before. Studying parallel processes at both levels is of particular theoretical importance. Namely, it supports the homology of proposed assumptions across different levels of analysis (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000), which adds to the parsimony of the theoretical framework. Our findings show that on days when deliberative dissonance acting is high, police officers experience more emotional dissonance, which is related to a higher level of strain at the end of the work shift.

Deliberative dissonance acting, job accomplishment, and engagement

The results of the present study showed that deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to engagement at the end of a work shift via job accomplishment, after controlling for the effect of engagement at the start of the work shift. Thus, our findings show that emotional labor may also be positively related to employee well-being. Such a viewpoint is not prevalent in the extant research regarding emotional labor. Previous emotional labor research has argued that employees' well-being would be compromised if they did not act in accordance with their true emotions (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Pugliesi, 1999; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000, Zapf, Seifert, Mertini & Isic, 1999). Similarly, surface acting was presumed to lead to an unfavorable response by the receiver because of its inauthentic nature (Côté, 2005). For example, Judge, Woolf, and Hurst (2009) showed that surface acting was significantly related to negative mood. Such a finding supported the prevailing views of a positive association between surface acting and emotional exhaustion in previous studies. However, previous research has also shown that customers prefer to be exposed to a positive attitude and that positive displays create positive interactions and good service quality (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Jones & Pittman, 1980; Tsai & Huang, 2002). In these studies, the importance of authenticity was emphasized when showing positive emotions and the use of deep acting was considered the preferred regulation technique (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Similarly, drawing on emotional contagion theory (cf. Hatfield, Caciopo, & Rapson, 1993), a study of Pugh (2001) showed that the employee display of positive emotion was positively related to customers' positive affect after the service interaction. In contrast, a study of Hennig-Thurau et al. (2006) showed that the extent of employee smiling did not directly affect customers' emotional states. The results of the present study showed that deliberative dissonance

acting could positively affect engagement at the end of a work shift regardless of whether *positive* or *negative* emotions were faked. We showed that deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to work engagement via job accomplishment.

Although deliberative dissonance acting is not related to an authentic display because the emotions displayed are not felt or the displayed emotions are faked, our findings indicate that deliberative dissonance acting may nevertheless be beneficial to employees' daily well-being for several reasons. First, deliberative dissonance acting has a goal-directed intention. This intention may help the employee to accomplish their primary and secondary work goals. In other words, the police officers may invest more effort in displaying the emotions as positively and authentically as possible. This may, in turn, result in satisfied clients, which could lead to positive performance feedback. Performance feedback can be considered an important job resource that may positively affect employees' well-being (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Such positive outcomes may even buffer the effect of job demands on burnout (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005). Similarly, several studies have shown that job resources also foster well-being on a within-person level (e.g., Bakker & Bal, 2010; Simbula, 2010). For example, a diary study showed that daily job resources were related to daily work engagement via daily personal resources (Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2009). Second, when the delivered customer service is a component of the primary work goal (e.g., supporting crime victims), deliberative dissonance acting may help to accomplish the task. Grandey et al. (2005) showed the importance of a qualitative performance beyond authentic emotional labor displays. The results of this study showed that, besides an authentic performance, customers' appreciation of the overall encounter led to a positive outcome only when the task performance was high.

Surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting are both related to the experience of emotional dissonance. However, the advantage of daily deliberative dissonance acting beyond daily surface acting appears to be that deliberative dissonance acting may also be positively related to accomplishing the job. In contrast, daily surface acting refers to automatically changing the outward appearance to comply with the organizational display rules (e.g., delivering a quality service impression) and is less motivated by the wish to accomplish a specific work goal. The reason why deliberative dissonance acting may be beneficial to daily well-being can be observed in the way that the employee copes with the display rules of the organization. Following the company's statements concerning which emotions are appropriate to display to clients may be more stressful than the voluntary nature to choose for deliberative dissonance acting. Surface acting leaves the felt emotions unchanged, and may even direct attention inward, whereas deliberative dissonance acting consciously promotes acting as a strategy to accomplish the work task.

Future employee performance

In addition to the relationship between acting and strain, the conscious strategy of deliberative dissonance acting may also elevate engagement as a result of accomplishing the job. On a daily basis, both strain and work engagement were higher as a result of deliberative dissonance acting. However, in contrast to previous emotional labor research, this study presents the novel idea of emotional labor also being also positively related to daily work engagement and enhancing the employees' psychological well-being.

Our results may affect future employee performance in several ways. First, being exposed to daily strain on a regular basis may be one of the long-term antecedents of burnout. Accordingly, a higher level of burnout may negatively affect future job performance (e.g., Taris, 2006; Wright & Bonett, 1997). In contrast, job resources acquired as a result of job accomplishment may buffer the effect of job demands on burnout (Bakker et al., 2005) or may buffer the relationship between emotional dissonance and work engagement (Heuven et al., 2006; emotional dissonance appeared to undermine work engagement for employees with a low level of self-efficacy). Second, daily work engagement may have a positive effect on future employee performance. For instance, dedicated employees may have less trouble acting in an inauthentic manner, whereas employees who do not subscribe to the practice of acting may be exposed to a higher level of emotional dissonance as a consequence of their attitude (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). An additional finding deserves attention here. Work engagement at the start of the work shift was accounted for as an important control variable because it appears reasonable to expect that work engagement at the end of the work shift would be positively correlated with work engagement at the start of the work shift. Resources are important for people to attain valuable things and prevent a further loss spiral (Hobfoll, 1989). Higher energy levels may result in further attainment of energy and a more positive attitude. Acquired resources, as a result of a successful performance, may increase one's energy level, which can be helpful in preventing further energy losses during the work shift (Hobfoll, 1989). A high level of work engagement at the start of the work shift may lead to further energy and resource benefits, thus increasing work engagement at the end of the work shift.

Despite the reported differential effects on well-being, the focus on the positive outcomes of daily acting during the work of police officers further refines the study of emotional labor. On days when deliberative dissonance acting was high, police officers experienced more job accomplishment, which was positively related to higher work engagement at the end of the work shift.

Limitations and strengths

Similar to most studies, our study had certain limitations. First, our results were obtained from one type of occupational group, namely police officers. Although the work task of police officers is interesting, emotionally demanding, and unique, these features may also restrict the generalization

of the findings to other service occupations such as teachers, flight attendants, or call-center employees. However, focusing on police officers offers the advantage of studying an occupational group that has different display rules than more commonly studied customer service employees. Moreover, acting for police officers may even transcend the purpose of delivering an acceptable service but may also be an important instrument in accomplishing the work task. It is thus important for future emotional labor research to account for occupations outside the regular service setting. A second limitation is the relatively low response rate compared to many survey studies within the field of emotional labor. Diary studies generally produce a lower response rate. One of the reasons for the lower response rate is the effort it requires for respondents to participate in this type of extensive study (Bolger et al., 2003). However, the participants in this study reflected the demographics of the population, and our findings were consistent with the theory. Another limitation was that we studied emotional labor only from the sender's perspective. Particularly when accounting for job accomplishment, it may be notable to incorporate the viewpoint of the receiver concerning how well the primary job was actually accomplished. Future research should address emotional labor, job accomplishment, and its outcomes from an interpersonal perspective, accounting for both sides of the interaction (i.e., the sender and the receiver).

Future research may account for strain and work engagement as an independent variable. Over time a feedback loop (or reversed causal effect) between work engagement and job resources can be expected (Bakker, 2011). It may thus be notable to investigate how employee well-being is related to choices in emotion management strategies and subsequently job accomplishment. Furthermore, emotional labor research should account for personality factors such as emotional resilience or emotional stability. Because DDA is a deliberate strategy, employees who have a higher emotional maturity or stability may be better able to use this strategy. Finally, future research should focus more on the positive consequences of emotional labor on employee well-being and service performance.

Implications for research, practice, and society

Our findings could provide police officers and police management with valuable information on how daily emotional labor could improve daily job accomplishment and daily employee work engagement, which is particularly important during emotional taxing interactions and delivering high-quality service performance. Thus far, emotional labor research has mainly focused on the negative effects of faking or suppressing emotions on employee well-being. Our study shows that there are reasons to believe that the relationship between emotional labor and psychological well-being requires further refinement. Although organizations should be aware that due to the experience of emotional dissonance, emotional labor may have detrimental consequences for employee well-being because of the experience of emotional dissonance, our findings also indicate that acting to accomplish a professional performance may also have positive effects. Future studies

that address such positive outcomes are required, whereas the present study offers an important first step in that direction. Our results contribute to emotional labor research in showing both the positive and negative effects of deliberative dissonance acting on police officers' psychological well-being. The training of police officers and possibly other service employees should include the topic of emotional labor and its consequences for psychological well-being.

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Chapter 6

Emotional Labor among Police Officers: A Diary Study Relating Strain, Emotional Labor, and Service Performance

Abstract

Using emotional labor and conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1988), this diary study aims to gain insight into the role of daily strain in emotional labor and service performance on a day-to-day basis. Strain was taken into account both as an antecedent (at the start of the work shift), and as a consequence (at the end of the work shift) of emotional labor (surface acting, deep acting) and emotional dissonance. The participants were 53 Dutch police officers who completed a three-day diary questionnaire (i.e., 159 measurement occasions). The results of multilevel analyses showed that, as hypothesized, daily strain at the start of the work shift was positively related to daily surface acting and unrelated to daily deep acting. Furthermore, daily surface acting mediated the relationship between strain at the start of the work shift and (a) service performance and (b) strain at the end of the work shift. Additionally, as predicted, daily surface acting was particularly related to emotional dissonance when strain at the start of the work shift was high.

Introduction

Employees in most service professions engage in emotional labor on a regular basis (Grandey, 2000). Flight attendants, bank employees, nurses and police officers have in common that they may encounter emotionally taxing situations in which they need to display emotions that differ from how they really feel. Emotional labor refers to the management of feelings in order to create a socially desirable display in accordance with situational demands during service transactions (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). Research of the past three decades has shown that emotional labor is detrimental to employee well-being because of the stress of managing emotions during work (Grandey, 2000). Thus far, emotional labor research has predominantly focused on the unfavorable relationship between emotional labor and employee well-being in terms of strain and burnout (e.g., Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2012; Tschan, Rochat, & Zapf, 2005). However, emotional labor may also influence employee performance positively, for example, by smoothening the interaction with the client and facilitating task effectiveness (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Kluemper, DeGroot, & Choi, 2011). Hence, both well-being and performance should be considered important aspects in studying emotional labor.

The aim of the present study is to examine how two emotional labor strategies, surface acting (i.e., faking or suppressing emotions) and deep acting (i.e., a cognitive change to feel the appropriate emotions), are related to both strain and service performance – on a day-to-day basis. Most previous emotional labor studies that tested the relationship between emotional labor and strain or performance, used a survey or between-person approach. The advantage of a daily diary or within-person approach is that recall bias is reduced and employees' daily emotional experiences are studied in their natural work context (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003). We use conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1988, 1989) to argue that strain at the start of the work shift is predictive of low-effort emotional labor, and may (in)directly determine service performance and strain at the end of the work shift. Police officers frequently encounter emotionally demanding interactions on a daily basis (Van Gelderen, Bakker, Konijn, & Demerouti, 2011) and are therefore included in our study as a relevant target group.

Police officers frequently interact with civilians or suspects, and these interactions often result in emotionally taxing situations (Johnson et. al., 2005; Van Gelderen, Heuven, Van Veldhoven, Zeelenberg & Croon, 2007). Most service organizations prescribe display rules (Ekman, 1973) indicating which emotions are appropriate to display in public (Zapf, 2002). This is also the case for police officers. During emotionally taxing interactions with civilians, police officers who strive to successfully accomplish their task may display unfelt but instrumental emotions or suppress emotions that may hinder effective interactions with civilians (Van Gelderen et al., 2011). Emotional labor thus forms an important part of police officers' job. However, the mainstream viewpoint in emotional labor research states that surface acting is harmful for the employee and for service

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performance. For instance, Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, and Wax (2012) conducted a meta-analysis of 109 independent studies and showed that discordance in felt versus displayed emotions was associated with detrimental effects on health and performance. We extend previous studies on emotional labor to capture a more complete picture of the chain between strain, emotional labor, and performance on a daily basis. Furthermore, in the present study, it is presumed that employees who experience a high level of strain at the start of the work shift are more inclined to use the emotion regulation technique of surface acting, which will be elaborated on below.

Surface acting, deep acting, and emotional dissonance among police officers

Surface acting refers to changing the outer expression of emotions without changing the underlying felt emotions (Grandey, 2000). When the employee feels an emotion that should not be displayed or must display an emotion that is not felt, he or she may alter the emotional expression but not the feeling underlying this expression. Surface acting is thus the expression of an 'as-if' emotion to mask negative, inappropriate or unfelt emotions directed at outward expression. For example, a police officer may display facial and behavioral expressions of empathy in helping a civilian to recover from an incident, while personal feelings may, for example, reflect irritation. Thus, a high-quality service is delivered while the empathy displayed may not always be felt. This strategy may be used in particular when the situation at hand seems relatively unimportant to the police officer in view of other, more relevant or more severe crimes and emergency situations or, when felt emotions are inappropriate or too intense to be expressed in the situation at hand. In time, the regulation technique of surface acting may result in the awareness of an inward state of imbalance between how one actually feels and how one displays this feeling. This person-role conflict state is also referred to as emotional dissonance (Abraham, 1998). Emotional dissonance arises as a consequence of the persisting discrepancy between inner feelings and outer expressions during an interaction (Zapf, 2002) and can be considered a structural discrepancy between displayed and felt emotions as part of the work role (Heuven & Bakker, 2003). Van Dijk and Kirk Brown (2006) argued that emotional dissonance is distinct from surface acting and may arise as the consequent experience from performing emotional labor (i.e., surface acting). Thus, we perceive surface acting as a technique directed at an outward expression of an 'as-if' emotion, while emotional dissonance is directed at an inner state and reflects a felt state of imbalance.

Deep acting refers to a cognitive change in which emotions are felt prior to their display or suppression. The goal of this strategy is to balance felt emotions with displayed emotions (Grandey, 2000). To successfully apply deep acting, the person must actively alter the inner feelings to actually feel the required emotion (Zapf, et al., 1999). Thus, employees who engage in deep acting must use thoughts, images and memories to bring about a specific emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; cf. professional actors in rehearsal, Konijn, 2000). Grandey (2000) has argued that deep acting is an antecedent-focused emotion regulation technique (see also Gross & John, 2003). This part of the

emotion-regulation process involves modifying felt emotions before the emotion is fully activated. When relating deep acting to policing, a police officer may, for instance, realize beforehand that s/he may feel irritated or angry when interacting with intoxicated and rude civilians. To act professionally and prevent escalation, it may be better not to display this irritation or anger. Before allowing such emotions to develop, the police officer may alter the thoughts (i.e., cognition) by, for example, perceiving the civilian's behavior as a regular part of the job or by realizing that the civilian's behavior is related to the function of the police officer and is not to be taken personally. Consequently, when in such taxing situations, the police officer's felt emotions may be balanced by the appropriate emotions to be displayed. An important question is to what extent strain influences the use and success of emotional labor strategies.

Initial strain and emotional labor

Given that previous emotional labor research found a predominantly negative relationship between surface acting and employee well-being, one may wonder why employees are inclined to surface act. COR-theory (Hobfoll, 1988, 1989) can be used as a model that explains the process of peoples' resource gains and losses during the day as a result of coping with stressors. One of the basic premises of COR-theory is that people who are low on resources (e.g., are more exhausted) are more vulnerable to future resource losses. Accordingly, people experience stress when resources are threatened and therefore strive to maintain their resources (Hobfoll, 1998). In addition, the self-regulation of emotions requires intense effort (Martínez-Inigo, Totterdell, Alcover, & Holman, 2007), especially deep acting. Deep acting is less automatic and more onerous in that it involves a conscious cognitive process before the emotion is actually felt (Zapf, 2002). In contrast, surface acting is a more automatic response to a work situation in which felt emotions differ from the emotions that ought to be displayed (Zapf, 2002). It can thus be argued that due to the described 'resource-loss spiral', employees with a low energetic resource level will avoid the more effortful emotional regulation technique of deep acting because this costs more energy, which may lead to further resource losses. Also, more exhausted employees are less able to regulate their emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997) and may thus be more inclined to change only their outward emotional expression (i.e., surface acting) instead of effortful thought to alter cognitions preceding emotional expression (i.e., deep acting). Put differently, when an employee is more exhausted it is less likely that a cognitively more effortful regulation technique like deep acting will be initially applied. Namely, exhausted employees will respond to stress with strategies that minimize future resource losses (Hobfoll, 1998; Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). Following this line of reasoning, it will be hypothesized that strain at the start of the work shift is positively related to daily surface acting (Hypothesis 1a) and that strain at the start of the work shift is negatively related to daily deep acting (Hypothesis 1b).

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Initial strain, emotional labor and service performance

Emotional labor among police officers includes not only the need to "keep on smiling" to deliver the impression of high-quality service but also interactions with civilians and offenders. Performance can be described in different ways. Performance can relate to employee behavior or actions intended to directly achieve performance, but also to produced services that support the organization's goals (Roe, 1999). Performance in the current study is focused at customer services supporting organizational goals and implies police officers' discretionary actions that enhance the effective functioning of the organization, irrespective of the need to be productive (MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Fetter, 1991). This service performance relates to behaviors that enhance desirable outcomes by serving and helping the customer (cf. Bowen & Waldman, 1999; Liao & Chuang, 2004). Examples of service performance behavior include asking questions, giving suggestions, and listening to the customers' needs (Borucki & Burke, 1999). This kind of performance is covered by the concept of extra-role performance (Williams & Anderson, 1991). Extra-role performance usually refers to helping colleagues at work to increase organizational effectiveness. However, performance of police officers in the current study is aimed to enhance helping civilians in terms of customer services (e.g., taking adequate time to listen to civilians' problems and giving civilians the correct information). Hence, analogous to extra-role performance, we coin the term service performance.

Previous emotional labor research showed that emotional labor is related to improved performance in the form (or impression of) a high-quality service (cf. Barger & Grandey, 2006; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). For example, a study by Tsai and Huang (2002) showed that employees' affective delivery influenced customers' willingness to return to the store. Furthermore, employee authenticity was found to be positively related to customer satisfaction when the task was performed well (Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005). Previous research has also established a positive link between deep acting and job performance (Hülsheger, Lang, & Maier, 2010). It can be argued that deep acting is specifically positively related to service performance, and surface acting is negatively related to service performance.

The presumed positive relationship between deep acting and service performance can be supported by an action theoretical framework related to emotional labor (Frese & Zapf, 1994). Zapf (2002) argued that deep acting can be used to prepare for a complex customer interaction and that deep acting cannot be carried out in combination with another conscious process, such as fulfilling the primary task. Therefore, deep acting may be a more suitable tool for enhancing the overall effective functioning of the organization. Furthermore, when applying deep acting before an interaction, one is not responding to or preparing a concrete primary working situation to represent a specific goal, but instead trying to cognitively alter one's feelings to promote organizational effectiveness during (forthcoming) customer interactions. Thus, deep acting seems to align with preparation for service performance. In addition, Gross and John (2003) showed that reappraisers (e.g., deep acting)

experience and express more positive emotions, which is helpful for a positive service performance. On the basis of this literature, the following hypothesis can be formulated: Daily deep acting is positively related to daily service performance (Hypothesis 2a).

In contrast, it will be argued that strain at the start of the work shift is negatively related to daily service performance partly via daily surface acting. Previous studies have shown that exhaustion is negatively related to job performance (Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). Additionally, strain at the start of the work shift inflicts the employee's resource level which is an essential initiator for achieving performance (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Moreover, resources are important for coping with job demands (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005), such as delivering high-quality service performance. When starting the work day with a high level of strain, this may lead to adopting a more protective and defensive attitude (Hobfoll, 2002) and may enhance felt negative emotions, which may be detrimental for service performance.

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As outlined above, in line with COR-theory, it can be expected that strain at the start of the work shift will also be positively related to applying surface acting; a low level of energetic resources may initiate this more automatic regulation technique. In turn, surface acting may result in an inauthentic performance. As the display of authentic positive emotions is presumed to increase the perceived quality of the encounter (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Grandey et al., 2005) an inauthentic display as a result of surface acting can be detrimental to the perceived service performance for several reasons. First, surface acting may elicit an unfavorable response from the client (Côté, 2005) with a consequent negative impact on the delivered service. Second, expressive suppression was found to disrupt communication, social exchange, and increased stress levels (Butler et al., 2003). Third, inauthentical behavior may lead to a sense of self-estrangement and spuriousness (Butler & Gross, 2004), which in turn may elicit negative felt emotions. In line with this reasoning, it can thus be predicted that strain at the start of the work shift is negatively related to service performance via surface acting (Hypothesis 2b).

Emotional labor and strain at the end of the work shift

Previous research has shown that surface acting has detrimental effects on employee well-being, whereas deep acting is detrimental to a lesser extent or not detrimental at all (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010; Zapf & Holz, 2006). The negative relationship between surface acting and well-being can be attributed to the psychological costs of emotional self-regulation (Martínez-Inigo, Totterdell, Alcover, & Holman, 2007). In the current diary study, daily strain was conceptualized with the two core components of burnout: emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (cf. Demerouti, Mostert, & Bakker, 2010). Emotional exhaustion refers to a lack of energy and emotional resource depletion, whereas depersonalization refers to strong feelings of detachment from work (Schaufeli & Van Dierendonck, 2000). According to COR-theory, people with

less resources will be more vulnerable to resource losses (Hobfoll, 1989) and will also be less able to acquire new resources than people who start the work day with a higher level of resources (Hobfoll, 2002). Initial strain will thus inflict a less energy-demanding emotion regulation technique, such as surface acting. As argued, strain at the start of the work shift is presumed to be positively related to daily surface acting. Because of the described 'resource-loss spiral' surface acting may also be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift. A high level of initial strain may lead to more energetic resource losses and less resource gains during the work shift than employees who start the work shift with a low level of initial strain. In line with previous emotional labor research and the argumentation presented above, it will be predicted that strain at the start of the work shift is positively related to strain at the end of the work shift, indirectly via daily surface acting (Hypothesis 3a) and that daily deep acting is negatively related to strain at the end of the work shift (Hypothesis 3b).

A consequence of prolonged surface acting can be the awareness of a felt state of emotional dissonance (Van Dijk & Kirk Brown, 2006). Several studies have shown that emotional dissonance is positively related to exhaustion or burnout (cf. Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Van Gelderen et al., 2011). As a high level of strain at the start of the work shift is expected to leave less energy for emotion regulation in terms of deep acting and dealing with emotional dissonance, it can be predicted that a high level of strain at the start of the work shift is positively related to daily emotional dissonance via daily surface acting (Hypothesis 4a).

Strain at the start of the work shift may also predict the way that employees deal with work stressors (Demerouti, Bakker, & Bulters, 2004). We presume that daily strain at the start of the work shift combined with surface acting may prolong the use of daily surface acting and therefore elevate the experience of daily emotional dissonance for several reasons. First, Effort-Recovery (ER) theory (Meijman & Mulder, 1998) states that employees possess a certain amount of resources that may become depleted during the work day. Moreover, employees who start the work shift with less resources (e.g., energy), or a higher level of strain are expected to be less able to acquire future resources (Hobfoll, 2002). Therefore, employees with a higher level of initial strain may have a low level of energy left that can be applied for emotion regulation (Aspinwal & Taylor, 1997). This even becomes more problematic after surface acting has started; low resource levels are still present and may be further depleted during the interaction. It may thus be difficult to stop surface acting at an early stage of the (emotional) taxing interaction. Second, after applying surface acting, a negative customer response may be expected (Côté, 2005). In turn, this may lead to the employee's experience of negative affect that has to be compensated by investing energy in trying to feel better. This compensatory process may result in less self-control (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004) and continue the accompanying emotional dissonant state. Third, exhausted employees need to replenish their resources because recovery is important to prevent strain, fatigue, and psychological

distress (Jansen, Kant, & Brandt, 2002; Zijlstra & Croply, 2006). When experiencing a high level of initial strain combined with the application of surface acting, energetic resource levels will deplete even further and recovery will become more difficult. As a consequence, surface acting may be continued and may accordingly result in experienced emotional dissonance. It can thus be predicted that the combination of daily surface acting with strain at the start of the work shift will be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift via daily emotional dissonance (Hypothesis 4b).

Method

Participants and procedure

All participants were police officers of a Police Force District located in the Netherlands. The total population of the district was approximately 400 employees and 150 police officers were asked to participate. Of these, 53 police officers voluntarily participated in a paper-and-pencil diary study on three subsequent days (i.e., 159 study occasions). The sample included 38 men and 15 women (Mage = 39 years; SD = 12.50). The subset that participated was demographically similar to the population (the mean age of the population was 40 years; SD = 10.83) and included 76.30% male police officers. Participants recorded their entries at the start and at the end of the work shift for three work days. Participants were able to return the diary booklet anonymously in a closed envelope. As a reward for participation, each participant was entered into a drawing for a portable music player. The total response rate was 35%. Diary studies are very time-consuming, especially for employees such as police officers, who work at irregular hours and have highly demanding jobs. Therefore, expectations regarding response rates should be moderate. Relatively low response rates are more common with diary studies (Bolger et al., 2003).

Measures

All likert-type items described below were followed by 7-point rating scales ranging from "Not applicable at all" (1) to "Strongly applicable" (7).

Surface Acting (3 items, Cronbach's α = .86) was assessed with the surface acting scale derived from the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). The original items from this scale were modified to measure daily surface acting. Example items follow: "Today, I regulated my emotions in the following manner: 'I resisted expressing my true feelings' and 'I pretended to have emotions that I don't really have'".

Deep Acting (3 items, Cronbach's α = .89) was assessed with the deep acting scale derived from the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). The original items from this scale were modified to measure daily deep acting. Example items follow: "Today I regulated my emotions in the following manner: 'I actually tried to feel the emotions that I had to display' and 'I tried to feel the emotions that are part of my work role'".

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Emotional Dissonance (4 items, Cronbach's α = .91) was measured with items derived from the Frankfurt Emotions Work Scale (FEWS; Zapf et al., 1999). Four items were used from the scale which originally consisted of five items. The scale was adjusted such that the items referred to a specific day. The rationale of not using the fifth item of the original scale was that this item was not applicable to the experience of emotional dissonance on a particular workday. Examples follow: "Today, I showed emotions that were different than what I actually felt"; "Today, I had to suppress emotions to look neutral."

Service Performance (4 items, Cronbach's α = .91) was measured with four items based on the extra-role performance scale developed for helping colleagues (Williams & Anderson, 1991). The original items were modified to describe helping civilians/clients and to measure daily service performance. Example items are "Today, I helped civilians with their problem" and "Today, I gave civilians the correct information".

Strain at the Start of the Work Shift (Strain T1; 6 items, Cronbach's α = .83) and *Strain at the End of the Work Shift* (Strain T2; 6 items, Cronbach's α = .79), measured the police officer's immediate strain level at the start of the work shift and at the end of the work shift, respectively. The items reflected the exhaustion and cynicism dimensions of the MBI-General Survey (Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996; Schaufeli & van Dierendonck, 2000). The items were modified to assess current strain. Example items included "At this moment, I am feeling tired" and "I am in doubt about the usefulness of my presence."

Strategy of analyses

In analyzing the diary data, multilevel analysis was used because the daily reports consisted of repeated measures nested within persons (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992). The predictor variables were centered around the person's mean value to eliminate interpretations based on between-person variance in the predictor variable (Ilies, Schwind, & Heller, 2007). We used SPSS 19.0 to conduct multilevel analyses (maximum likelihood procedure). The likelihood ratio test was applied to compare the improvement in the different established models. We tested the indirect effect between the independent variable and the dependent variable through its mediator and used Monte Carlo bootstrapping to acquire the 95% confidence intervals to test the significance of the indirect effects (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006; Bollen & Stine, 1992). Furthermore, the indirect effects may vary randomly across upper level units (Kenny, Kormaros, & Bolger, 2003). Thus, causal as well as random effects can be fixed (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006). Therefore, we also tested whether the random-effects model differed significantly from the fixed-effects model. From the total scores, 1% was missing.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the study variables. To calculate the correlations, day-level variables were averaged across the three days. Preliminary analyses showed that none of the demographic characteristics (i.e., gender and age) was significantly related to either strain at the end of the work shift (gender, $t = -.76$, *n.s*; age, $F = 2.65$, $df = 155$, *n.s*), or daily service performance (gender, $t = -.97$, *n.s*; age, $F = 1.27$, $df = 158$, *n.s*). The demographic characteristics were therefore excluded from further analyses.

Table 6.1. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix among the Key Variables*

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Daily surface acting	2.56	1.47	-				
2. Daily deep acting	3.64	1.75	.11	-			
3. Strain at the start of the work shift	1.95	.87	.42**	.18*	-		
4. Daily emotional dissonance	2.66	1.64	.58**	.26**	.38**	-	
5. Daily service performance	5.28	1.58	-.50**	.23**	-.31**	-.09	-
6. Strain at the end of the work shift	2.19	.95	.51**	.06	.83**	.43**	-.40**

Note. Day-level data was averaged across 5 days; *p < .05; **p < .01.

Variability over time

Before testing our hypotheses, we assessed the amount of variance to be attributed to the different data levels (i.e., day-level and person-level) for each dependent variable separately (Hox, 2002). Regarding daily service performance, a large amount of no less than 82% of the total variance was attributable to within-person variation, whereas 18% was attributable to between-person variation. With respect to strain at the end of the work shift, 30% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. Regarding daily emotional dissonance, 66% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. These findings indicate that significant amounts of variance may be explained both by *between-* and *within-*person variation, justifying our use of a multilevel analysis.

Hypotheses testing

Hypothesis 1a stated that strain at the start of the work shift would be positively related to daily surface acting and hypothesis 1b predicted that strain at the start of the work shift would be negatively related to daily deep acting. The results of the multi-level analysis showed that strain at

the start of the work shift was positively related to daily surface acting ($\gamma = .52$, $t = 3.820$, $p < .01$), whereas strain at the start of the work shift was not significantly related to daily deep acting ($\gamma = .26$, $t = 1.800$, $p = .07$). Thus, Hypothesis 1a was supported, and Hypothesis 1b had to be rejected.

Hypothesis 2a suggested that daily deep acting would be positively related to daily service performance. To test this hypothesis, we compared a baseline model (Model 0) to a model incorporating strain at the start of the work shift (Model 1) and another model incorporating the main effects of daily surface acting and daily deep acting (Model 2). The results of the multi-level analyses are presented in Table 2. The results revealed that Model 1 improved the model fit compared to the baseline Model 0 ($\Delta -2*\log = 4.609$, $df = 6$, $p < .05$). In turn, Model 2 showed an improved model fit compared to Model 1 ($\Delta -2*\log = 10.597$, $df = 8$, $p < .01$). The results presented in Table 2 show that daily deep acting was positively related to service performance ($\gamma = .16$, $t = 2.268$, $p < .05$). These findings provide support for Hypothesis 2a.

In addition, results showed that daily surface acting was negatively related to service performance ($\gamma = -.17$, $t = -2.00$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, we calculated the indirect effect from stain at the start of the work shift to daily service performance. First, we compared the model including the random effects to the fixed-effects model. The random-effects model did not show a better fit than the fixed effects model ($\Delta -2 *\log$ likelihood $= 4.187$, $df = 11$, $p > .05$). Therefore, we calculated the fixed indirect effect. The fixed indirect effect from strain at the start of the work shift to daily service performance via daily surface acting was -.09, $CI_{.95} = -.19$, -.01. These findings provide support for Hypothesis 2b.

Hypothesis 3a stated that strain at the start of the work shift would be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift, via daily surface acting, whereas Hypothesis 3b stated that daily deep acting would be negatively related to strain at the end of the work shift. To test these hypotheses, we compared a baseline model (Model 0) to a model incorporating strain at the start of the work shift (Model 1) and a model incorporating the main effects of daily surface acting and daily deep acting (Model 2). The results of the multi-level analyses are presented in Table 3. The results revealed that Model 1 showed improved fit compared to the baseline Model 0 ($\Delta -2*\log = 64.349$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, results revealed that Model 2 showed improved fit compared to Model 1 ($\Delta -2*\log = 7.503$, $df = 8$, $p < .05$). The results also showed that daily surface acting was positively related to daily strain at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = .08$, $t = 2.171$, $p < .05$), whereas daily deep acting was not related to strain at the end of the work shift ($\gamma = -.05$, $t = -1.474$, $p = .14$). When the model including the random effects was compared to the fixed-effects model, the random-effects model did not show a better fit ($\Delta -2 *\log$ likelihood $= 8.802$, $df = 11$, $p > .05$). Additionally, the results showed that the fixed indirect effect between strain at the start of the work shift and strain at the end of the work shift via daily surface acting was .04, $CI_{.95} = .01$, .09. These findings provide support for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 3b.

Hypothesis 4a stated that daily surface acting would particularly show a positive relationship with daily emotional dissonance when strain at the start of the work shift would be high. To test this hypothesis we first compared a baseline model (Model 0) to a model including the main effects of daily surface acting and strain at the start of the work shift (Model 1). Consequently, we compared this model to a model that introduced the interaction of daily surface acting with strain at the start of the work shift (Model 2). The results of the multi-level analysis are presented in Table 4. The results revealed that the model incorporating the interaction effect showed improved fit (Δ −2*log = 3.54, df = 1, p = .05). Daily surface acting was positively related to daily emotional dissonance (γ = .55, t = 6.642, p < .001), and daily deep acting was not related to daily emotional dissonance (γ = .09, t = 1.340, p = .18). The interaction effect of daily surface acting with strain at the start of the work shift on daily emotional dissonance was significant (γ = .16, t = 1.936, p < .05). The interaction effect is graphically depicted in Figure 1, which confirms that the results are in the hypothesized direction. Additionally, we conducted a simple slope test for multilevel models (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006). The slopes test revealed that the interaction slope was steeper for high levels of the moderator variable (i.e., strain at the start of the work shift) (γ = 1.00, t = 3.457, p < .01) than for low levels of the moderator variable (γ = .72, t = 5.176, p < .01). In all, Hypothesis 4a was supported.

According to Hypothesis 4b, the combination of a higher level of daily surface acting with high levels of strain at the start of the work shift will be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift via daily emotional dissonance (i.e., mediated moderation; Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005). The results of the multi-level analyses are presented in Table 5 and revealed that the model including all relevant variables showed improved fit compared to the model that incorporated only strain at the start of the work shift, daily surface acting and daily deep acting (Δ −2*log = 9.44, df = 1, p < .001). When the model including the random effects was compared to the fixed-effects model, the random-effects model did not show improved fit (Δ -2 *log likelihood = 10.563, df = 20, p > .05). Additionally, results showed that the fixed indirect effect from daily surface acting to strain at the end of the work shift via daily emotional dissonance was .07, $CI_{.95}$ = .03 , .12. These findings provide support for Hypothesis 4b.

Discussion

The aim of the present study in emotional labor among police officers was to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between emotional labor, performance, and strain on a day-to-day basis. This study is innovative in that we investigated the relationship between surface acting, deep acting, and variation in service performance as a function of strain on a day-to-day basis. The present study advances past knowledge in that we incorporated strain at the start of the work shift as an important antecedent of specific daily emotional labor, namely, an antecedent of the emotional labor strategy surface acting. As hypothesized, police officers who started the work shift

with less energy that day, were then more inclined to surface act, which turned out to be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift and negatively related to service performance. Below, the theoretical contributions of this study are discussed.

Initial strain and emotional labor

The results of the present study show that strain at the start of the work shift is positively related to daily surface acting and is not related to daily deep acting. These findings suggest that police officers who experience a higher level of initial strain are more inclined to use surface acting as an emotion-regulation strategy during the work shift. Previous emotional labor studies found a positive relationship between surface acting and burnout as a consequence (cf. Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). However, strain at the start of the work shift could play an important role in explaining why surface acting has been found to be detrimental to employee well-being.

The results indicate that when police officers experience a higher level of strain at the start of the work shift, they prefer to apply surface acting. This can be explained by insights from COR-theory (Hobfoll, 1988, 2002). That is, a lack of energetic resources is expected to reduce gains and may increase the risk of losing resources. Additionally, a lack of resources could result in a more defensive attitude (Hobfoll, 2002). Resources, such as the employee's energy level are needed to regulate emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). In turn, this regulation is needed to bring about a cognitive change, such as required for deep acting, and thus really feel the emotions that must be displayed according to the company's display rules. Surface acting costs less energy, as one only has to change the outward appearance rather than feel the necessary emotions. When the display of negative emotions during the customer interaction would be clearly inappropriate or destructive, police officers who experience a higher level of initial strain may try to change their outward appearance (e.g., fake or suppress emotions). A second explanation may be that a lower energy level likely results in a more negative affective state or a negative mood. Previous research has found a positive relationship between a negative affective state and surface acting (Judge et al., 2009; Liu, Prati, Perrewé, & Ferris, 2008). When it is expedient to display positive emotions while in a negative mood, the tendency to apply surface acting may further increase. This implies that the discrepancy between felt emotions and displayed emotions is further elevated, which in turn may strengthen the tendency to apply surface acting. Finally, a third explanation may be found in that negative emotions leave less energy for constructive positive social interactions. During customer interactions, a display of negative emotions may lead to a negative response, which may be detrimental for the employee (Côté, 2005). Police officers who experience more negative affect may be inclined to invest energy in feeling better oneself and have less energy left and limited self-control to empathize with the customer. This compensatory process (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004) may be another important mechanism in explaining the preference for daily surface acting over daily deep acting.

In short, the current results may clarify and advance findings of previous emotional labor research that showed that surface acting was negatively related to employee well-being; our findings clearly suggest that surface acting is detrimental because of the higher level of strain at the start of the work shift. Moreover, whereas past research concentrated on between-person differences in the relationship between surface acting and employee well-being, we investigated the relationship between initial strain, surface acting and employee well-being on a daily basis within and between persons. Hence, our results contribute to the existing literature by showing that daily initial strain could account for the daily predisposition to surface act and thus for the experience of strain at the end of the work shift.

Initial strain and service performance

Previous studies showed that deep acting can be related to an increase in job performance (Hülsheger, Lang, & Maier, 2010; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). The results of the present study confirm this viewpoint in terms of service performance. Daily deep acting is positively related to daily service performance, whereas daily surface acting is negatively related to service performance. Thus, the acting style that is applied during the work shift seems to influence the way that the police officer rates the performance in helping civilians during the work day. More concretely, daily deep acting seems to enhance the officer's ability to help citizens effectively. The interpretation of this result can be found in the application of the emotion-regulation strategy of deep acting. The police officer tries to alter thoughts regarding emotionally loaden interactions with civilians to avoid feeling various emotions that could be detrimental in daily service interactions. Deep acting thus seems to be related to preparing the police officer to high-quality service performance.

The results of the present study show that strain at the start of the work shift is negatively related to service performance via surface acting. When relating emotional labor to service performance, deep acting seems to appear more effective from the police officer's viewpoint. In contrast, surface acting was negatively related to service performance, however, again initial strain seemed to play an important role in elucidating the negative relationship between surface acting and service performance. The tendency to surface act as a result of strain at the start of the work shift may inflict the police officer's ability to help civilians above and beyond the primary work task (i.e., to do more than the primary job task demands). This finding is consistent with assumptions of COR-theory that states that a shortage of resources at the start of the work shift leads to more resource losses during the work shift, which may, in addition to the preference to surface act, also result in an impaired performance.

Surface acting is applied to interactions in which the police officers' emotions are already felt due to the strain at the start of the workday. This means that the felt emotions can no longer be cognitively anticipated and should be regulated through modifying the emotional display. Then, the police

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officers alter their emotional expression to manage felt emotions from strain and solve the customer interaction problem at hand. However, surface acting may also lead to inauthentic behavior, which in turn may elicit a negative reaction from the interaction partner (Côté, 2005). We argue that such interactions risk elevating the police officer's strain level and may explain the negative relationship with service performance (cf., Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). In addition, previous research has shown that surface acting was positively related to negative mood (Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009), which may also be detrimental to the police officers' service performance.

Emotional labor and strain at the end of the work shift

The results of this study support the hypothesis that daily surface acting is negatively related to strain at the end of the work shift. Simultaneously, the results show that daily deep acting was not related to strain at the end of the work shift. These findings are in line with former emotional labor research which showed that surface acting and not deep acting is detrimental to employee well-being (cf. Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). The results further showed that daily emotional dissonance mediated the relationship between daily surface acting and strain at the end of the work shift. This perceived state of imbalance between felt and displayed emotions may be harmful to employee well-being (e.g., Van Dijk & Kirk Brown, 2006; Zapf, 2002). Research of Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) showed that refusal to act could increase emotional dissonance, which may lead to a higher strain level at the end of the work shift (e.g., Bakker & Heuven, 2006). Furthermore, the results showed that a higher level of strain at the start of the work shift combined with a higher level of daily surface acting, is related to a higher level of daily emotional dissonance. Thus, a high level of initial strain has a more pronounced strengthening effect on the positive relationship between daily surface acting and daily emotional dissonance. When a police officer low on energetic resources (e.g., a higher strain level) starts to surface act, a more prolonged and severe felt level of emotional dissonance could result. Acting unfelt emotions when low on resources may exacerbate strain because of the psychological effort required (Martínez-Inigo et al., 2007). Put differently, a higher level of initial strain may increase the chance of further resource losses, which is elevated by the costs of acting emotions. The result is a higher level of daily emotional dissonance and a higher level of strain at the end of the work shift.

Limitations, future research and practical implications

Three limitations of our study should be mentioned. The first limitation concerns the response rate, which is lower than survey studies on emotional labor. Diary studies generally produce a lower response rate, most likely because of the effort required to participate when several days of participation are requested (Bolger et al., 2003). An important strength of diary studies is to measure the variables under study at the moment they are taking place, which cannot be achieved through survey studies. The second limitation involves results attained from only one occupational group. Because police officers may differ from other service professions (e.g., flight-attendants, call-center

employees, receptionists, waiters), the findings may not be generalizable. Future emotional labor research should compare emotional labor across occupational settings and include diverse high-stress occupations (e.g., debt collectors, soldiers, other emergency services). A third limitation can be seen in investigating emotional labor from the point of view of the performer only. When considering performance in the primary job and service outcome, it may be equally important to incorporate the viewpoint of the customer or receiver of service. This is important because customers' feedback is based on their viewpoint of performance success and on the effect of the sender's used emotion regulation technique (cf., Côté, 2005, Van Gelderen et al., 2011). The customer's viewpoint in rating success and perhaps recognizing employee emotion regulation techniques may differ from the insights of the employee. Thus, more research is needed that incorporates the effects of emotional labor from the receiver's point of view into emotional labor research.

Several other leads for future research can be provided. First, future research should also focus directly on the potential positive effects of surface acting. Previous emotional labor research showed that expressing socially desirable emotions during service interactions (affective delivery) is important to attaining organizational goals (i.e., sales, satisfied customers; Ashfort & Humprey, 1993; Tsai & Huang, 2002). Next to impression management or service performance, customers appreciate performance in the primary task (cf. Parasuraman et al., 1985). Accomplishment of the primary task (in-role performance) may result in satisfied clients and subsequently to positive performance feedback. In turn, in-role performance could create job resources that may also foster personal well-being (e.g., Bakker & Bal, 2010). In turn, performance feedback may be an important job resource that positively affects employee well-being (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007), and may perhaps compensate for the detrimental effects of surface acting. Second, when surface acting is carried out on behalf of the organization, the arising tension or dissonance need not always threaten the actor's sense of self (Van Dijk & Kirk Brown, 2006). For instance, when a police officer is treated impolitely by an intoxicated civilian the officer may experience irritation but display a neutral expression to hide this emotion. When emotional dissonance serves a higher goal, such as keeping order and preventing escalation, the effect of surface acting on strain could be buffered. The understanding that surface acting may further work goals and serve others' interests, may elevate felt positive emotions and thus counter negative felt or dissonant emotions during taxing interactions.

The findings of the present study may have important implications for employees and their managers. More thought could be given to the role of the police officer in effectively helping civilians in future interactions without interference from strain and negative emotions. Furthermore, employees should focus on starting the work day with enough energy to enhance their well-being and organizational performance. Interventions aimed at reducing exhaustion or strain should focus both on dealing with emotionally taxing situations at work as well as facilitating adequate rest to start the new work day freshly. Finally, emotion-regulation strategies and ways of dealing with

personal resource levels should be included in the training of police officers to help them better cope with emotionally demanding interactions during the work-day.

Conclusion

Emotional labor research has thus far predominantly focused on the negative effects of surface acting on employee well-being. Research on the relationship between emotional labor, strain, and service performance on a daily basis has been limited. The present study argues that the concept of emotional labor should be simultaneously related to both employee well-being and service performance. Hence, the present study demonstrates that the negative effects of surface acting on employee well-being are a consequence of initial strain; a lack of energetic resources enhances a resource-loss spiral and instigates the application of a more automatic emotion regulation technique such as surface acting. Furthermore, a combination of initial strain and surface acting increases emotional dissonance, in turn increasing strain at the end of the work shift. In all, our findings underscore the need to examine emotional labor on a daily basis and to include within-person differences in relation to emotional labor outcomes.

Table 6.2. *Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Daily Service Performance. N = 53 persons, and N = 159 measurement observations.*

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	5.285	.145	36.516***	5.285	.137	38.552***	5.274	.123	43.042***
Strain at the Start of the Work Shift				-.336	.150	-2.233*	-.296	.150	-1.975*
Daily Surface Acting (SA)							-.174	.087	-2.001*
Daily Deep Acting (DA)							.159	.070	2.268*
-2 x log	589.223			584.614			574.017		
Δ -2 x log	-			4.609*			10.597**		
df	5			6			8		
						R^2			R^2
Level 1 (within-person variance)	2.020	.469		2.040	.466	10%	2.150	.478	6%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.445	.237		.325	.219	27%	.089	.206	80%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p \le .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

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Table 6.3. Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Strain at the End of the Work Shift. N = 53 persons, and N = 159 measurement observations.

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.189	.116	18.801***	2.169	.070	30.812***	2.179	.065	33.775***
Strain at the Start of the Work Shift				.67	.065	10.343*	.664	.067	9.920***
Daily Surface Acting (SA)							.082	.038	2.171*
Daily Deep Acting (DA)							-.047	.032	-1.474
-2 x log	348.547			284.198			276.695		
Δ −2 x log	-			64.349***			7.503*		
df	5			6			8		
						R^2			R^2
Level 1 (within-person variance)	.275	.078		.250	.066	9%	.258	.066	6%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.627	.140		.184	.057	71%	.138	.050	78%

*Note.* R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 6.4. *Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Daily Emotional Dissonance. N = 53 persons, and N = 159 measurement observations.*

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.646	.167	15.804***	2.652	.132	20.095***	2.581	.132	19.525***
Strain at the Start of the Work Shift (ST1)				.049	.146	.337	.001	.146	.006
Daily Surface Acting (SA)							.549	.083	6.642***
Daily Deep Acting (DA)							.090	.067	1.340
SA x ST1							156	.081	1.936*
-2 x log	590.451			540.702			537.162		
Δ -2 x log	-			49.749***			3.540*		
df	5			8			9		
						R^2			R^2
Level 1 (within-person variance)	1.765	.048		1.457	.357	17%	1.467	.353	17%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.901	.300		.452	.203	50%	.384	.192	57%

*Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.*

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Table 6.5. *Multilevel Estimates for Models Predicting Daily Strain at the End of the Work Shift via Daily Emotional Dissonance. N = 53 persons, and N = 159 measurement observations*

Model variables	Baseline Model			Model 1			Model 2		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.189	.116	18.801***	2.179	.065	33.775***	2.185	.068	32.151***
Strain at the Start of the Work Shift (ST1)				.664	.067	9.920***	.637	.067	9.501***
Daily Surface Acting (SA)				.082	.038	2.171*	.014	.042	.336
Daily Deep Acting (DA)				-.047	.032	-1.474	-.058	.032	-1.814*
SA x ST1							.004	.035	.124
ED							.117	.034	3.454**
-2 x log	348.547			276.695			266.726		
Δ –2 x log	-			71.852***			9.969*		
df	5			8			10		
						R^2			R^2
Level 1 (within-person variance)	.275	.078		.258	.066	6%	.226	.062	18%
Level 2 (between-person variance)	.627	.140		.138	.050	78%	.153	.052	76%

Note. R^2 percentages are calculated in approximation; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 6.1. Interaction of Daily Surface Acting and Strain at the Start of the Work Shift (Strain T1) on Daily Emotional Dissonance.
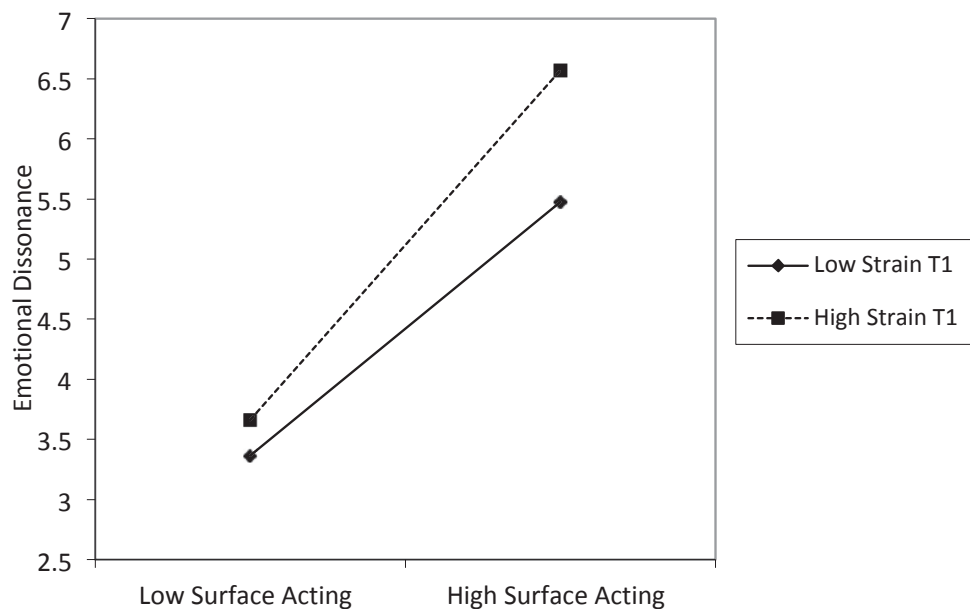
Chapter 7

Discussion

The purpose of the present thesis was to increase our understanding of emotional labor among police officers – including the impact of emotional labor on well-being and performance. In the emotional labor literature, three important techniques to express emotions in achieving one's professional goals are of interest: deep acting, surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting (Zapf, 2002). Surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting may both result in a state of emotional dissonance (i.e., a state of discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions; Van Dijk & Kirk Brown, 2006), which has been found to be detrimental to employee well-being in previous research (cf. Ashfort & Humprey, 1993; Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, & Wax, 2012). The overall aim of the current thesis was to validate the stressful consequences of emotional labor among police officers and to shed a different light on the role of strain and surface acting in emotional labor among police officers. In addition, this thesis aimed at substantiating the viewpoint that emotional labor among police officers may not always be harmful. Whereas most previous studies used survey questionnaires and between-person designs, the present thesis used a series of quantitative diary studies investigating emotional labor among police officers on a day-to-day basis. Thus, an important contribution to the current knowledge on emotional labor was achieved through investigating emotional labor by applying a within-person approach in (five) quantitative diary studies (see Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6). Furthermore, a study that captured the interaction between police officers and civilians during a training situation was also included (see Chapter 4).

Summary of results

The studies presented in this thesis show that police officers use emotional labor strategies on a daily basis, which costs energy and influences job performance. More specifically, the first empirical study (Chapter 2) used Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1989) to explain how initial strain could be positioned as an important antecedent of emotional labor. Initial strain was hypothesized and found to be positively related to strain at the end of the work shift through the use of surface acting and the experience of emotional dissonance. Consistently, the diary study presented in Chapter 6 found that initial strain enhanced the use of surface acting. Thus, on the days that police officers felt tired when they started their shift, they were more inclined to use the easy emotional labor strategy – they faked the outward expression of emotions without changing their real inner feelings. This daily surface acting, initiated by initial strain, was unrelated to service performance. In contrast, daily deep acting (really feeling the emotions that are shown as part of the job) was positively related to service performance (Chapter 6). To find out which emotional labor technique costs most energy, I analysed the impact of suppressing different types of emotions during work (Chapter 3). The results revealed that the suppression of negative emotions (but not positive emotions), such as anger, abhorrence, and sadness was positively related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift. More particularly, the suppression of abhorrence mediated the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of a work shift. In a separate study (Chapter 4), the role of the interaction partner was incorporated to investigate interpersonal effects

in emotional labor. Results showed that the perceived display of positive emotions was positively related to the receivers' judgement of the police officers' performance success, irrespective of the police officers' used emotion regulation technique (i.e., surface acting and deep acting). In turn, the results showed that perceived performance success enhanced the sender's felt positive emotions after the interaction, even after controlling for the sender's general positive affect (Chapter 4). Finally, the findings presented in Chapter 5 showed that deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to police officers' experienced work engagement due to the successful accomplishment of the job task (Chapter 5).

In all, the findings of the studies as presented in this thesis add significantly to emotional labor theory and refine previous empirical findings that were mainly based on between-person differences in emotional labor and well-being of service professionals. In the introduction of the present thesis, five research questions were raised: (1) How can initial strain be positioned in emotional labor research?; (2) What is the role of suppressing specific negative emotions in relation to police officers' well-being?; (3) What is the relation between emotional labor and the receivers' perception of performance success?; (4) How can deliberately acting emotions be beneficial to police officers' well-being?; and (5) How are deep acting and surface acting related to well-being and service performance when taking initial strain into account? Guided by these research questions, the main findings of this thesis will be discussed below for each question separately.

7.1   Answers to the research questions

Research question 1: How can initial strain be positioned in emotional labor research?

Previous emotional labor survey studies found a positive relationship between surface acting, emotional dissonance and burnout (cf. Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010; Van Dijk & Kirk Brown, 2006). The present thesis advanced emotional labor research by investigating emotional labor using a within-person approach. Applying a within-person approach is important because interactions that evoke emotional labor may vary not only between individuals but also within individuals over time. Put differently, the variables under study may vary from day to day within persons in important ways that may not be found when studying differences between individuals. The studies presented in this thesis show that there is substantial variation in daily emotional labor and its consequences. With respect to strain at the end of the work shift (Chapter 2), 64% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. Regarding exhaustion at the end of the work shift (Chapter 3), 57% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. Furthermore, with respect to work engagement at the end of the work shift (Chapter 5), 45% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. Finally, regarding strain at the end of the work shift (Chapter 6), 30% of the variance was attributable to within-person variation. These findings

indicate that significant amounts of the variance can be explained by within-person variation, which validates the within-person approach. In applying this approach, I was able to examine whether the hypothesized relationships between the variables under study hold during daily fluctuations by measuring them on a daily basis.

In the study presented in Chapter 2, day-level strain at the start of the work shift was taken into account. The results of this study clearly suggested that police officers who started the work shift with a high level of strain were more inclined to the use the technique of surface acting on a daily basis and experienced a higher level of emotional dissonance than police officers who started the work shift with a lower level of strain (Chapter 2; also see Chapter 6). These results support Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1998, 2002). COR-theory can be labelled as a general stress theory stating that people who have a low resource level are more vulnerable to future losses and have a lower chance of acquiring new resources during the day. This idea is helpful to understand why initial strain may enhance the use of daily surface acting. Namely, initial strain indicates a lack of energetic resources. Resources, such as the employee's energy level are needed to regulate emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). As a consequence of a low level of resources, people are inclined to use a less effortful emotion regulation strategy. Surface acting can be considered a less effortful regulation technique because it can be applied more automatically and it is less cognitively demanding than deep acting (Zapf, 2002). Additionally, energetic resources are more votile than more structural and durable resources, such as stable health - once votile resources are used, they cannot be used for other purposes (Ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). Thus, not only may a higher level of initial strain induce the use of surface acting, it may even prolong the use of surface acting during the interaction, with even more resource losses as a result. The insights in daily fluctuations shows that this may be an accumulative process. It explains indirectly why the frequent use of surface acting will over time be related to burnout. Thus, not being able to put enough effort in the emotion regulation process evokes the use of surface acting and makes the experience of emotional dissonance even more likely. In turn, emotional dissonance costs energy and prevents the acquisition of other energy-related resources, resulting in a higher level of strain at the end of the work shift.

In addition to the effects of a low energy level on emotion regulation possibilities, the experience of psychological strain at the start of a work shift may lead to the experience of negative emotions. When people feel negative emotions, they put top priority and energy in feeling better which leaves less room for appropriate self-control (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004). Likewise, they may then be less able to regulate their emotions appropriately. Hence, when it is expedient to display positive emotions while in a negative mood, the tendency to apply surface acting may further increase. The use of surface acting costs less cognitive energy than deep acting, as one only has to change the outward appearance. When the display of negative emotions during the customer interaction

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would be clearly inappropriate, police officers who experience a high level of initial strain are thus inclined to apply surface acting to turn the felt negative emotions into an outer appearance of for instance, the display of empathy or interest. Consistent with this reasoning, the results of the studies in the present thesis showed that a high level of initial strain strengthened the relationship between daily surface acting and daily emotional dissonance. Findings indicate that stressed police officers tend to use a dysfunctional emotion regulation technique and thereby remain stressed. Although the result of surface acting may appear effective at the moment of delivering a high-quality service (Hochschild, 1983), in the long run it appears detrimental for personal well-being (cf. Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, 2002), and indirectly undermines successful task performance. When a police officer with a high level of initial strain applies and prolongs surface acting, a higher level of experienced daily emotional dissonance will result. Accordingly, surface acting when low on energetic resources may increase the likelihood of further resource losses, which is elevated by the psychological effort of acting emotions (Martínez-Inigo et al., 2007). The result is a higher level of daily emotional dissonance and a higher level of strain at the end of the work shift. This thesis thus underscores the relevance of incorporating initial strain as an important antecedent of the use of surface acting in emotional labor research.

Research question 2: What is the role of suppressing specific negative emotions in relation to police officers' well-being?

Results of Chapter 2 and Chapter 6 showed that initial strain is an important antecedent of the use of surface acting, which may account for the detrimental effects of surface acting on employee well-being. In addition, I proposed that especially the emotional dissonant state that arises as a result of suppressing negative emotions may offer another important clarification of the previously found detrimental effects of emotional dissonance. Therefore, the concept of emotional dissonance and its effect on employee well-being was further refined by making a distinction between the daily effects of suppressing different discrete emotions on daily exhaustion. On days that police officers experienced emotional dissonance, they felt more exhaustion at the end of the work shift. The presented results do validate earlier assumptions and findings within emotional labor research, which showed that emotional dissonance, in general, is positively related to burnout (Grandey, 2000; Kruml & Geddes, 2000, Zapf, 2002). However, these previous findings were not based on diary data (i.e., only measured as between-person differences), and they did not make a distinction between various discrete emotions. The results of a study among police call-center service workers presented in Chapter 3 showed, consistent with predictions, that the suppression of *anger* was positively related to exhaustion, whereas the suppression of *happiness* was not. This finding indicates that the suppression of negative emotions has a more detrimental effect on employee well-being than the suppression of positive emotions. Thus, the suppression of negative emotions may clarify the negative effects of emotional dissonance beyond possible suppression of positive emotions.

Although the demand to control for the suppression of positive emotions consumes self-regulation of available resources, the suppression of positive emotions still implies feeling positive emotions. Feeling positive emotions may support employee well-being because it builds the momentary thought-action repertoire that enhances personal resources (cf. Fredrickson, 2000). Put differently, not displaying felt positive emotions may not have detrimental effects, possibly because of the positive effects of feeling such positive emotions in and of themselves (Fredrickson, 2000). In contrast, this thesis showed that the suppression of negative emotions was positively related to exhaustion at the end of the work shift. Suppression of negative emotions implies that felt negative emotions are not displayed. The experience of negative emotions may partly explain why exhaustion is elevated. Previous studies emphasized the negative health effects of experienced negative emotions (i.e., Beiser, 1974; Gross & Levenson, 1993). Moreover, suppressing negative emotions (i.e., not displaying felt negative emotions) may also be detrimental because the interaction partner may notice that the employee experiences negative feelings or is in a negative mood.

The detrimental relationship between suppressing negative emotions on the police officer's level of exhaustion was further refined by incorporating the influences of various discrete negative emotions (Diary study 2, Chapter 3). Results suggest that different negative emotions play different roles in their relationship with daily exhaustion among police officers. One explanation for the differential effects of suppressing various negative emotions (i.e., anger, sadness, and abhorrence) can be found in the higher psychological cost of suppressing anger and abhorrence, compared to sadness. The suppression of anger and abhorrence may have stronger short-term effects as they can be defined as high arousal emotions (Russell, 1980). The difference between a desirable neutral display and sadness (a low-arousal negative felt state) is much smaller than the difference between the neutral display and high-arousal emotions, such as anger and abhorrence. Put differently, it takes more effort and motivation to suppress anger and abhorrence than sadness. This effort costs more personal energetic resources and may thus result in an increase in the level of police officers' experienced exhaustion at the end of the work shift. In addition, within the police culture, as a means of professionally working in impactful emotional situations, police officers may have learned to ignore feelings of sadness that can be experienced during the incident or even after the incident is resolved. Also, police officers generally consider it undesirable to display or feel emotions of sadness during service performance in public. Police officers, as they and the general public perceive it, are expected to stay calm and in control of the situation.

Another explanation for the detrimental relationship between suppressing anger, abhorrence and exhaustion can be found in the personal and social consequences of these emotions. The consequences of suppressing anger and abhorrence may be sufficiently high in that it costs more energy to suppress these emotions, compared to suppressing sadness. Although sadness is not always desired to be expressed during work, accidentally displaying sadness may in various

circumstances be less threatening to a social interaction than displaying anger or abhorrence. This may make the suppression of sadness during the interaction less costly. It is less impactful for the interaction when erroneously displaying sadness than mistakenly displaying anger or abhorrence. Thus, the pressure of perfectly suppressing sadness should be lower than for suppressing anger or abhorrence. Consequently, it takes less effort to act that sadness is not felt. Helping people is an important part of a police officer's job. Experiencing and accidentally displaying feelings of sadness may evoke personal helping behavior by displaying feelings of empathy and, in consequence, may result in a more positive reaction from the civilian. In contrast, anger is presumed to have detrimental effects on social interactions (i.e., van Kleef, de Dreu, & Manstead, 2004). Côté (2005) postulated that the suppression of anger would lead to a less unfavorable response of the receiver simply because the anger is not displayed. Although the suppression of anger may prevent further energy losses as a result of a probable forthcoming negative interaction, this anger suppression also means that it is extra important to invest additional energy in suppressing negative emotions to avoid the receiver's negative response. This additional effort draws on the total employee energy-resources.

Research question 3: What is the relation between emotional labor and the receivers' perception of performance success?

The negative consequences of emotional labor for employee well-being, as described above are especially a result of initial strain and suppressing emotions. However, two forms of acting, deep acting and deliberative dissonance acting, may support employee well-being (i.e., work engagement) and organizational outcomes (i.e., performance success and service performance). The results presented in Chapter 4 showed that the display of positive emotions by the sender as perceived by the receiver (e.g., the civilian) have a direct effect on the receiver's perception of how well the sender (i.e., the police officer) carried out the particular job. That is, the display of positive emotions directly influences the police officer's performance success, regardless of the (direct) influence of the police officer's applied regulation technique in terms of surface acting or deep acting. Stated differently, when a police officer displays positive emotions, the complete interaction process may be influenced in a positive way. In turn, it does not seem to matter which regulation technique is applied by the police officer when the receiver feels respectfully and correctly treated. Then this may result in a more positive interaction overall. Results as presented in Chapter 4 showed that displaying positive emotions is decisive for perceived performance success, partly because the performance is then perceived as authentic. Thus, no matter how the police officer regulated personally felt emotions, but rather displaying positive emotions seems decisive for performance success as rated by the interaction partner (i.e., the civilian). Apart from this result, findings of the study presented in Chapter 4 showed that surface acting is negatively related to the perceived display of positive emotions, indicating that police officers who are high on surface acting are perceived as displaying less positive emotions. This finding is consistent with results regarding

the impact of initial strain (i.e., a lack of energetic resources) on surface acting as described above (found in Chapter 5). Namely, a lack of resources enhanced the experience of negative emotions; experiencing negative emotions may make it difficult to regulate emotions appropriately (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004), especially in accordance with positive display rules. Moreover, a lack of resources may make it difficult to deal with negative demanding customer interactions in a positive way as one needs the energetic resources to regulate personal emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997) instead of constructively controling the interaction. In addition, the findings as discussed in Chapter 4 indicated that deep acting neither had a direct effect on the perceived display of positive emotions, nor on the receiver's perception of authenticity and performance success.

The importance of authenticity when displaying positive emotions and the use of deep acting as a preferred regulation technique has been emphasized by various scholars (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Likewise, surface acting was assumed to lead to an unfavorable response by the receiver due to its inauthentic nature or because negative emotions were acted out (Côté, 2005). Two important elements that might have influenced the different results from previous research should be discussed. First, when a police officer reprimands an offender, the relationship between the police officer and the offender may be different than in a regular customer service setting (e.g., that of a flight-attendant or service desk employee). A police officer correcting an offender may possibly inflict a negative perception by the receiver. Displaying positive emotions may then have a mitigating effect, regardless of the authenticity of the displayed emotions. Second, when a fine is denounced, it is not uncommon that the receiver becomes (slightly) annoyed or emotional. Emotional civilians may perceive the police officer's authenticity or emotion regulation technique in a different way than civilians being in a neutral mood. Being emotional may bias the receiver's capability to judge the police officer's authenticity or the corresponding emotion regulation technique of the sender (cf. Konijn, Walma van der Molen, & Van Nes, 2009). More specifically, felt emotions on the part of the receiver may lead to specific framing of pieces of information (Nabi, 2003), cost energy (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998), and may influence the receiver's thought processes and information capability (Forgas, 1994, 1995). Such biasing effects may lead to a narrowing of the receiver's attention focus, thereby influencing the perception of authenticity of the emotions displayed by the police officer (cf. Konijn & Ten Holt, 2010). Further extending this reasoning, I assume that the information processing necessary to recognize and interpret others' emotions may also be influenced by the energy level of the receiver him- or herself (i.e., the civilian). Being in an emotional state costs energy and it will draw on the receivers' resources reservoir. The personal emotional state may lead to efforts towards self-control. Baumeister et al. (1998) showed that acts of self-control lowered performance in subsequent tasks. As a result of increased energy consumption, less effort can be put into the emotion regulation process (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). Recognizing the sender's used emotion regulation technique may then be even more difficult.

Research question 4: How can deliberately acting emotions be beneficial to police officers' well-being?

Chapter 5 describes another positive outcome of acting emotions specifically the acting style named deliberative dissonance acting. Deliberative dissonance acting refers to the deliberate acting or suppression of emotions to achieve one's primary work goals (Zapf, 2002). On the one hand, daily deliberative dissonance acting appeared negative in its relation with strain at the end of the work shift via daily feelings of emotional dissonance, which is in line with previous between-person studies on the detrimental effects of emotional labor (e.g., Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Tewksbury & Higgins, 2006). The discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions depletes self-regulatory resources (Hochschild, 1983) and decreases the police officer's energy level during the working day. Because the effort of acting or suppressing emotions requires this energy, strain levels will be higher at the end of the work shift. However, on the other hand, I investigated whether daily deliberative dissonance acting could also simultaneously be positively related to daily work engagement via perceptions of daily job accomplishment. This hypothesis was supported by the results as described in Chapter 5. Daily deliberative dissonance acting was positively related to daily work engagement through daily job accomplishment. This finding is an important positive contribution to emotional labor research because it provides the novel insight that deliberative dissonance acting may also be beneficial for the personal well-being of police officers. On days during which a police officer deliberatively displays emotions to accomplish a work goal (e.g., showing empathy to assist a victim of a crime or displaying negative emotions to address a criminal), he or she experiences work engagement after accomplishing the job goals.

The viewpoint that emotional labor may not only negatively but also positively affect employee well-being is thus far not prevalent in the extant body of research regarding emotional labor. Previous research showed that employee well-being will be compromised if the employee does not act in accordance with the truly felt emotions (e.g., Pugliesi, 1999; Zapf et al., 1999). Likewise, surface acting is presumed to lead to an unfavorable response by the receiver because of its inauthentic nature (Côté, 2005). The current thesis, however, showed that this insight needs to be refined. Previous research has also shown that customers prefer being exposed to a positive attitude and that positive displays may be beneficial to the flow of interactions and support the delivery of a good service quality (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Tsai & Huang, 2002). In my studies, deliberative dissonance acting turned out to be also beneficial to employee well-being for several reasons. Deliberative dissonance acting has an important goal-directed intention. This intention may help the employee to accomplish the primary work goals. More effort will then be put into displaying the emotions as positively and authentic as possible, which may help to satisfy clients and, consequently, may result in positive performance feedback. Grandey et al. (2005) showed the importance of the primary task performance beyond authentic emotional labor displays. Beyond an authentic performance, customers evaluate the overall encounter as positively only under the

restriction of high task performance (Grandey et al., 2005). In turn, performance feedback can be considered an important job resource that may positively affect employee well-being (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Such positive resources may also buffer the impact of job demands on burnout (Bakker, Demerouti, & Euwema, 2005). Likewise, several studies have shown that job resources foster well-being on a within-person level (e.g., Bakker & Bal, 2010; Simbula, 2010; Xanthopoulou, et al., 2009). A final reason why deliberative dissonance acting may be beneficial to employee well-being can be found in the way that the employee copes with the display rules of the organization. Sticking to the described company's display rules that prescribe appropriate emotions to display may be more stressful than the voluntary nature of choosing oneself to apply for deliberative dissonance acting as an effective emotion regulation technique. Surface acting leaves the felt emotions unchanged, whereas deliberative dissonance acting plays a particular important role in consciously promoting acting as a strategy to accomplish assigned work tasks.

Research question 5: How are deep acting and surface acting related to well-being and service performance when taking initial strain into account?

A final possible positive organizational outcome of emotional labor is good service performance. Results of this thesis showed that emotional labor, service performance and strain were related to each other in several ways. First, results showed that daily deep acting was positively related to service performance. Second, results showed that daily surface acting was positively related to strain at the end of the work shift, and was negatively related to daily service performance (see Chapter 6). These results are in line with previous emotional labor research that has focused on the direct relationship between surface acting or emotional dissonance and employee well-being (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). The results of the present thesis validated the detrimental effects of surface acting on employee well-being. However, initial strain was introduced as an important antecedent of surface acting, which could clarify the positive relationship between surface acting and strain. Furthermore, surface acting was found to be negatively related to service performance. Again initial strain seemed to play a significant role in elucidating the negative relationship between surface acting and service performance. First, a higher level of initial strain enhanced surface acting. Second, initial strain may have negatively influenced the level of service performance due to a lack of available energetic resources necessary to help others. The tendency to surface act as a result of strain at the start of the work shift may have inflicted the police officer's ability to help civilians above and beyond the primary work task. This finding is consistent with assumptions of COR-theory that states that a shortage of resources at the start of the work shift leads to more resource losses during the work shift, which may, in addition to the preference to surface act, also result in an impaired performance. When surface acting is applied the emotions that should better not be displayed are already felt. This means that the felt emotions can no longer be cognitively anticipated and can only be regulated through

modifying the emotional display. A first explanation why surface was found detrimental for service performance is that surface acting implies inauthentic behavior, which in turn may elicit a negative reaction from the interaction partner (Côté, 2005). Second, I suggest that the police officer's strain level – that was positively related to the use of surface acting - explains the negative relationship between surface acting and service performance. A lack of resources leads to putting energy in defending available resources and trying to feel better (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, 2004) instead of helping others. Furthermore, previous research has shown that surface acting was positively related to a negative mood (Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009), whereas job performance is especially found to be positively related to workers happiness (i.e., the experience of positive emotions; cf. Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). Thus, results of this thesis indicate that surface acting as a consequence of initial strain is not suitable in enhancing the organization's service performance level.

In contrast, previous studies showed that deep acting can be related to an increase in job performance (Hülsheger, Lang, & Maier, 2010; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). The results of the study described in Chapter 6 confirmed this viewpoint in terms of service performance. Daily deep acting was positively related to daily service performance. Thus, the acting style that is applied during the work shift influenced the way that the police officer evaluated the personal service performance in terms of helping civilians during the work day. More concretely, daily deep acting seemed to enhance the officer's ability to help citizens effectively. The police officer tried to alter thoughts regarding emotionally loaden interactions with civilians to avoid feeling emotions that may be detrimental in forthcoming daily service interactions. Thus, deep acting appeared more effective in delivering high-quality service because feelings of ineffective emotions during service interactions are cognitively ruled out before the interaction takes place. For instance, a police officer may beforehand alter negative thoughts on forthcoming interactions, thereby not allowing to feel emotions such as frustration or irritation during the interaction itself. This may help in preventing energy losses during the interaction that can better be used in dealing with the demanding situation or for helping the civilian.

7.3   Strengths and weaknesses

Several strengths and limitations of this thesis should be mentioned. First, an important strength of the studies as reported in this thesis is the use of diary studies. This is still an uncommon research method within emotional labor research, but it offers an opportunity to measure the daily fluctuations of emotional labor in a natural work context and close to the moment that the measured variables are experienced in real time (Bolger et al., 2003). First, this thesis shows on a day-to-day basis, the importance for police officers to be aware of the need for adequate rest and recovery, thus offering insights into creating and maintaining a healthier police force. Second, the present thesis offers a unique contribution by uncovering the ways in which emotional demands

eventually enhance feelings of exhaustion through the suppression of specific discrete emotions. It shows the importance of specifying emotional dissonance into the different components of suppressing positive and negative emotions. Suppressing distinct positive or negative emotions may exert substantially different effects on day-to-day employee exhaustion. Third, the interaction partner was taken into account, which is important when studying emotional labor interactions and the role of feedback of the interaction partner in the effects of emotional labor. The theoretical and empirical consequences of displaying positive emotions in emotional labor were discussed. The relationship with performance success was established by evaluating the viewpoint of the interaction partner as well as how the sender feels. Thus, this thesis offers an important contribution to the emotional labor literature by simultaneously examining the intra- and interpersonal dynamics of the interaction process. The innovative focus on the positive outcomes of daily emotional labor techniques during the work of police officers further refines emotional labor research and offer important insights into the effects of senders' emotion regulation on the receiver's perception of the interaction. Fourth, taking into account both the positive and negative effects of acting different emotions that do not resemble those that are felt, offers an important contribution to emotional labor research. Studying parallel processes is also of particular theoretical importance. Namely, it supports the homology of proposed assumptions across different levels of analysis (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000), which adds to the parsimony of the theoretical framework.

Limitations

Several limitations should be noted as well. First, the studies described in this thesis were conducted within a very specific occupational group, namely police officers. The work of police officers is rather different from the work in most other customer service settings, which provides unique insights into a special occupational group but also restricts the generalization of the findings to other service occupations such as flight-attendants, teachers, call-centers employees, or receptionists. A main difference of police work with all these other occupations in view of emotional labor, is that police work demands more variation in acting positive and negative emotions. A second limitation is the relatively low response rate of the presented diary studies compared to survey studies within the field of emotional labor. Diary studies are often sensitive to a low response rates because it takes quite some time and effort for individuals to complete all questions day after day and often several times a day (Bolger et al., 2003). The occupation of police officer is particularly stressful, which understandably may have influenced the response rates. Accordingly, the respondents who did participate in the diary studies may have been more committed or may have had higher energy levels than their colleagues who did not participate. However, one could also argue that those with higher levels of exhaustion may have found the study more relevant. The selectivity of the samples is unknown, and therefore we need to interpret the findings with some caution. As a third limitation, it should be noted that the respondents from the interaction studies presented in Chapter 4 did not have much practical experience in policing. However, the training actors were very experienced in

presenting training situations that reflect realistic civilian reactions in a real-life setting. In addition, it should be noted that the feedback situation after the training was different than during the practice of policing. The feedback was given in a safe and controlled setting, whereas in practice, feedback will not always be directly and comfortably delivered.

A final limitation to be mentioned is that, except from strain at the start of the work shift, other possible antecedents of emotional labor were not taken into account. Another important antecedent may be the affective state of the employee. Research of Liu, Prati, Perrewé, and Ferris et al., (2008) showed that a high level of negative affect was positively related to surface acting. When people are in a negative state, they have a narrowed thought-action repertoire and seem to put top priority and energy into feeling better (Fredrickson, 2000; Tice, Baumeister & Zhang, 2004). Liu et al. (2008) argued that negative affect can be compared to having a low resource level (in this research relating to a low energetic resource level) which may be related to the prevalence of surface acting. A lack of resources makes it more difficult to put the necessary effort needed into regulating emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). Thus, negative emotions would leave less energy for investing in a constructive, positive social interaction. Police officers who experience negative affect may be more inclined to experience emotional dissonance and may be more confined to using surface acting. The resulting dissonant state may also be explained by the link between negative affect and a lack of resources needed to regulate emotions (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). Resources are lacking because when experiencing negative emotions, energy is needed to attempt to feel better (Tice, Baumeister & Zhang, 2004) and a loss spiral may occur as a result of a lower level of energy (Hobfoll, 1989). Surface acting may thus be the easiest way to regulate the emotions as it 'only' requires changing the outward appearance. In contrast, positive affect may lead to maintenance of the positive state (Erber & Markunas, 2005), thus making it easier to display the felt emotions. Negative affect is an important antecedent of emotional dissonance, which may explain the positive relationship between surface acting, emotional dissonance and elements of burnout within emotional labor research. To the extent that strain can be considered similar to negative affect, our results are in line with these findings.

Methodological issues
Some methodological issues are important to further discuss. Although the presented diary studies covered a specific time-frame, they did not address cause-effect relationships. Future studies should focus on lagged effects to study the relationship between emotional suppression at work and employee exhaustion and work engagement over time. Furthermore, it should be noted that the various discrete emotions in this study were measured as single items. Multi-item measures are usually less sensitive to measurement errors. Consequently, single item measures make it more difficult to establish internal consistency and reliability. In addition, when measuring the suppression of emotions, the difference between felt and displayed emotions was calculated based

on the answers given. Therefore, the data for the predictor variables (i.e., the emotion suppression variables) for the studies presented in Chapter 3 became asymmetric, which is at odds with the assumption of a normal distribution for parametric statistical analyses. Although the normality of the predictors is not a requirement for multilevel analyses (Hox, 1995), this limitation should be noted. Finally, it should be mentioned that there is a skewness in the data of the outcome variable exhaustion for both diary studies presented in Chapter 3. However, the outcome variables show similar distributions, and the standardized residuals showed a normal curve, defending our chosen analyses.

7.4   Future research

This thesis opens the way for an interesting line of future emotional labor research. I showed that studying emotional labor in the specific and special occupational group of police officers yields important findings. It is important for future emotional labor research to take a broader range of service professions into account in addition to the more commonly studied service settings. Furthermore, future studies should more extensively examine emotional labor on a daily basis, investigating the daily effects of emotional labor on employees' psychological well-being. Moreover, conducting more interaction studies to examine the perception of the interaction partner and how feedback during the interaction affects emotional labor and well-being is strongly recommended. In addition, the present thesis investigated the effects of suppressing distinct discrete negative emotions on top of general emotional dissonance. Further studying the use of discrete emotions and a further refinement of the different forms of emotional dissonance may reveal different effects of suppressing and faking these emotions. It is conceivable that these effects may differentially influence psychological strain. The effects of faking positive versus negative emotions deserve more scholarly consideration. Therefore, future research should take the effects of faking different discrete emotions on employees' psychological well-being into account. Finally, the diary studies presented in this thesis have a time-based design and are not complemented with an event-based approach. The emotions that need to be displayed or suppressed can be quite different in different situational settings during the day. A more detailed investigation of the situation in which emotional labor takes place may be interesting, for which a day reconstruction method (DRM; Kahneman et al., 2004) can be a suitable technique. Accordingly, experimental research, DRM or event sampling is needed to examine the effects of emotion regulation on the interaction partner in a more controlled setting. Thus the specific situational setting in which the emotion regulation technique is used - as well as the emotional state of the receiver - can be experimentally manipulated.

Importantly, future research should also address the positive consequences of acting emotions (i.e., surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting). This thesis already showed that the conscious strategy of deliberative dissonance acting may elevate engagement as a result of accomplishing the

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job. It is interesting to expand future research to take into account important gains that may arise as a result of emotional labor during a work shift. Even for recipients who start their shift with more psychological strain and are experiencing emotional dissonance, it should theoretically be possible to achieve gains such that the effect on psychological strain at the end of a shift might be mitigated. This approach may result in an emotional demands and resources model that more fully accounts for the costs and benefits of emotional labor. More specifically, resources that can be acquired as a result of emotional labor, such as positive customer feedback after accomplishing the job or social support from colleagues and supervisors may buffer the negative effects of job demands, such as emotional dissonance, on strain and burnout.

7.5 Recommendations for the practice of policing

The insights and findings of this thesis offer various practical recommendations. Foremost, it is important for police officers to learn how emotional labor and emotion regulation works. The training of police officers is mainly based on behavioral and tactical methods to get a situation under control. For instance, this training includes specific instructions regarding how to interact when writing out a fine, what to say when delivering bad news, and how to get the emotions of other people under control. Although police officers are educated about what happens with their emotions and stress level during severe circumstances, it also seems important to gain insight into one's private emotions as they relate to the emotions that have to be professionally displayed during daily regular and emotionally taxing interactions. This insight is important for preventing an energy loss and depersonalization. When police officers (or employees in general) realize which emotion regulation techniques are available and are most likely being used without conscious awareness, it may help them to understand what happens to their internal feelings. Training police officers how to display positive emotions and how to get their negative emotions under control may be beneficial in coping with emotionally demanding situations and should result in a more successful perceived performance. Furthermore, regulating one's emotions may help to create a positive interaction with civilians, which may in turn lead to feeling positive emotions, and leave more energy for future regulation of emotions or self-presentation.

Especially when engaged in an emotionally demanding profession such as policing, it is important to create a healthy energy balance between work and private life. This energy balance is important to prevent a further energy loss spiral during work and makes it easier to increase the personal energy level during work. Furthermore, a necessary energy level is needed to regulate emotions and to address the demands of emotionally dissonant situations. Police officers should thus be encouraged to maintain a healthy private life (i.e., be offered the necessary rest, sport programs, and help to deal with private problems), and they should get adequate coaching in regulating their energy levels during permanently hectic work shifts. Early identification and assistance of those police officers

with elevated levels of psychological strain should provide the opportunity to make this category of officers less vulnerable to future energy loss. Furthermore, training programs should not only include behavioral procedures to address the situation at hand but should also incorporate the effects of the police officers' own emotions (in contrast to their professional work role), especially when suppressing negative emotions. If police officers are expected to act differently than they feel then they should be trained to understand the possible effects on their own internal state. The positive effects of being in a positive affective state and the positive consequences of being able to act different emotions should be explained. Accordingly, when continuously suppressing negative emotions, social support and positive feedback and understanding from colleagues and supervisors is important to balance energy losses.

7.6   Final conclusion: Is acting detrimental to employee well-being and performance?

This thesis showed that the common idea that surface acting, in general, is detrimental for employee well-being, needs further refinement. Although a positive relationship between emotional labor (i.e., surface acting and emotional dissonance) and strain was supported, various nuances were elucidated. Police officers who experience a high level of strain at the start of the work shift are inclined to use surface acting. The combination of a low resource level at the start of the work shift and the use of daily surface acting, is positively related to the experience of emotional dissonance on a daily basis with detrimental consequences. Suppressing discrete negative emotions such as anger, sadness, and abhorrence appeared specifically detrimental in comparison to emotional dissonance in terms of faking or suppressing positive emotions. Importantly, when taking the interaction partner into account, it appeared that they hardly recognized which type of acting was applied. The research results further indicated that the perceived display of positive emotions was a main contributor to performance success. Finally, deliberately acting emotions for the purpose of achieving personal work goals enhances the experience of work engagement. Future research should further investigate the potential benefits of deliberative dissonance acting. By investigating the benefits and positive outcomes of acting during work, emotional labor may become more effective in enhancing both the customer service-level, as well as employee well-being.

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Summary

Summary

This thesis examined emotional labor among an interesting and special occupational group, police officers. Emotional labor refers both to the regulation of emotions as part of the work role and to the consequences of doing so (Hochschild, 1983). As well as displaying naturally felt emotions, employees may engage in emotional labor using the emotion regulation techniques of surface acting, deliberative dissonance acting or deep acting. Surface acting refers to regulating the emotional expression, whereas deep acting refers to a cognitive change undertaken to actually feel the desired emotions (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). Deliberative dissonance acting refers to deliberate and goal-directed acting. Surface acting, as well as deliberative dissonance acting may lead to emotional dissonance, which refers to a state of discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions. Accumulating evidence reveals that both surface acting and emotional dissonance are detrimental to employee well-being (cf., Ashfort & Humprey, 1993; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010; Zapf & Holz, 2006).

Although there is substantial empirical support for the detrimental effects of surface acting on employee well-being, research that emphasizes possible positive effects of acting for emotion regulation on well-being and performance is lacking. This thesis aimed at validating the stressful consequences of daily emotional labor among police officers. In addition, this thesis shed a different light on the role of strain and surface acting in emotional labor among police officers and substantiates the viewpoint that emotional labor among police officers may not always be harmful. A series of quantitative diary studies are presented that investigated emotional labor among police officers on a day-to-day basis, while most previous studies used survey and between-participant designs.

Emotional labor consequences

Most emotional labor research relates emotion regulation and emotional dissonance to the core dimensions of burnout: emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. Several emotional labor studies have shown that surface acting and emotional dissonance are positively related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). However, strain at the start of a work shift may play an important role in inflicting the use of surface acting and the experience of emotional dissonance. The Conservation of Resources theory (Hobfoll, 1989) states that a lack of resources may result in an even greater energy loss spiral during work, which leaves less energy for regulating personal emotions. The results of a diary study among Dutch (military) police officers (Chapter 2) showed that strain at the start of a work shift had a positive effect on the experience of emotional dissonance and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. Emotional dissonance partly mediated the relationship between psychological strain at the start and psychological strain at the end of a work shift. Additionally, the results of another

diary study (Chapter 6) showed that strain at the start of the work shift was positively related to daily surface acting, but not to daily deep acting. Daily deep acting appeared to be positively related to service performance (i.e., helping customers), whereas daily surface acting mediated the relationship between strain at the start of the work shift and both service performance as well as strain at the end of the work shift. In addition, daily surface acting was particularly positively related to emotional dissonance when the level of strain at the start of the work shift was high.

Suppressing negative emotions

It has been argued that especially the suppression of negative emotions is related to burnout or strain. Suppression of emotions can be described as inhibiting the outward signs of inner feelings. Suppression decreases the behavioral expression but it will not prevent the actual experience of the emotion (Gross, 2002). Suppression of emotions may result in weakened social support, less social esteem, increased sympathetic activation of the cardiovascular system, and other cognitive costs (Gross, 2002). Furthermore, emotional suppression may be connected to a sense of spuriousness and estrangement and to feelings of inauthenticity at work (Butler & Gross, 2004; Erickson and Ritter, 2001). People who use suppression strategies have a greater risk for prolonged periods of depression and negative emotions (Gross & John, 2003). In addition, suppression of negative emotions means that negative emotions are also felt. These felt negative emotions can have negative consequences for one´s physical health and psychological well-being (Gross & Levensson, 1997; Barak, 2006). Finally, when people feel negative emotions, they often allocate top priority and energy to feeling better (Tice, Baumeister & Zhang, 2004). Results of a diary study (Chapter 3), revealed that suppressing *anger* was positively related to exhaustion at the end of a work shift, whereas suppressing *happiness* was not. The results of a second diary study (Chapter 3) confirmed that emotional dissonance, and more particularly the suppression of *abhorrence* mediated the relationship between emotional job demands and exhaustion at the end of a work shift.

Positive emotions and perceived performance success

An important viewpoint within emotional labor research states that an authentic performance is important for the interaction partner. Various studies have shown the positive effects of authenticity. The authentic display of positive emotions is especially expected to increase the quality of the encounter (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). However, this thesis discussed the effect of authentic acting on the interaction partner (Chapter 4). It can be argued that it is difficult to fully recognize senders' (i.e., the employees') emotional labor, and thus, to distinguish between real or feigned emotions. Previous research suggests that people have difficulty in distinguishing between posed and spontaneous expressions (Eckman, 1989; Hess & Kleck, 1990; Russell, 1994). Konijn (2000) showed that actors on stage were able to present genuine emotional expressions without feeling the accompanying emotions. Furthermore, being in an emotional state

may further bias the receivers' capabilities to rate the sender's possible inauthentic displays. Stress beyond a certain point makes people feel worse, and it leads to a negative performance (Chajut & Algum, 2003). Information processing is an important element in recognizing and interpreting emotions. Information about the context is thus important for recognizing displayed emotions. However, this process can be disturbed, as felt emotions may lead to framing pieces of information (Brosius, 1993; Nabi, 2003) and may influence the receivers' information processing capabilities (Forgas, 1994).

What is important for a receiver to judge a police officer's performance? It is assumed that perceived displays of positive emotions may contribute to evaluating an interaction as successful. Perceived displays of positive emotions may have a positive effect in and of themselves (cf. Fredrickson, 1998; Pugh, 2001), regardless of the acting style. Research shows that positive displays are positively related to experienced service quality, overall performance and social esteem (Clark and Taraban, 1991; Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005; Tsai and Huang, 2002). Likewise, research has shown a positive effect of smiling on experienced customer satisfaction (Barger & Grandey, 2006; Brown & Sulzer-Azaroff, 1994). This described theoretical background is incorporated into a study examining the interaction between trainee police officers and professional actors. These studies examined the viewpoint of the sender of emotional labor as well as the interaction partner (i.e., the receiver). The results, showed that perceived authenticity mediated the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the perceived performance success, while the specific senders' emotion regulation technique were not related to perceived performance success. Furthermore, results showed that perceived performance success mediated the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction, even after controlling for senders' positive affect.

Deliberate acting and work engagement

Most previous studies of emotional labor have focused on the relationship between emotional dissonance or surface acting, and burnout. Work engagement has not often been studied as a positive outcome of emotional labor. However, it can be argued that acting may be functional for accomplishing the job. For instance, police officers who suppress emotions or who simulate negative emotions can prevent an interaction from escalating. Feigning positive emotions may help a suspect to confess to a committed a crime, may help to collect criminal information from civilians or may help to deliver a qualitative service. Dedicated employees who identify with their organization may understand that acting is part of the work role, and they may believe that behaving in an inauthentic way may serve their assigned roles (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Deliberate dissonance acting, as described by Zapf (2002), was introduced. Deliberate dissonance acting refers to a deliberate and goal-directed way of acting in order to accomplish the task. Accordingly, daily deliberate dissonance

acting may lead to daily job accomplishment. In turn, job accomplishment may create other job resources, such as positive customer feedback and opportunities for growth (Bakker & Bal, 2010). Furthermore, it may lead to successful employee-customer interactions. It is assumed that job accomplishment is positively related to work engagement. The results of a diary study (Chapter 5) showed that police officers deliberately engaged in emotional labor with both detrimental and beneficial consequences, as assessed via daily reports.

Conclusion

This thesis showed that a mainstream idea within emotional labor research - the detrimental effects of a dissonant acting style - needs further refinement. Results validated the harmful consequences of surface acting and deliberative dissonance acting for employee well-being. Although a positive relationship between emotional labor (i.e., surface acting and emotional dissonance) and strain was supported, various nuances were elucidated. Police officers who experienced a high level of strain at the start of the work shift were inclined to use surface acting. The combination of a low resource level at the start of the work shift and the use of daily surface acting was positively related to experienced emotional dissonance on a daily basis with detrimental consequences. In addition, findings presented in this thesis also showed that the suppression of specific negative emotions such as anger, sadness and abhorrence, appeared specifically detrimental in comparison to emotional dissonance in terms of faking or suppressing positive emotions. This suggests that not every form of emotional dissonance is detrimental to employee well-being. The research results further indicated that the perceived display of positive emotions was a main contributor to performance success. The receiver rated an interaction as especially authentic and successful when a positive display was perceived, regardless of the emotion regulation technique used by the sender. Further, deliberately acting emotions for the purpose of achieving personal work goals enhances the experience of work engagement. Finally, daily deep acting may enhance daily service performance, whereas initial strain at the start of the work shift was negatively related to daily service performance through daily surface acting. Future research should further investigate the potential benefits of acting at work. By investigating the benefits and positive outcomes of acting, emotional labor may become more effective in enhancing both service performance, as well as employee well-being.

Samenvatting

(Summary in Dutch)

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Dit proefschrift beschrijft een onderzoek naar emotiewerk onder een interessante en speciale beroepsgroep, namelijk politieagenten. Het begrip emotiewerk is te definiëren als de regulatie van emoties als onderdeel van het werk en de daaraan te relateren consequenties voor het welbevinden van de werknemer (Hochschild, 1983). Naast het uiten van de natuurlijk gevoelde emoties, kan de werknemer tijdens het werk gebruikmaken van emotieregulatie-technieken zoals *surface acting deliberative dissonance acting* en *deep acting*. *Surface acting* betreft de regulatie van de uiterlijk waarneembare emotionele expressie, terwijl *deep acting* juist betrekking heeft op de verandering van de innerlijke cognities, met als doel op voorhand de voor de situatie gepaste emoties ook daadwerkelijk te kunnen gaan voelen (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). *Deliberative dissonance acting* heeft betrekking op bewust, opzettelijk en doelgericht acteren. Zowel de emotieregulatie-techniek *surface acting* als ook *deliberative dissonance acting*, kunnen leiden tot een toestand van emotionele dissonantie. Emotionele dissonantie betreft een innerlijk ervaren toestand waarbij er een discrepantie bestaat tussen de gevoelde emoties en de emoties die op dat moment worden getoond. Er is toenemend empirisch bewijs voor het feit dat zowel *surface acting* als ook emotionele dissonantie een negatieve invloed hebben op het psychologische welbevinden van de werknemer (zie o.a., Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010; Zapf & Holz, 2006).

Ondanks het vele empirische bewijs dat de nadelige effecten van *surface acting* op het welbevinden van de werknemer onderbouwt, ontbreekt onderzoek dat zich richt op de positieve effecten van het acteren van emoties tijdens het werk. Dit proefschrift richt zich enerzijds op het valideren van de stressvolle consequenties van dagelijks emotiewerk onder politieagenten. Anderzijds werpt dit proefschrift ook een nieuw licht op de rol van spanning en *surface acting* in het vervullen van emotiewerk. De veronderstelling dat emotiewerk niet inherent nadelig hoeft te zijn wordt hierbij onderbouwd. Het proefschrift omvat meerdere kwantitatieve dagboekonderzoeken waarbij de mate van emotiewerk door politieagenten op een dagdagelijkse basis werd onderzocht. Dit in tegenstelling tot voorgaande onderzoeken binnen dit vakgebied, die vooral gebruikmaakten van *between-person* designs (cross-sectionele studies).

Consequenties van emotiewerk

Het merendeel van het onderzoek naar emotiewerk relateert emotieregulatie en emotionele dissonantie aan de belangrijkste dimensies van burn-out: emotionele uitputting en depersonalisatie. Een verscheidenheid aan onderzoeken heeft aangetoond dat *surface acting* en emotionele dissonantie positief gerelateerd waren aan emotionele uitputting en depersonalisatie (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Echter, spanning aan het begin van de dienst kan een belangrijke rol spelen in het toepassen van *surface acting* en het ontstaan

van een gevoelde emotionele dissonante toestand. De *Conservation of Resources* (COR) theorie (Hobfoll, 1989) stelt dat een gebrek aan hulpbronnen tot een verdere verliesspiraal van energie kan leiden. Hierdoor is er nog minder energie beschikbaar om de eigen emoties te kunnen reguleren. Het resultaat van een dagboekonderzoek onder (militaire) politieagenten (Hoofdstuk 2) liet zien dat het spanningsniveau aan het begin van een dienst positief was gerelateerd aan de ervaren emotionele dissonantie. Emotionele dissonantie bleek daarbij de relatie tussen spanning aan het begin van de dienst en spanning aan het einde van dienst te mediëren. De resultaten van een ander dagboekonderzoek afgenomen onder politieagenten (Hoofdstuk 6) toonden aan dat spanning aan het begin van de dienst positief gerelateerd was aan het gebruik van *surface acting* en niet was gerelateerd aan het gebruik van *deep acting*. Deze laatste emotieregulatie-techniek bleek juist positief gerelateerd te zijn aan service performance (het helpen van klanten). *Surface acting* medieerde de relatie tussen spanning aan het begin van de dienst met enerzijds spanning aan het einde van de dienst als ook met service performance. Verder bleek *surface acting* met name in combinatie met een hoge mate van spanning aan het begin van de dienst positief gerelateerd te zijn aan emotionele dissonantie.

Onderdrukken van negatieve emoties

In dit proefschrift werd verondersteld dat met name het onderdrukken van negatieve emoties gerelateerd is aan burn-out of spanning. Het onderdrukken van emoties kan omschreven worden als de inhibitie van de uiterlijke expressie van gevoelens. Het onderdrukken van emoties vermindert welliswaar de gedragsmatige expressie maar zal het daadwerkelijke ervaren van de emotie niet verminderen (Gross, 2002). Het onderdrukken van emoties kan resulteren in verminderde ontvangen sociale steun, ervoor zorgen dat anderen je minder graag mogen, het activeren van het cardiovasculaire systeem en het doen toenemen van de cognitieve kosten (Gross, 2002). Onderzoek heeft tevens aangetoond dat het onderdrukken van emoties een positief verband heeft met zelfvervreemding en gevoelens van inauthenticiteit op het werk (Butler & Gross, 2004; Erickson & Ritter, 2001). Mensen die het onderdrukken van emoties als strategie gebruikten bleken een groter risico te lopen om een langere periode van negatieve emoties en mogelijk zelfs depressieve gevoelens te ervaren (Gross & John, 2003). Op het moment dat de expressie van negatieve emoties wordt onderdrukt betekent dit namelijk dat de bijbehorende negatieve emoties wel worden gevoeld. Deze gevoelde negatieve emoties kunnen weer negatieve consequenties hebben voor de gezondheid en het psychologische welbevinden (Beiser, 1974; Gross & Levensson, 1997; Barak, 2006). Ten slotte zullen mensen die negatieve emoties ervaren sterk geneigd zijn om prioriteit te geven aan het zich beter proberen te voelen (Tice, Baumeister & Zhang, 2004). Resultaten van een dagboekstudie zoals beschreven in Hoofdstuk 3, lieten zien dat het onderdrukken van woede positief gerelateerd was aan uitputting aan het einde van de dienst, terwijl het onderdrukken van blijdschap dat niet was. Het resultaat van een tweede dagboekonderzoek (Hoofdstuk 3) bevestigde

dat emotionele dissonantie en meer specifiek het onderdrukken van afschuw, de relatie tussen emotioneel belastende eisen op het werk en spanning aan het einde van de dienst medieerde.

Positieve emoties en waargenomen prestatie

Een belangrijk gezichtspunt binnen het onderzoeksveld van emotiewerk is het belang dat toegekend wordt aan de authenticiteit van de presentatie van emoties. Deze authentieke presentatie wordt met name van belang geacht voor de interactiepartner. Verscheidene onderzoeken hebben dit belang onderschreven. Met name de authentieke presentatie van positieve emoties zou de kwaliteit van de interactie verhogen (Ashfort & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Dit proefschrift bediscuseert de invloed van de getoonde emotionele authenticiteit op het door de interactiepartner beoordeelde succes van de interactie. Er werd namelijk verondersteld dat het moeilijk is om de emotieregulatie-techniek van de zender goed te kunnen herkennen en dus ook om een goed onderscheid te kunnen maken tussen de door de ander daadwerkelijk gevoelde emoties en de door diezelfde persoon nagebootste emoties. Eerder onderzoek heeft al aangetoond dat werknemers moeite hadden om geposeerde en spontane emotionele expressies te onderscheiden (Eckman, 1989; Hess & Kleck, 1990; Russell, 1994). Onderzoek van Konijn (2000) liet zien dat acteurs uit de theaterwereld natuurgetrouwe emotionele expressies konden tonen zonder de bijbehorende emoties daadwerkelijk te voelen. Tevens werd beargumenteerd dat wanneer de ontvanger zelf ook in een emotionele toestand verkeert (wat binnen het politiewerk geregeld aan de orde kan zijn), dit de vaardigheid om de getoonde authenticiteit van de emoties van de zender te herkennen, nog verder beperkt. Een reden hiervoor is dat te veel stress ervoor kan zorgen dat mensen zich slechter voelen, wat weer kan leiden tot een slechtere prestatie (Chajut & Algum, 2003). De emotionele toestand waarin iemand verkeert kan ook effect hebben op het kunnen verwerken van informatie. Deze informatieverwerking speelt weer een belangrijke rol bij het herkennen en interpreteren van emoties van anderen. Tevens is informatie over de context belangrijk om getoonde emoties te kunnen interpreteren. Dit proces kan echter verstoord worden doordat gevoelde emoties kunnen leiden tot het versnipperen van informatie (Brosius, 1993; Nabi, 2003), wat vervolgens weer de vaardigheden tot het verwerken van informatie kan beperken (Forgas, 1994).

Wat is van belang voor de ontvanger om de prestatie van de politieagent te beoordelen? Er wordt in dit proefschrift verondersteld dat met name de waargenomen uiting van positieve emoties bijdraagt aan een succesvolle evaluatie van de interactie. De waargenomen positieve emoties kunnen op zichzelf een positief effect hebben, los van de gebruikte acteerstijl. Eerder onderzoek liet zien dat positieve emotionele uitingen positief gerelateerd waren aan de ervaren kwaliteit van de geleverde service, de totale *performance* en toegenomen waardering (Clark and Taraban, 1991; Grandey, Fisk, Matilla, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005; Tsai & Huang , 2002). Onderzoek heeft eveneens aangetoond dat glimlachen een positief effect had op de tevredenheid van de klant (Barger &

Grandey, 2006; Brown & Sulzer-Azaroff, 1994). De beschreven theoretische achtergrond dient als basis voor een in dit proefschrift beschreven studie die de interactie tussen aspirant- politieagenten en professionele trainingsacteurs beschrijft. Deze studie zoals beschreven in Hoofdstuk 4, behelste een onderzoek waarbij zowel het gezichtspunt van de zender als van de interactiepartner tijdens de uitvoering van het emotiewerk werd onderzocht. Resultaten van deze studie toonden aan dat waargenomen authenticiteit de relatie tussen de waargenomen vertoning van positieve emoties en het door de ontvanger beoordeelde succes over de interactie medieerde, waarbij de specifieke door de zender gebruikte regulatietechniek (*surface acting* of *deep acting*) niet gerelateerd was aan het waargenomen oordeel over het succes van de interactie. Verder toonden de resultaten aan dat het beoordeelde succes van de interactie, de relatie tussen de waargenomen positieve emoties van de agent en de door de agent gevoelde positieve emoties na de interactie en na controle voor de positieve affectieve gesteldheid van de agent, medieerde.

Deliberative dissonance acting en bevlogenheid

Het merendeel van het eerder uitgevoerde onderzoek naar emotiewerk richt zich op de positieve relatie tussen *surface acting*, emotionele dissonantie en burn-out. Bevlogenheid wordt doorgaans niet in ogenschouw genomen als een mogelijk positieve uitkomst van emotiewerk. Het kan echter beargumenteerd worden dat acteren ook functioneel kan zijn voor het bereiken van het werkdoel. Politieagenten kunnen middels het onderdrukken of nabootsen van emoties voorkomen dat een interactie escaleert. Ook kan het nabootsen van emoties helpen om tijdens het politieverhoor beter contact te krijgen met een verdachte hetgeen kan leiden tot het verkrijgen van belangrijke informatie. Tevens kan het bewust nabootsen of onderdrukken van emoties helpen bij het verlenen van een kwalitatief goede service. Toegewijde werknemers die zich meer identificeren met hun organisatie zullen wellicht beter begrijpen dat acteren onderdeel uitmaakt van de werkrol (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). De term *deliberative dissonance acting* (DDA) zoals geïntroduceerd door Zapf (2002), sluit hierop aan. DDA verwijst naar het bewust en doelgericht acteren om de werktaak te volbrengen. Gebaseerd op de action theory (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Zapf, 2002) kan worden verondersteld dat acteren onderdeel uitmaakt van de psychologische apsecten van het werk en dat het kan helpen bij het volbrengen van de primaire taak. Deze taakvervulling kan daarbij ook zorgen voor het verkrijgen van andere hulpbronnen zoals positieve feedback van de klant en mogelijkheden tot persoonlijke groei (Bakker & Bal, 2010). Verder kan het leiden tot succesvolle klantinteracties. Er werd verondersteld dat taakvoltooiing positief gerelateerd was aan bevlogenheid. Resultaten van een dagboekonderzoek onder politieagenten zoals gepresenteerd in Hoofdstuk 5, ondersteunden de zienswijze dat politieagenten bewust emotiewerk toepasten met zowel negatieve als positieve effecten tot gevolg.

Conclusie

Dit proefschrift toont aan dat de algemene zienswijze binnen het onderzoek naar emotiewerk, namelijk de schadelijke effecten van het acteren van emoties, een nadere verfijning behoeft. Ondanks dat een positief verband tussen emotiewerk (*surface acting* en emotionele dissonantie) en spanning werd bevestigd, werden meerdere nuances in deze relatie aangegeven. Politieagenten die een hoge mate van spanning aan het begin van de dienst ervaarden, gebruikten eerder de emotieregulatie-techniek *surface acting*. De combinatie van een laag energie-level aan het begin van de dienst in combinatie met het gebruik van surface acting had een positief verband met ervaren emotionele dissonantie. Verder toonde dit proefschrift aan dat het onderdrukken van specifieke negatieve emoties in tegenstelling tot het onderdrukken van een positieve emotie zoals blijdschap, positief gerelateerd was aan dagelijks uitputting. Dit resultaat wees erop dat mogelijk niet elke vorm van emotionele dissonantie hetzelfde schadelijke effect heeft op het welbevinden van de politieagent. Verder is het voor het onderzoek naar emotiewerk van belang gebleken om ook het gezichtspunt van de interactiepartner in ogenschouw te nemen. Dit onderzoek liet zien dat de ontvanger een interactie met name als geslaagd beoordeelde wanneer de zender positieve emoties toonde, ongeacht welke emotieregulatie-techniek werd gebruikt. Tevens liet dit proefschrift zien dat een vorm van dagelijks bewust en doelgericht acteren (*daily deliberative dissonance acting*) kon leiden tot het volbrengen van de arbeidstaak wat weer positief gerelateerd was aan dagelijkse bevlogenheid. Acteren kan dus zowel schadelijke als positieve consequenties hebben voor het welbevinden van de politieagent. Ten slotte bleek dat het gebruik van *deep acting* de dagelijkse service *performance* verhoogde. Spanning aan het begin van de dienst werkte juist het gebruik van *surface acting* in de hand, wat weer een negatief effect had op de geleverde service *performance*. Toekomstig onderzoek zou de mogelijk positieve effecten van emotiewerk verder moeten onderzoeken. Door het onderzoeken van de positieve uitkomsten van emotiewerk kan achterhaald worden hoe emotiewerk juist de service *performance* als ook het welbevinden van de medewerker kan vergroten.

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Acknowledgements

Curriculum Vitae

Curriculum Vitae

Benjamin van Gelderen was born on August 25th, 1973 in Rheden, The Netherlands. In 1993 he started studying Psychology at the University of Tilburg. In 1998 he graduated in Work and Organizational Psychology, with a special interest for research on psychological selection and assessment instruments. After working as a psychologist at the Dutch Royal Air Force and the Dutch Royal Navy, he followed his childhood wish to become a police officer and entered the Dutch Police Academy. In 2002 he completed his police education and held various operational and tactical management positions within first aid policing, community policing, and criminal investigations. In addition, he is a commander of a police riot unit and commander of a special unit employable for guarding objects. He thus learned the heart of policing "the hard way" by fully experiencing the work of police officers and police leadership. Because he never lost interest in the study of human behavior and emotions, he started in 2005 with his Ph.D. project on emotional labor. He combined this Ph.D. project with his regular work as an officer in the Dutch Police Force. The scientific endeavor of the Ph.D. research and the intense and broad pratical experience mutually enriched both fields. In addition, he took part in a special two-year police leadership development program for further learning and developing strategic police leadership skills, which he completed in 2011. Finally, he also works as a freelance statistics teacher in the field of applied psychology. The completion of his dissertation "At the heart of policing: Emotional labor among police officers" reflects, and integrates each of these valuable experiences.