CHAPTER 14

EMOTIONAL LABOR, WELL-BEING, AND PERFORMANCE

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INTRODUCTION

HOCHSCHILD'S (1983) seminal work *The Managed Heart* ignited interest in how employees actively manage the feeling and expression of emotion as an *essential* requirement of their work role; and how this is done in accordance with organizational rules concerning the feeling and display of emotion. One of her most crucial insights was that when the emotional feelings of employees do not match the rules of emotional display—such as when an employee feels sad but must appear enthusiastic to a customer—employees often use one of two strategies to ensure their actions are in line with the display rules. Deep acting alters felt emotion in order to change emotional display and produces a genuine emotional display; whereas surface acting only alters the outward expression of emotion and produces a faked emotional display. She called the process of managing emotions as part

of the work role emotional labor, and a central concern was how emotional labor, particularly the experiences of dissonance and inauthenticity that arise from surface acting, affects employee well-being.

Since the publication of *The Managed Heart* there has been a burgeoning empirical and theoretical literature on emotional labor. This literature has focused on understanding why emotional labor has positive and negative effects on employee well-being, and has also been concerned with whether and how emotional labor influences performance outcomes such as customer satisfaction and service quality. The aim of this chapter is to offer an integrative review of the literature on emotional labor in order to understand its effects on performance and employee well-being. We first present our model of the emotional labor process, and use this as a basis from which to explore the effects of emotional labor.

Emotional Labor: A Process Model

The process of emotional labor is shaped by a range of components, which can be seen in Figure 14.1. We now describe how these components relate.

Antecedents of Regulation: Rules, Events, and Dissonance

Social interactions at work are structured, in part, by two types of emotion rule. Feeling rules govern the type and degree of emotional feeling. Display rules govern the type and extent of emotional expression (Ekman 1973). These rules can be either restrictive or expansive. For example, a restrictive feeling rule about the type of emotion is "don't feel sympathy for a client," while an expansive display rule about the degree of emotion is "express a lot of enthusiasm towards a customer" (Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead 2005). Across occupations and organizations, emotion rules tend to be expansive with regard to positive emotions (e.g., display happiness, feel enthusiasm) and restrictive with regard to negative emotions (e.g., do not display anger, do not feel unsympathetic) (Diefendorff and Gosserand 2003; Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Zapf and Holz 2006). But there are exceptions. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) reported that police interrogators and bill collectors considered it legitimate to display hostility towards subjects; and restrictions on positive emotions include not being too enthusiastic or not expressing romantic love (Cropanzano, Weiss and Elias 2004).

Emotion rules in organizations are also concerned with beliefs, true or not, about the role and effects of emotion. They can be instrumental in nature and
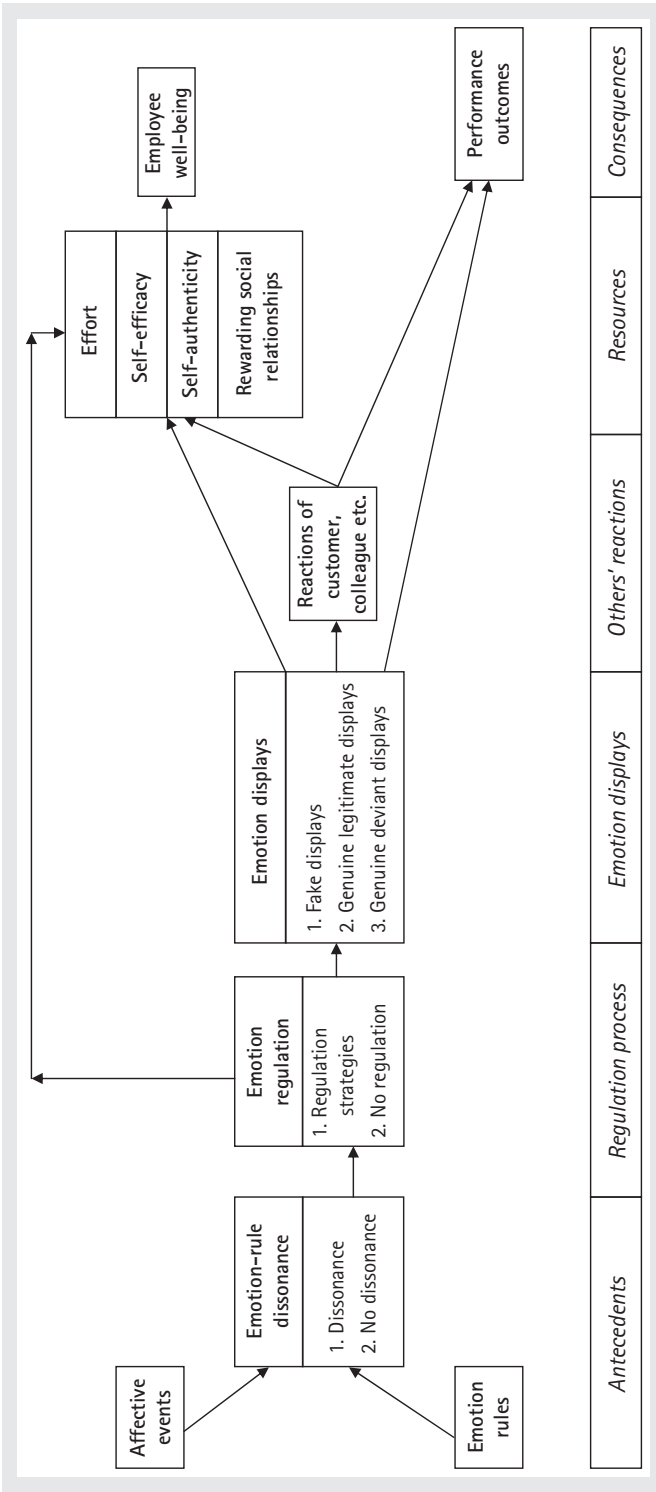
Fig. 14.1. A model of emotional labor and its outcomes

reflect assumptions about how the feeling and expression of emotion can be used to achieve better performance by influencing others (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987). For example, many organizations prescribe that employees should show positive emotions to customers because it will impact positively on customer behavior. Emotion rules can also concern the role of emotion in moral behavior (de Sousa 1990; Goffman 1967), such as being compassionate towards the sick.

As emotion rules specify the type of behavior needed to meet the higher-order goals of performance and moral behavior, employees are often motivated to act in accordance with emotion rules. When the employee's felt emotion and habitual expression of this emotion are in line with emotion rules, acting in accordance with the emotion rules is likely to be an automatic and relatively effortless process (Zapf 2002), with subsequent behavior being a genuine display of underlying emotion.

However, affective events in organizations (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996), particularly interpersonal events with customers and co-workers, induce in employees a variety of positive and negative emotions (Basch and Ficher 2000; Dormann and Zapf 2004; Totterdell and Holman 2003). So there will be instances when an employee's felt emotion differs in type or intensity from that prescribed by the emotion rules. This discrepancy between felt emotion and that required by emotion rules has been called emotional dissonance. However, emotional dissonance has also been defined as the discrepancy between felt emotion and displayed emotion. Zerbe (2000) points out that the former type of dissonance occurs before emotional regulation, while the latter type occurs after emotion regulation. To avoid confusion, we refer to the discrepancy between felt emotion and emotion rules that occurs before emotion regulation as "emotion-rule dissonance," and the discrepancy between felt emotion and expressed emotion that occurs after emotion regulation as "fake emotional displays."

Emotion Regulation

Emotion-rule dissonance is problematic for the employee as current feelings will inhibit the required feeling and display of emotion, thereby threatening the achievement of work goals. In response, the employee can attempt to regulate his or her emotional behavior through various emotion regulation strategies (Gross 1998). These strategies can be conceptualized as having two main dimensions that reflect different motives (see Table 14.1). The first dimension is concerned with the focus of regulation, that is, whether the strategy aims to change emotional feeling or emotional display. Strategies aimed at altering emotional feeling have been called deep acting (Hochschild 1983) but are more accurately called antecedent-focused strategies since they modify the situation or perception of situation in order to adjust emotion (Grandey 2000). (We use the term deep acting due to its common

Table 14.1. Types of emotion regulation strategy

Direction of regulation	Focus of regulation	
	Deep acting (Antecedent–focused regulation)	Surface acting (Response–focused acting)
Amplification Suppression	Express or amplify emotional feeling Inhibit, dampen or neutralize emotional feeling	Express or amplify emotional display Inhibit, dampen or neutralize emotional display

use in the emotional labor literature.) Deep acting deals with the problem of emotion-rule dissonance by altering felt emotion, thereby enabling the appropriate display of emotion. Importantly, the expression of emotion is a genuine display of a felt emotion. Strategies aimed at altering emotional display have been called surface acting but are more accurately labelled response-focused strategies since they modify the response to a situation. Surface acting deals with the problem of emotion-rule dissonance by adjusting the emotional display in order to bring it into line with the display rules; but it leaves felt emotion unchanged. Surface acting causes publicly displayed emotion to be different from felt emotion, i.e., it creates fake emotional displays.

The second dimension is concerned with the direction of change in emotion, namely, whether strategies aim to suppress or amplify emotion (Matsumoto et al. 2005). Suppression strategies aim to inhibit, dampen, or neutralize emotional behavior, whereas amplification strategies aim to express or enhance emotional behavior (Diefendorff and Greguras 2006). Combining the two dimensions means that deep strategies can be used to suppress or amplify emotional feeling, while surface strategies can be used to suppress or amplify emotional display (see Table 14.1). Furthermore, each strategy may be achieved through various actions, e.g., deep acting can be achieved by cognitive reappraisal of the situation or by refocusing attention on things to induce the required emotion (Grandey 2000).

According to our model, emotion-rule dissonance should be an important determinant of emotional regulation. The evidence for this derives mainly from qualitative studies (Hochschild 1983), as quantitative studies have mainly measured fake emotional display (i.e., the dissonance between felt and expressed emotion). But while emotion-rule dissonance stimulates regulation, other factors in the model influence choices about the focus of regulation (i.e., whether to use deep or surface acting) and the direction of regulation (i.e., whether to suppress or amplify).

The use of deep and surface acting has been associated with the general presence of display rules (Brotheridge and Lee 2002). But studies using differentiated measures of display rules paint a different picture, with negative emotion display

rules more highly associated with surface acting, and positive emotion display rules being highly associated with deep acting (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand 2005). However, as levels of deep and surface acting vary considerably between occupations and contexts (cf., Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Brotheridge and Lee 2002; Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand 2005; Totterdell and Holman 2003), individual and contextual factors appear to play a significant role in the adoption of deep and surface strategies. (We focus on some of these later.)

Decisions about the suppression or amplification of emotion may depend largely on the employee's current emotional state and the emotional behavior required by emotion rules. Evidence for this is limited. But if true, as display rules in most organizations are generally concerned with the restriction of negative emotions and the expansion of positive emotions, then the most commonly used strategies should be those aimed at the suppression of negative emotions and the amplification of positive emotions; and this was confirmed by Diefendorff and Greguras (2006).

One response to emotion-rule dissonance is the regulation of emotional feeling and display. Of course another response is to ignore the emotion rules, leading to a genuine display of emotion, albeit one that might be labelled deviant by others in the organization or the customer (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987).

Genuine and Fake Emotional Displays

Genuine and fake emotional displays are the main outcome of the regulation process and there are four pathways by which genuine and fake emotional displays are created (see also Zapf 2002). First, when no emotion-rule dissonance occurs, there is little need to regulate emotions, so the employee's behavior proceeds spontaneously, is emotionally genuine, and is legitimate because it conforms to emotion rules. Second, emotion-rule dissonance occurs, but no attempt is made to regulate emotions, so the behavior is emotionally genuine but is likely to be labelled as deviant. Third, emotion-rule dissonance occurs, emotional behavior is successfully regulated through deep acting, resulting in genuine legitimate emotional behavior. Fourth, emotion-rule dissonance occurs, emotional behavior is successfully regulated through surface acting, and fake emotional display results. Emotional regulation may also be unsuccessful, so unsuccessful deep acting may lead to deviant or fake behavior, while unsuccessful surface acting may lead to deviant behavior. Indeed, in surface acting, masked emotions may leak out due to the difficulty of completely hiding them (Ekman and Friesen 1975).

Having described the main elements of emotional labor, we will now examine how emotional labor effects employee performance and well-being.

Emotional Labor and Performance Outcomes

Most research on emotion and job performance has focused on how employees' emotional experience influences their job performance. In general, research has found that high positive affect and low negative affect are associated with better job performance, but that these relationships are context dependent (Elfenbein in press). Research on emotional labor, however, has concentrated on the performance effects of employees' emotional displays.

The Mechanisms of Emotional Display and Performance Outcomes

Although emotional displays occur in a range of contexts, research examining their effects on performance outcomes has focused on customer service contexts. In these contexts, performance outcomes include sales, errors, and encore behaviors (customers returning to the store), but most studies have examined "customer evaluations", such as customer satisfaction, intentions to purchase, and perceptions of friendliness. A key question is how do emotional displays influence customer evaluations? Two mechanisms have been proposed, which we detail in Figure 14.2.
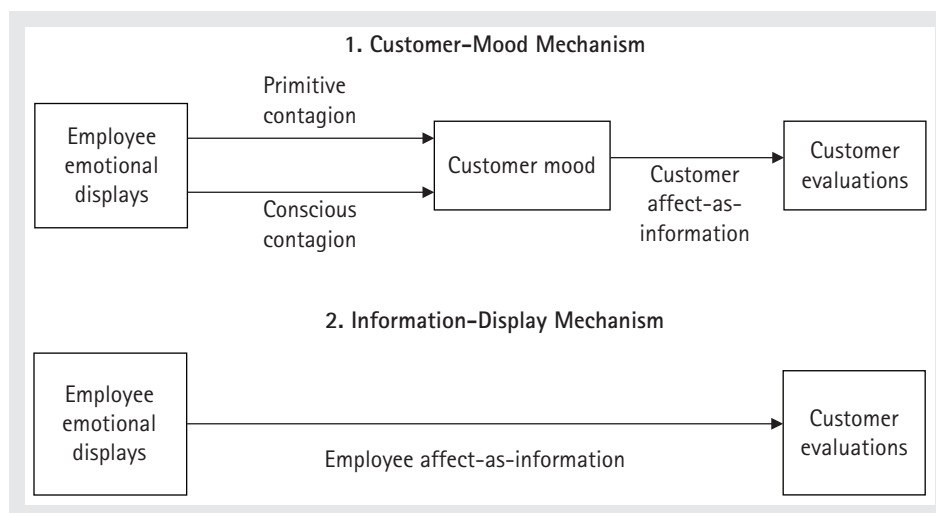

Fig. 14.2. **Emotional labor and performance outcomes: two mechanisms**

In the "customer mood" mechanism, employee emotional displays alter the mood of the customer, and it is the customer's mood that influences the customer's evaluation of the service or product. The first part of this mechanism concerns how the customer catches the mood of the employee, and this is thought to happen through primitive or conscious emotional contagion (Barsade 2002). In primitive emotional contagion, a person subconsciously and automatically mimics another's facial expressions and non-verbal cues (e.g., smiling); and it is through facial feedback (Zajonc 1985) and other physiological links that the person comes to experience the same mood as the other (Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson 1994). Conscious emotional contagion occurs as a result of people's tendency to seek information on how to behave appropriately in social situations. The person uses the employee's mood to guide his or her emotional behavior, and changes their mood (possibly though emotional regulation) so it mimics the employee's mood. The second part of the customer-mood mechanism concerns how customer mood influences customer evaluations. It is suggested that the customer uses their mood as information about how to judge the situation (Forgas 1995), such that customers in a positive mood will form more positive evaluations of services and products (Barger and Grandey 2006).

The "information-display" mechanism does not rely on the customer catching the employee's mood (see Figure 14.2). Rather, the employee's emotional display directly affects customer evaluations. The mechanism is based on the idea that emotions have a social function since emotions reveal information about a person's intentions, attitudes, and values (Stocker 2002; Sutton 1991; Van Kleef, De Dreu, and Manstead 2004). Emotions can therefore be used by employees to try and influence the customer (e.g., impression management, Goffman 1959); while customers read the employee's emotional displays to gain information about the social situation, and it is this information that influences customer evaluations (Côté 2005). For example, an employee's display of happiness may be used and read as communicating an intention to be friendly and lead to agreeable customer responses and evaluations of the situation (Clark, Pataki, and Carver 1996). However, others suggest that the display of positive emotions is not sufficient to produce positive evaluations, since the key ingredient is whether the display of emotion is genuine or faked (Grandey 2003). In particular, faked displays may be read as implying a lack of trust in the person (Collins and Miller 1994), or that the person is insincere or dishonest (Frank, Ekman, and Friesen 1993). As Côté (2005, 517) notes, "a customer may perceive a salesperson's inauthentic display of enthusiasm as dishonest and, as a result, be dissatisfied with the service." This further implies that faked positive emotional displays produced by surface acting will lead to less positive or negative customer evaluations, whereas genuine displays of positive emotions produced naturally or by deep acting will lead to positive customer evaluations.

The Consequences of Emotional Labor on Performance Outcomes

The strongest evidence in support of the customer-mood mechanism comes from studies showing customer mood to mediate the relationship between employee emotional displays and customer evaluations. Pugh (2001) reported a mediated relationship with regard to customer evaluations of service quality, Tsai and Huang (2002) with regard to time spent in store and behavioral intentions (e.g., to return, to buy), while Hennig-Thurau et al. (2006) found that customer mood partially mediated the relationship between the authenticity of emotional display and customer satisfaction and interpersonal rapport.

Primitive and conscious contagion effects are assumed to account for the association between employee emotional displays and customer mood, yet there is little direct evidence to support this. Barger and Grandey (2006) demonstrated that although customers mimicked employee smiling, this did not change customer mood: a finding which suggests primitive contagion does not account for changes in customer mood in service settings. Hennig-Thurau et al. (2006) also found that smiling was not associated with customer mood, but authenticity of emotional display was. They argued that conscious contagion processes account for the effects on customer mood, and that "conscious emotional contagion is determined less by the extent to which the sender displays emotions during an interaction (e.g., frequency of smiling) and more by the authenticity with which the emotions are displayed (e.g., genuineness of smile)" (p. 2). But as this study did not directly assess whether employees use information from emotional displays to guide their behavior, there is still no strong evidence for conscious emotional contagion process either. Indeed, there is a distinct possibility that customer mood may be influenced largely through non-contagion processes, such as employees' use of interpersonal affect regulation strategies that include humor, ingratiation, and reasoning (Niven, Totterdell, and Holman 2007; Totterdell et al. 2004), the effects of which may not depend solely on employee emotional displays.

There is also some evidence for the information-display mechanism. For example, employees' emotional displays show a direct association with customer satisfaction (Brown and Sulzer-Azaroff 1994) and authentic displays of positive emotion are more highly associated with customer satisfaction than inauthentic displays of positive emotion (Grandey et al. 2005). Yet, these studies do not provide strong evidence for the information-display mechanism, since they do not establish whether these direct effects are independent of customer mood. One exception is the study by Hennig-Thurau et al. (2006), who reported that the effect of employee emotional display on customer evaluations was partially mediated by customer mood. Another exception is Tsai and Huang (2002), who found that the association of employee emotional display with customers' perception of employee friendliness

(and which in turn was associated with behavioral intentions) was over and above its association with customer mood. Both these studies indicate that employee emotional displays do have a direct effect on customer evaluations, and that such evaluations can be independent of customer mood.

From the above discussion it seems probable that the effects of emotional labor on customer evaluation occur through two mechanisms—a customer-mood mechanism and an information-display mechanism—and that these mechanisms are not mutually exclusive. It is also worth noting that the process through which employee emotional displays influence customer mood has not been established concretely, although primitive contagion appears unlikely to have enduring effects in service settings.

Research on the effects of emotional labor on other service performance outcomes is consistent with the above conclusions. For example, deep acting (and authentic displays) has been shown to have a greater relationship with self-reported quality of service performance than surface acting (Totterdell and Holman 2003), while the openness and expressiveness of hair stylists accounted for over half the variance in their tips (Parkinson 1991). Other mechanisms are also likely. Thus, aspects of emotional labor may create an additional attention demand that detracts from task performance. For example, Sideman-Goldberg and Grandey (2007) report a direct effect of display rules on the number of errors performed in an experimental call centre simulation task and Shull et al. (2006) found that one type of emotion regulation (reappraisal) leads to better performance than another form of emotion regulation (suppression) because it requires fewer resources and therefore increases task focus.

Emotional Labor and Employee Well-Being

The Mechanisms of Emotional Labor and Well-Being

Emotional labor has been shown to have both a positive and negative relationship with employee well-being (Bono and Vey 2005). To understand the differential effects of emotional labor, a range of complementary theories have been utilized that primarily focus on:

- Demands and resources, such as conservation of resources theory (Hobfoll 1998; see Brotheridge and Lee 2002), demand-resource models of burnout (Demerouti et al. 2001) and Côté's (2005) social interaction model;

- Emotion regulation (Gross 1998: see Grandey 2000; Totterdell and Holman 2003);
- Demands, resources, and regulation, such as action theory (Frese and Zapf 1994; see Zapf 2002).

From these theories, the following relevant observations can be made.

People strive to obtain, protect, and foster valued resources (Hobfoll 1998). These resources are both individual (e.g., self-efficacy, effort/energy, personal authenticity) and contextual (e.g., job control, social support) (Deci and Ryan 1985; Hobfoll 1998). Resources are valued if they are functional in achieving goals, reducing demand, and stimulating personal growth, development, and well-being (Frese and Zapf 1994). Demands can be understood as requirements (Frese and Zapf 1994) and as threats to resources (Hobfoll 1998) (e.g., workload, and interpersonal conflict). Demands must be dealt with so that goals are met and resource loss prevented.

To cope with demand *and* to protect, obtain, or enhance resources, effort must be expended in regulating behavior. Different types of regulation strategy require varying levels of effort. Regulation strategies that occur at the habitual level require less effort and use up fewer resources than those occurring at the conscious level; and within the different levels of regulation, certain strategies will consume more resources than others (Muraven and Baumeister 2000; Zapf 2002).

Strain occurs when resources become depleted faster than they can be replaced, such as when demands are high or when regulation is unsuccessful and goals not achieved (Carver and Scheier 1998). High levels of job demand are associated with indicators of low employee well-being, including anxiety, depression, emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and low job satisfaction and personal accomplishment. Individual and job resources are associated with high employee well-being (Bandura 1997; Demerouti et al. 2001; Parker and Wall 1999).

Given this theoretical background, the effects of each component of emotional labor should be contingent on the extent to which it plays a role in depleting, obtaining, or maintaining resources. Four important resources that are likely to be affected by emotional labor are rewarding social relationships, self-efficacy, self-authenticity, and effort.

The achievement of rewarding relationships and self-efficacy is likely to be affected by the genuineness or falsity of emotional behavior and the type of emotion expressed (Côté 2005). First, customers may view fake emotional displays as inauthentic and take this to indicate that the employee lacks interest and trust or is dishonest. Such evaluations by the customer may make them react negatively, causing interpersonal difficulties, and lower expressions of social support. Grandey et al. (2005) found that inauthentic displays of emotion lead to reduced customer ratings of performance, while the inauthentic displays of emotion that result from surface acting are associated with reduced interpersonal functioning (Gross and John 2003), less liking and rapport (Butler et al. 2003) and less rewarding

relationships (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002). Second, discrete emotions have an interpersonal function (Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead 2005), one of which is to communicate intentions to others. For example, happiness communicates an intention to be friendly and affiliate, which causes agreeable responses (Clark, Pataki, and Carver 1996). So the genuine expression of positive rather than negative emotions is likely to create rewarding relationships. Third, the negative reactions of customers that arise from inauthentic displays may lead employees to question their effectiveness. Since positive performance evaluations are an important means of improving and maintaining self-efficacy (Bandura 1997), fake emotional displays are likely to reduce self-efficacy. In summary, fake emotional displays and genuine displays of negative emotions are likely to impact negatively on rewarding social relationships and self-efficacy, which in turn will lower employee well-being.

Emotional labor may also deplete or threaten to deplete self-authenticity, a major life goal and important predictor of well-being (Sheldon et al. 1997). When a fake emotional display is experienced as an inauthentic expression of the self, it is likely to reduce feelings of self-authenticity or represent a threat to its maintenance. Field and experimental studies have found low self-authenticity to be associated with emotional exhaustion, lower mood, and lower well-being (Brotheridge and Lee 2002; Gross and John 2003; Sheldon et al. 1997). Yet, faking may not necessarily lead to inauthentic experiences of the self. For example, some professional occupations require felt emotions to be different from emotional displays (Stenross and Kleinman 1989). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) cite the "detached concern" of doctors in which they must feel neutral but display sympathy towards patients. Employees may feel they are acting in an authentically professional manner, even though expressed emotions are not genuine.

Effort will also be expended as a result of emotional labor. Elements requiring more effort will deplete energy reserves faster, thereby leading to lower well-being, particularly feelings of exhaustion (Maslach 1982). In general, spontaneous emotional behaviors require less effort than those involving conscious regulation (Muraven and Baumeister 2000; Zapf 2002) and experimental studies show that deep acting uses less effort than surface acting, as surface acting is more cognitively taxing (Richards and Gross 1999; 2000). The display of negative emotions may also involve greater overall effort than positive emotions, as they may produce negative consequences (e.g., interpersonal difficulties) that require more effort.

The Consequences of Emotional Labor on Employee Well-Being

To what extent are the results of research in keeping with the idea that the effects of emotional labor on well-being are contingent on the extent to which

each component plays a role in depleting, obtaining, or threatening resources? We start with emotional displays and work backwards along the model shown in Figure 14.1.

Emotional displays

Recall that emotional displays can differ according to: the type of emotion felt and expressed in the display; whether they are a genuine or fake display of felt emotion; the extent of deviance; and, the level of emotion regulation involved in its production. The effects of emotional displays on employee well-being could result from one or all of these factors. Disentangling the possible effects of these factors is one of the problems facing researchers.

Most research has examined whether the effects of emotional display on well-being are a result of it being genuine or fake. In particular, fake emotional displays have been shown to have positive associations with various indicators of low well-being, e.g., emotional exhaustion (Bono and Vey 2005), depersonalization (Zapf and Holz 2006), psychosomatic complaints (Zapf et al. 1999), anxiety and depression (Holman, Chissick, and Totterdell 2002); and negative associations with indicators of high well-being e.g., job satisfaction (Morris and Feldman 1997; Zapf and Holz 2006) and personal accomplishment (Zapf and Holz 2006). One reading of these findings is that it is the actual experience of dissonance (between felt and expressed emotion) in fake emotional displays that directly causes lower well-being. However, Zerbe (2000) notes that many studies are limited as they use a measure of the difference between felt and displayed emotion, and therefore obscure any contribution that each component might make. Studies using separate measures of felt emotion and expressed emotion generally find that it is felt emotion that explains the effect of dissonance on well-being and not the difference between felt and expressed emotion (Glomb, Miner, and Tews 2002; Totterdell and Holman 2001; Zerbe 2000). In particular, positive felt emotions are associated with higher well-being and negative felt emotions are associated with lower well-being. One possible explanation for this is that, at this stage in the emotional labor process, the presence of negative felt emotions may represent the fact that surface acting has been used, which involves more effort, whereas positive emotions indicate that deep acting has been used, which involves less effort. Thus, findings of a relationship between fake emotional display and well-being could be a reflection of the relationship between emotion regulation strategies and well-being. In other words, the increased effort involved in producing fake displays may cause its association with lower well-being.

Other possible explanations are that the experience of dissonance in fake emotional display has an indirect effect on well-being through its impact on feelings of self-authenticity or as a result of negative customer reactions to inauthentic behavior (Côté 2005). These explanations have not been tested but Gross and John

(2003) reported that authenticity mediated the relationship between surface acting (which causes fake emotional displays) and negative mood.

While the majority of research concerning the effects of emotional displays has focused on fake emotional displays, a few studies have examined the effects of legitimate and deviant genuine emotional displays. Glomb and Tews (2004) reported that the display of genuine negative emotions was positively correlated with emotional exhaustion. This relationship might be explained by the idea that the expression of negative emotions has negative consequences for the individual (e.g., more negative customer reactions and less rewarding relationships); or if the genuine negative emotions were a result of deep acting, then the increased effort may explain the relationship. The genuine expression of positive emotions might be expected to have a positive effect on well-being. Surprisingly, Glomb and Tews (2004) found it to be unrelated to emotional exhaustion. This may have occurred because their measure did not distinguish instances of genuinely felt positive emotion arising from spontaneous legitimate responses, deviant displays or deep acting, nor did the analysis control for factors such as role or gender that might have masked any relationship.

Studies of deviant emotional displays are also uncommon. Büssing and Glaser (1999) found deviant emotional displays to be positively related to emotional exhaustion and negatively related to job satisfaction. Zerbe (2000) suggests that, in a similar manner to fake emotional display, deviant emotional display contains two elements—displayed emotion and expected emotion. Using separate measures of displayed and expected emotion, Zerbe found that only displayed emotion was related to well-being; with negative emotional displays having a positive relationship with emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and a negative relationship with personal accomplishment. It therefore appears that the experience of deviance in deviant emotional display does not have a direct effect on well-being. Rather, deviant displays of emotion might only have negative effects on well-being when negative emotions are displayed.

Emotion regulation

Emotion regulation strategies differ according to the focus of regulation (deep or surface acting), the direction of regulation (suppression or amplification) and the type of emotion regulated (e.g., positive or negative). Although the effects of regulation on well-being may be a result of one or more of these factors, most research has concentrated on the effects of deep and surface acting.

Surface acting has a consistent negative association with various indicators of poor well-being, including emotional exhaustion and low job satisfaction (Bono and Vey 2005), depersonalization (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Brotheridge and Lee 2002) and anxiety and depression (Holman, Chissick, and Totterdell 2002).

It is argued that these negative effects occur because surface acting has a general reductive influence on personal resources, the result of which is to lower well-being. For example, Brotheridge and Lee (2002) demonstrated that the relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion was mediated by self-authenticity and rewarding relationships, while Martinez-Iñigo et al. (2007) revealed that this relationship was mediated by psychological effort and satisfaction with clients (an indicator of rewarding relationships).

Deep acting, in contrast, has a more varied association with well-being. It has been shown to have a non-significant direct association with job satisfaction (Bono and Vey 2005) and emotional exhaustion (Martinez-Iñigo et al. 2007; Totterdell and Holman 2003) but a positive association with personal accomplishment (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Brotheridge and Lee 2002) and job satisfaction (Grandey 2003). However, Bono and Vey's (2005) meta-analysis found deep acting to have a positive association with emotional exhaustion but this was weaker than the association between surface acting and emotional exhaustion. It has been suggested that the weaker association of deep acting can be explained by the fact that it is less effortful than surface acting (Martinez-Iñigo et al. 2007; Richards and Gross 1999; 2000). The weaker effect might also be explained by the fact that deep acting can promote resource gains because it creates authentic displays of emotion, which leads to more rewarding relationships and great self-authenticity. For example, Brotheridge and Lee (2002) reported that the relationship between deep acting and emotional exhaustion was mediated by self-authenticity. So any negative effects of deep acting on well-being due to expended effort might be counteracted by its positive effects on other resources. This also helps to explain why some studies find positive and non-significant effects of deep acting on well-being. Overall, these findings support the idea that the effects of emotional regulation on well-being are partly a result of their impact on effort, self-authenticity, and rewarding relationships.

Few studies have compared the effects of amplification and suppression strategies on employee well-being. Glomb and Tews (2004) examined amplification and suppression approaches to surface acting. They identified two amplification strategies, faking positive displays and faking negative displays, and two suppression strategies, suppressing positive displays and suppressing negative displays. All four correlated positively with emotional exhaustion, with faking positive displays and suppressing negative displays exhibiting a similar level of correlation ($r = .35$ and $r = .40$), both of which were higher than faking negative displays ($r = .17$) and suppressing positive displays ($r = .22$). As faking positive displays and suppressing negative displays are likely to occur when the person is feeling negative emotions, these results indicate that the effort involved in regulation is greater when the person is in a negative mood, and that the effects of suppression and amplification on well-being are partly dependent on the person's current emotional state.

Display rules

General measures of display rules (i.e., covering both positive and negative emotion display rules) exhibit negative, non-significant, and positive associations with well-being (Brotheridge and Lee 2002; Pugliesi 1999; Schaubroeck and Jones 2000). Differentiated measures of display rules show more consistent results, with negative emotion display rules associated with low well-being and positive emotion display rules associated with high well-being (Diefendorff and Richards 2003; Zapf and Holz 2006; Zerbe 2000). Interestingly, Zapf and Holz (2006) also found positive emotion display rules to be positively associated with emotional exhaustion and that this relationship was mediated by fake emotional display. These studies indicate that rules concerning negative emotion have negative consequences for employees, possibly because they encourage surface acting and fake emotional displays. Rules encouraging the display of positive emotion appear to have positive and negative consequences for the individual. Positive consequences may occur because the display of positive emotions helps sustain rewarding relationships and self-efficacy; and negative consequences might occur when positive emotion display rules lead to surface acting and fake emotional displays, and thereby consume more effort and reduce self-authenticity (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002). Another explanation for the effects of display rules on well-being is that they reduce personal control (Grandey and Brauburger 2002; Pugliesi 1999) or reduce ambiguity (Erickson and Wharton 1997; Denison and Sutton 1990). In the former case, it would be expected that display rules have generally negative effects on well-being, and in the latter case that they have a generally positive effect on well-being. But as display rules exhibit negative and positive effects, reductions in control and ambiguity that occur as a result of display rules may therefore only partly explain their impact on well-being (Côté 2005).

OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING THE OUTCOMES OF EMOTIONAL LABOR

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The Unique Effects of Emotional Labor on Well-Being and Performance

One criticism of research on emotional labor is that the effects that have been found are simply a function of other individual and contextual variables (Bono and Vey 2005). For example, research showing a relationship between surface acting and well-being may simply be a function of their joint relationship with negative

affectivity (Gosserand and Diefendorff 2005; Watson 2000). A few studies have examined whether the components of emotional labor have unique effects on well-being. With regard to individual factors, Gross and John (2003) report that the relationships of deep and surface acting to a host of well-being measures were still significant when positive and negative affectivity were controlled for (see also Schaubroek and Jones 2000; Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand 2005; Zapf and Holz 2006). The effects of emotional labor constructs have also been shown to be above that of contextual variables, such as job demand, job control, and social support (Pugliesi 1999; Lewig and Dollard 2003; Zapf et al. 2001). The components of emotional labor therefore appear to make a unique contribution to well-being but the unique effects of emotional labor on performance outcomes need further analysis.

The Effects of Individual and Contextual Factors

Individual and contextual factors may directly affect emotional labor. This implies that emotional labor might mediate the relationship between such factors and employee well-being and performance. For example, Diefendorff and Richards (2003) found that employees high in extroversion perceived a greater demand to manage positive emotions according to display rules, which in turn related positively to job satisfaction. Brotheridge and Lee's (2002) results suggest that the relationship between both role identification and social support and job burnout is partially mediated by display rules, surface acting, and deep acting.

It is difficult to make firm conclusions from these studies. But if the net of evidence is broadened to include studies that have examined the direct effect of individual and contextual factors on emotional labor, it is possible to detect certain trends (amongst a set of studies with some inconsistencies in their findings) which have implications for well-being. Overall, these studies suggest that individual and contextual factors influence the perception of display rules, choice of regulation strategy, and the level of dissonance. Personality and affective traits that increase the experience of negative emotions (e.g., neuroticism, negative affectivity) and lower the need for positive relationships (e.g., low agreeableness) will increase the salience of negative emotion display rules and use of surface acting. Traits that increase the experience of positive emotions (e.g., extroversion, positive affectivity), the need for positive relationships (e.g., agreeableness) and the need to conform to expectations (e.g., conscientiousness, identification), will increase the salience of positive emotion display rules and use of deep acting (Brotheridge and Lee 2002; Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand 2005; Gosserand and Diefendorff 2005; Gross and John 2003; Schaubroeck and Jones 2000). As a result, employees with the former traits may experience more of the "negative" aspects of emotional labor and hence lower well-being and performance, whereas employees with the latter traits

will experience more of the "positive" aspects of emotional labor, and hence higher well-being and performance.

Likewise, with regard to contextual factors, employees who work in jobs with high demands (e.g., workload, interpersonal job requirements, unjust interactions) appear more likely to experience the negative aspects of emotional labor (e.g., more negative emotions, greater surface acting and more faked emotional behavior, and lower performance). Employees with high job resources (e.g., job control, social support) are more likely to experience the "positive" aspects of emotional labor, e.g., positive emotions, deep acting and genuine displays (and higher performance Bono and Vey 2005; Brotheridge and Lee 2002; Rupp and Spencer 2006; Zapf et al. 2001).

Individual and contextual factors might also moderate the effects of emotional labor on well-being and performance. For example, having a low identification with one's career or organization has been shown to exacerbate the effects of job demands (e.g., interpersonal requirements, Wilk and Moynihan 2005; positive emotion display rules, Schaubroeck and Jones 2000) on well-being. Giardini and Frese (2006) found that emotional competence—being skilled at regulating one's own and others affect—reduced the effects of fake emotional displays and high display rule demands on general well-being. Thus, an individual's emotional ability and identification with job role appear to buffer the negative effects of emotional labor. With regard to performance, employees' performance can depend on their ability to choose the appropriate emotional display. For example, Rafaeli and Sutton (1990) showed that supermarket cashiers displayed negative emotions when a store was busy in order to hasten transactions, but displayed positive emotions when they needed to gain the compliance of a difficult customer. Likewise, Sutton (1991) showed that debt collectors' emotional display depended on their assessment of the emotional state of the customer. They would display anger to an indifferent customer in order to heighten the customer's arousal, but they would display calm to an angry customer in order to reduce their arousal. Yet, overall, the evidence for a moderating role of contextual factors is far from conclusive, as such effects are not always found (cf. Grandey et al. 2005; Lewig and Dollard 2003; Pugliesi 1999; Zapf 2002).

Conclusion

Since Hochschild's seminal study on emotional labor our understanding of its nature and effects has progressed considerably. It is worth taking stock of the positive aspects of research on emotional labor.

There is a relatively wide consensus on the key components of emotional labor and their relationships. These components include affective events, display rules, emotion-rule dissonance, emotion regulation strategies, and genuine and fake emotional displays. Furthermore, researchers are increasingly recognizing the need to develop more differentiated concepts and measures in order to attain a more nuanced understanding of emotional labor and its effects on well-being. The impetus behind this recognition is twofold. First, there are good theoretical reasons to expect variation in the emotional labor process to occur as a result of the discrete emotion involved, and valence of the emotion involved. This is because discrete emotions and emotions of different valence have different causes, associated emotion rules, and action tendencies (Barsade, Brief, and Spataro 2003; Côté 2005; Diefendorff and Greguras 2006). Second, as components of emotional labor are comprised of different elements, more differentiated measures may help to disentangle the exact effects of those elements. This more differentiated approach and its benefits are evident from studies of display rules and emotion regulation strategies. Studies that have encompassed measures of both positive and negative emotion display rules have illuminated their differential relationship to emotional regulation strategies and well-being (e.g., Zapf and Holz 2006)—differences that are masked in studies with general measures of display rules. But emotion rules can be differentiated further by type of emotion, the feeling and display of emotion, and whether they are expansive or restrictive (Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead 2005). In a similar vein, emotion regulation strategies can be differentiated by type of acting, suppression or amplification, and type of emotion. Thus, while general measures have shown the different effects of deep and surface acting (Brotheridge and Lee 2002), more fine grained measures of these broad categories have provided further insight. For example, the results of Glomb and Tews (2004) suggest that the strength of the relationships between well-being and both suppression and amplification surface acting strategies are partly dependent on the valence of the emotion being displayed. The nomological network of differentiated measures of emotion rules and emotion regulation strategies remains to be tested fully.

Studies of fake emotional displays and emotional deviance that measure both elements of these concepts separately (i.e., felt and expressed emotion) also suggest that the emotional valence of these behaviors is important in understanding their effects (Zerbe 2000). The same can be said of emotion-rule dissonance, a key component and hypothesized predictor of emotion regulation strategies. But the almost complete lack of empirical work on emotion-rule dissonance is perhaps one of the most surprising aspects of research on emotional labor, and needs to be addressed in a study with separate measures of felt emotion and required emotion.

Another positive aspect of research on emotional labor is that an amalgam of complementary theories have been utilized to test and explain its positive and

negative effects on employee well-being. Integrating these theories into a model of emotional labor suggests that the effects of emotional labor on well-being are dependent upon the extent to which its components either promote resource gain or loss. While there is support for many aspects of this model, further research is needed, particularly on the direct and relative effects of emotion regulation strategies and fake emotional displays on resources. The model also indicates that resources mediate the relationship between emotional labor and well-being. But full tests of such a mediated relationship in an occupational setting are rare, not conclusive, and more are required (Brotheridge and Lee 2002; Martinez-Iñigo et al. 2007; Zapf and Holz 2006). There is also a degree of consensus on the types of mechanism through which emotional labor affects performance, particularly customer evaluations of service, namely a customer-mood mechanism and an information-display mechanism. However, the precise details through which these processes occur await further study, and there is a need to examine how customers use the information coming from customer mood and employee emotional displays to inform their judgments.

A further strength of existing research is that the effects of emotional labor on well-being have been established as being over and above other individual variables (e.g., positive and negative affectivity) and contextual variables (e.g., job control). The same cannot be said for the effects of emotional labor on performance. Indeed, the performance effects of emotional labor may result from personality variables such as conscientiousness, because conscientious employees may be more likely to engage in authentic displays of emotion. In addition, the influence of individual and contextual factors on emotional labor needs further clarification. With regard to individual factors, while certain trends can be detected with regard to affectivity and Big-5 personality factors, more consistent effects may be found if factors more pertinent to emotion regulation are used, such as emotional competence (Giardini and Frese 2006). It might also be profitable to distinguish between constraining and enabling emotional labor environments. In constraining emotional labor environments, job demands are high, job resources low, and employees do not identify with display rules or the motives behind them. Consequentially employees are more likely to experience the negative aspects of emotional labor. In enabling emotional labor environments, the opposite is the case.

Finally, research on emotional labor and well-being and performance has largely focused on intrapersonal processes. There are some exceptions, such as Pugliesi's (1999) inclusion of other-focused emotion regulation strategies. On reflection this omission may seem somewhat strange given that emotional labor is a fundamentally social process. A focus on interpersonal processes is required. An excellent starting point would be more detailed examination of Côté's (2005) social interaction model, of which the Martinez-Iñigo et al. (2007) study was a start, and also an examination of how interpersonal affect regulation behaviors influence customer mood.

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