

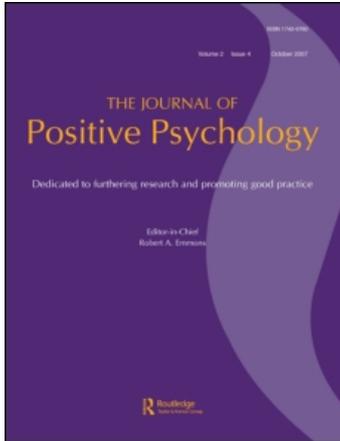
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Emotional labor among trainee police officers: The interpersonal role of positive emotions

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The aim of this study is to get an insight of the *interpersonal* 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. We tested the influence of the perceived display of positive emotions of Dutch trainee police officers ($N = 80$) 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 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, controlling for senders' positive affect.

Keywords: authenticity; emotional labor; emotion regulation; police officers; positive emotions

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. These kinds of emotions that a company considers appropriate to show to clients are often part of its policy and 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 this 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, we included the role of positive emotions. We assume 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 in the following section.

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

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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, and 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 & Losada, 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 *interpersonal* context and thus imply the presence of an interaction partner (Côté, 2005). Therefore, we need to study both the *intrapersonal* and the *interpersonal* aspects of emotion regulation 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 this study is to explore the interpersonal role of the display of *positive emotions*. Specifically, we assume that the perceived display of positive emotions is positively related to the perceived performance success as rated by the receiver. Further, we expect that this relationship is mediated by authenticity as perceived by the receiver. In addition, the senders' emotion regulation technique such as surface acting or deep acting is expected not to be related to perceived performance success. Finally, we assume a positive relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the senders' felt positive emotions after the interaction through perceived performance success, controlling for prior positive affect.

When addressing to the 'sender', we thus refer to the police officer who performs emotional labor. When addressing to the 'receiver', we refer to the interaction partner (i.e., the civilian) who perceives the sender's shown positive emotions, the sender's authenticity, and rates the performance success.

Emotion regulation among police officers

As police officers often have to deal with emotionally taxing situations (F.L. McCafferty, Domingo, & E.A. McCafferty, 1990), the regulation of emotions forms an important part of the job. According to Ashfort and Humphrey (1993) and based on Hochschild's (1983) view, there are several ways to perform emotional labor. In this study, we will focus 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 (Pugliesi, 1999). Subsequently, surface acting appeared to be positively related to depersonalization, 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, we assume 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, and 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 *inauthentic* 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 unfavorable 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.

Owing to 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. We thus hypothesize 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 we expect that the specific emotion regulation technique as used, that is, surface acting or deep acting will not be related to perceived performance success. Thus, we argue 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, this 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). We thus hypothesize 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 this study, 84 Dutch trainee police officers volunteered and four professional actors acting 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 (six items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0.79$) 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 (three items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.92$) of the police officer as perceived by the receiver was measured using a scale specifically constructed for this 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 (three items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.92$) was rated by the receiver and measured with a scale developed to meet the purposes of this 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 (four items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.68$) was measured with the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998), consisting of three items. This 3-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 (four items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.70$) 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 (five items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.81$) as rated by the sender (i.e., police officer) were measured using the emotionalist pleasure, contentment, calmness, interest, and satisfaction. The intensity of each emotional display was reported by the sender.

Positive affect (five items, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.78$) as rated by the sender (i.e., police officer) was measured using the emotionalist 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, we conducted structural equation modeling analyses with Amos 5.0 (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, we calculated the standardized indirect effects and used Monte Carlo bootstrapping to acquire the 95% confidence intervals in order to test the significance of the indirect effects (Bollen & Stine, 1992).

Results

Descriptive analyses

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and the correlations among the model variables.

Hypotheses testing

Table 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 ($\chi^2 = 14.92$, $df = 8$, $GFI = 0.94$, $CFI = 0.91$, $IFI = 0.92$, and $RMSEA = 0.11$). 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 ($\chi^2 = 8.64$, $df = 7$, $GFI = 0.97$, $CFI = 0.98$, $IFI = 0.98$, and $RMSEA = 0.05$). Thus, model 2 proved to be superior to the hypothesized model (M1) and fitted significantly better ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 6.28$, $p < 0.05$). 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 ($\gamma = -0.28$, $p < 0.05$; Figure 1). Furthermore, senders' positive emotions as perceived by the receiver were positively related to performance success as judged by the receiver ($\gamma = 0.38$, $p < 0.001$), while surface acting appeared not to be related to performance success ($\gamma = 0.04$, $p > 0.05$). The indirect effect of the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the perceived performance success through perceived authenticity is 0.14 ($SE = 0.06$), $CI_{0.95} = 0.02$ and 0.26. 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 0.16 ($SE = 0.07$), $CI_{0.95} = 0.04$ and 0.32. This supports Hypothesis 2.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and correlation matrix among the key variables, $N = 80$.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Felt negative emotions ^a	1.68	0.54	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2. Deep acting ^a	2.80	0.65	0.23*	–	–	–	–	–	–
3. Surface acting ^a	2.81	0.43**	0.48**	–	–	–	–	–	–
4. Display positive emotions ^b	2.55	0.90	–0.13	0.02	–0.28*	–	–	–	–
5. Authenticity ^b	3.63	0.87	–0.26*	0.10	–0.17	0.25*	–	–	–
6. Performance success ^b	3.54	1.01	–0.13	0.06	–0.16	0.50**	0.64**	–	–
7. Felt positive emotions ^{a,c}	1.37	0.45	–0.15	–0.19	–0.12	0.10	0.27*	0.27*	–
8. Positive affect ^a	3.42	0.55	–0.18	0.08	–0.24*	–0.01	0.09	–0.06	0.30**

Notes: ^aRated by the sender, ^brated by the receiver, and ^crated after the interaction.
 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Table 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	0.94	0.91	0.92	0.11
M2 Alternative model	8.64	7	0.97	0.98	0.98	0.05
M3 Hypothesized model DA	9.65	8	0.96	0.98	0.98	0.05
Null model M2	95.38	15	0.72	–	–	0.26
Null model M3	89.85	15	0.75	–	–	0.25

Notes: df = degrees of freedom; GFI = Goodness-of-Fit Index; CFI = Comparative fit index; IFI = Incremental Fit Index; RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation.

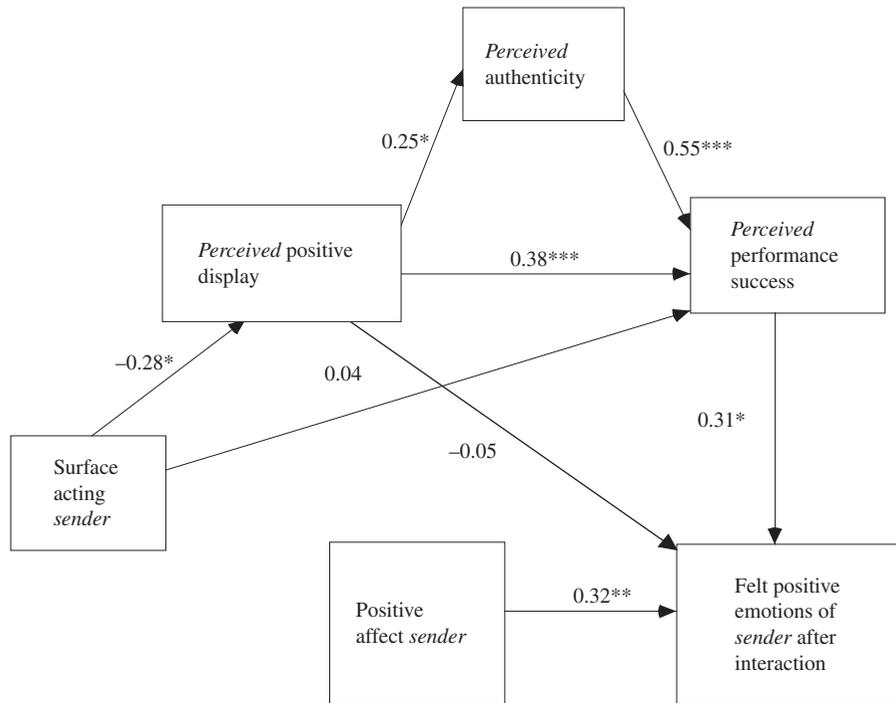


Figure 1. Final model M2 with parameter estimates including surface acting. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Results of structural equation modeling analyses showed that the hypothesized mediation model (M3), which includes deep acting fit well to the data ($\chi^2 = 9.78$, $df = 8$, $GFI = 0.96$, $CFI = 0.98$, $IFI = 0.98$

and $RMSEA = 0.05$). Hence, model 3 was used as the final model including deep acting and is displayed in Figure 2. Results further showed that deep acting was not related to the perceived display of positive

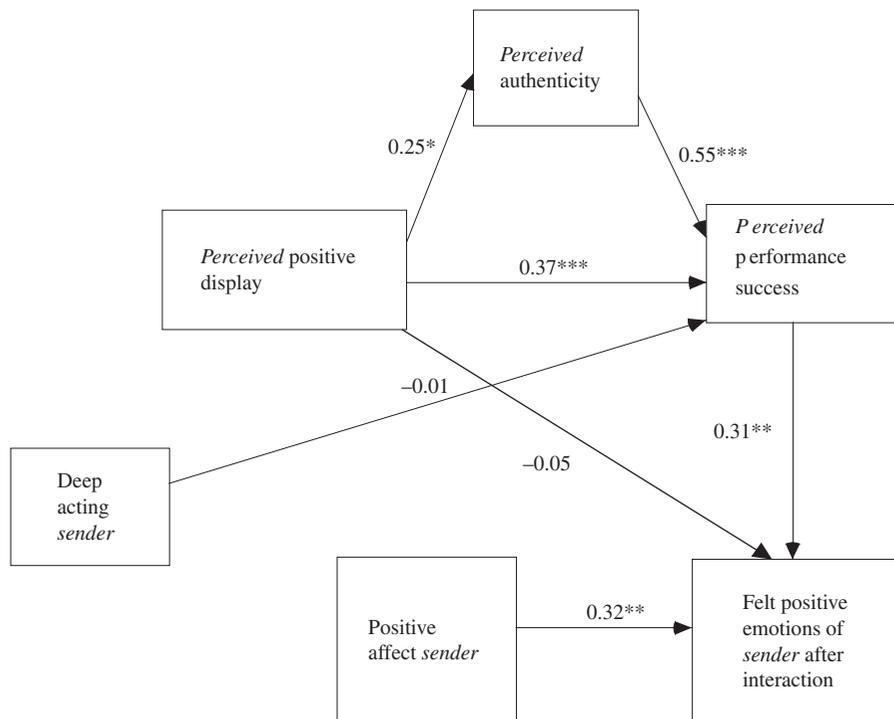


Figure 2. Final model M3 with parameter estimates, including deep acting. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

emotions ($\gamma = 0.02$, $p > 0.05$; Figure 2). In addition, senders' positive emotions as perceived by the receiver were positively related to performance success, as judged by the receiver ($\gamma = 0.37$, $p < 0.001$), while deep acting appeared not to be directly related to performance success ($\gamma = -0.01$, $p > 0.05$).

The indirect effect of the relationship between the perceived display of positive emotions and the perceived performance success through perceived authenticity is 0.14 (SE = 0.06), $CI_{0.95} = 0.02$ and 0.27. 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 0.15 (SE = 0.07), $CI_{0.95} = 0.04$ and 0.30. This further supports Hypothesis 2.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to examine the *intrapersonal* and *interpersonal* effects of emotional labor, that is, both from the perspective of the sender and from the perspective of the receiver. In studying these effects, we examined: (1) the mediating role of authenticity between the positive emotions displayed by the sender and receivers' judgment of the senders' performance success, and (2) the mediating role of perceived performance success between the perceived display of positive emotions and senders' felt positive emotions

after the interaction, while controlling for the sender's prior positive affect.

An important finding of this study is that the perceived display 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 show that surface acting appeared to be negatively related to the perceived display of positive emotions, indicating that police officers who score high on surface acting are perceived as showing less positive emotions. Moreover, the findings of this study indicate that deep acting had no direct effect on the perceived display of positive emotions, and not on the receiver's perception of authenticity nor on performance success.

Two important elements of this study that might have led to 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 receivers' 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 we control for prior positive affect). Côté (2005) assumed that being authentic is beneficial for one's psychological well-being. Results of this 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 employees' 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 finding shows 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 valance of the emotion expressed.

As a third limitation, we note that the participants in this 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 dependences in the data for the combination between raters and respondents.

Given the possibilities to carry out such a study, we believe that our study comes rather close to what we need. However, it should be noted that the feedback given after this training situation probably differs from the way the police officer will receive feedback in practice. In practice, feedback may be received through the offenders' accompanying behavior. As is the case for most emotional labor 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 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 (Barak, 2006; Beiser, 1974; Gross & Levenson, 1997). 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, we expect that displaying negative emotions in emotional labor will have an adverse impact on the receivers' judgment of the success of the performance, irrespective of the senders' used regulation technique.

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 examine the intra- and inter-personal dynamics of emotion regulation, in particular among police officers. We discussed the 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. 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.

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