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FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES

**EMOTION WORK IN DAILY INTERACTIONS AT WORK:
AN EVENT-SAMPLING APPROACH**

THÈSE

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*When one takes a picture of you and Mickey,
does the person inside Mickey smile?*

Joke on the internet

God is in the details.

Attributed to Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

1. INTRODUCTION

During the last century, Western societies have experienced an abrupt shift from the industrial era to the postindustrial era. That is, work is no longer about the production of tangible goods but it is concerned with the production of services. As a consequence, in most occidental countries, more than 70% of the labor force works in the service sector (e.g., Gutek, 1995). Further, even manufacturing and technical occupations more and more include a service component as organizations adopt customer-focused strategies in order to increase their competitiveness. "Service work" differs from traditional, industrial work on two points at least. First, although some service transactions occur without a human provider (e.g., automatic teller machines, voice mail instructions), most of them imply a relationship between a service provider and a client. These jobs thus call for "a capacity to deal with people rather than with things, for more interpersonal skills and fewer mechanical skills" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 9). Second, services are produced and consumed simultaneously. Indeed, in many cases the interaction between provider and customer constitutes the service itself (Gutek, Cherry, & Groth, 1999), thus making the provider's behavior the main criteria allowing the client to evaluate the quality of the service (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Conscious of the impact of their "frontline service personnel" on clients' satisfaction and emotional experience, organizations give increasing attention to the management and control of their employees' emotions in service transactions (Morris & Feldman, 1996). The concept of

*emotion work*¹ refers precisely to the emotional regulation that is required by organizations and performed by employees during their interactions with customers.

Because emotion work is a relatively young concept, there is still much debate with regard to the way it should be conceptualized and operationalized. Until now, most studies examined emotion work on a general level, either as characterizing a whole occupational category (e.g., Hochschild, 1983), or as a stable, individually experienced characteristic (e.g., Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999). In the first approach, certain professions, such as nurse, flight attendant and so on, are considered to be "emotion work jobs," whereas other professions are classified as "non emotion work jobs." In the second approach, employees are asked to provide general assessments of the average extent to which they are required to perform emotion work in the workplace. Both approaches, however, do not take into account the fact that emotion work is required and performed *during social interactions*, and thus, that specific situations may be associated with different emotion work demands and lead to different employees' behaviors in terms of felt and displayed emotions. To address this limitation, several authors recently suggested to conceptualize emotion work as characterizing interactions, i.e., as a phenomenon that varies not only between professions and between persons, but also between situations (e.g., Briner, 1999; Härtel & Zerbe, 2000; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Mann, 1999). Empirical investigations based on this premise, however, remain extremely rare (for an exception see Totterdell & Holman, 2003).

The aim of this dissertation is to empirically test the suggestion that emotion work characterizes employees' social interactions. To do so, emotion work is assessed as it happens concretely in employees' daily interactions at work. The arguments supporting this approach are presented in the review of the literature (Chapter 2) after a general overview of the concept of emotion work that provides the general framework of this study. Conceptual arguments refer to the situational specificity of emotion work, i.e., the fact that the emotions that are required, as well as the emotions that are felt and displayed, are likely to vary from situation to situation. Empirical arguments refer to the effects of emotion work on employees. In particular, if required, felt, and displayed emotions depend on the specific interactions experienced by employees, then it logically follows that emotion work should have different consequences in different work situations. Methodological arguments refer to the fact that methods for studying employees' daily experiences

¹ As a sociologist, Hochschild (1979, 1983) used the term "emotional labor" to qualify the fact that the management of one's feelings is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value, whereas "emotion work" refers to the same acts done in a private context where they have use value. As suggested by Zapf (2002), however, we favor the term "emotion work" in order to account for the psychological processes involved in the interpretation of emotion requirements and the management of one's felt and displayed emotions.

might provide a more accurate picture of emotion work than case studies or questionnaires because they capture events closer to their real-time occurrence. The review of these elements leads to the specification of our research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 3 then provides a detailed description of the instruments that are used in this study, and in particular of the event-sampling method that we developed in order to assess emotion work as it occurs in daily interactions. Results (Chapter 4) underpin the three main topics developed in the review of the literature. The first section is concerned with what happens concretely during employees' professional interactions: How frequently do employees have specific emotional demands? How frequently do they comply with these emotional demands and how frequently do they experience situations of "emotional mismatch"? The second section is concerned with the effects of emotion work: Is it possible to distinguish "short-term" consequences (i.e., on the way employees experience the interactions in which they are required to perform emotion work) from "long-term" consequences of emotion work (i.e., on employees' psychological well-being and job-related attitudes)? Do different emotional demands and different types of emotional mismatch have different consequences (at both temporal levels)? Finally, the third section is concerned with the convergence/divergence of our event-sampling measure and a questionnaire measure of emotion work: Does the event-based measure of emotion work present an acceptable degree of convergence with a general, questionnaire-based assessment of emotion work? In Chapter 5, we recapitulate and discuss the findings of this study.

In summary, the questions that are treated in this dissertation should contribute to the development of the field of emotion work because answering to them will provide unique insights into the ebb and flow of emotion work as it occurs in employees' interactions.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter begins with a general overview of the concept of emotion work. This first section presents the definition of emotion work that will be used in this dissertation, as well as two influential conceptualizations of emotion work on which we will base our own approach. In the second section of this chapter, we demonstrate the situational specificity of emotion work by showing how emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are likely to vary from interaction to interaction. The third section provides an overview of the literature concerning the effects of emotion work. In particular, in line with our situational conceptualization of emotion work, it is suggested to distinguish between immediate and long-term consequences of emotion work. Finally, the fourth section is concerned with daily event-sampling methods and their relevance for the study of emotion work.

2.1. A general overview of emotion work

The concept of emotion work was introduced by Hochschild (1979, 1983), who defined it as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (1983, p. 7). In an ethnographic study, she investigated flight attendants and bill collectors and noted that these workers were not only expected to perform their tasks well, but also to manage their emotional display in order to deal effectively with clients. Since then, many studies have provided evidence suggesting that emotion work is performed in a wide variety of professions, including nurses (e.g., James, 1989, 1992; Nerdinger & Röper, 1999; Smith, 1992), supermarket cashiers (e.g., Rafaeli, 1989a, 1989b; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988; Tolich, 1993), police officers (e.g., Martin, 1999; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989), debt collectors (e.g., Sutton, 1991), real estate agents (e.g., Wharton, 1996), secretaries (e.g., Wichroski, 1994), hairdressers (e.g., Gimlin, 1996; Parkinson, 1991), call-centers employees (e.g., Dollard & Lewig, 2003; Holman, Chissick, & Totterdell, 2002) and waiters (e.g., Adelman, 1995; Zapf et al., 1999).

2.1.1. Definition and components of emotion work

Because of the growing interest allocated to the notion of emotion work, several definitions of the concept have been developed, each of which insists on different aspects of the phenomenon. In order to integrate these aspects, we propose to define emotion work as the work role requirements concerning the display of appropriate emotions in order to produce an impression during interactions, and the emotion management performed by employees in response to these emotional norms. Each part of this definition is discussed below.

2.1.1.1. Emotional requirements

Emotions are an integral part of workplace experience (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Brief & Weiss, 2002; Briner, 1999; Fineman, 1993; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Putnam & Mumby, 1993). Employees' emotional reactions have been demonstrated to be affected by job characteristics (e.g., Saavedra & Kwun, 2000; Vecchio, 2000), as well as by specific events and situations encountered in organizational life (e.g., Basch & Fisher, 2000; Weiss, Suckow, & Cropanzano, 1999). In certain situations, however, employees may have to display an emotion as a requirement of their work role (Hochschild, 1983). Flight attendants are required to smile, nurses to show compassion for suffering patients, policemen to appear hostile, funeral directors to convey sadness, and so on. Undoubtedly, employees sometimes genuinely feel the emotions they are expected to display. However, they might also be required to display emotions even when they do not feel like doing so. For example, a flight attendant has to smile even to arrogant and impolite passengers, and a nurse must also be empathetic toward a complaining patient (Hochschild, 1983).

The way emotions should be expressed is specified by display rules. According to Ekman (1973), display rules are "norms and standards of behavior indicating which emotions are appropriate in a given situation but also how these emotions should be publicly expressed" (Zapf, 2002, p. 241). These display rules are transmitted in various ways. First, there may be *organizational norms* regarding the display of emotion. On a formal level, some companies include display rules and emotion requirements in their mission statements (e.g., Delta Airlines, cf. Hochschild, 1983; Disney, cf. Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989; McDonald's, cf. Leidner, 1991). Organizations may also provide internal training about display rules, as is for instance the case at Disney, where classes, handbooks and billboards are used "to teach newcomers that they must convey positive and esteem-enhancing emotions to customers" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p. 26). On a more informal

side, emotional norms may be transmitted through socialization, vicarious learning, and feedback. The "war stories" told by experienced coworkers, the imitation of role models, or the explicit feedback from insiders and customers are all means through which feelings rules are learned. Second, display rules might ensue from *professional norms*. The rules regarding the display of appropriate emotions are part of the ethos of several professions (e.g., nursing, teaching) and may therefore be taught in job training. Third, *societal norms and expectations* also guide which and how emotions should be displayed by employees. Societal norms typically manifest themselves through the expectations of customers (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). In particular, customers hold clear expectations with regard to the courtesy, empathy, or trustworthiness that should be displayed by service providers (e.g., Dormann & Kaiser, 2003; Zeithaml, Parasuraman, & Berry, 1990).

2.1.1.2. Emotional display

The rules that are specified by emotion requirements mainly concern the emotions that employees should display, not the emotions that they should feel. Whereas Hochschild (1983) spoke of "feeling rules," most authors (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugliesi, 1999; Zapf et al., 1999) now put the emphasis on emotional display because in most cases, the main goal of emotion work is the visible behavior of employees. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), for example, define emotion work as "the act of *expressing* socially desired emotions during service transactions" (pp. 88-89, our emphasis). In their view, the focus should be on behavior rather than on the presumed emotions underlying behavior because "(a) [...] it is the actual behavior or compliance with display rules that is directly observed by and directly affects service recipients and (b) [...] one may conform with display rules without having to 'manage' feelings" (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, p. 90).

2.1.1.3. Emotion regulation

The fact that employees have emotional requirements concerning the display of specific emotions implies that they have to manage, or regulate, their emotions. Emotion regulation theory (Gross, 1998a, 1998b) defines emotion regulation, or emotion management, as "the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998b, p. 275). Emotion regulation is a relevant component of emotion work because employees do not always spontaneously feel and display the emotions

that are required in a given situation². Employees may actually experience two kinds of emotional mismatch.

First, they might display the required emotions without feeling them, a situation referred to as *emotional dissonance* (e.g., Abraham, 1998a; Nerdinger & Röper, 1999; Zerbe, 2000). Hochschild (1983) suggested that when this happens, employees may either try to adapt their facial and bodily display to comply with the emotional requirement without changing their inner feelings (i.e., "surface acting"), or they may try to actively change their inner feelings so that they correspond to the required emotion (i.e., "deep acting").

Second, emotion management might fail, that is, employees might display their clashing inner feelings rather than the required emotion. This situation is referred to as *emotional deviance* (e.g., Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Zerbe, 2000). Interestingly, although she did not include it in her typology³, Hochschild (1983) also talked about "the occasional escapee who launders her anger, disguises it in mock courtesy, and serves it up with flair" (p. 114).

2.1.1.4. Effect on others

Another aspect of the definition of emotion work is the fact that employees generally perform emotion work to influence the people with which they interact. Indeed, organizationally required emotions are often displayed with the explicit aim of influencing clients' attitudes and behaviors, usually by influencing their emotional state (Zapf et al., 1999). This is consistent with Goffman's view (1959) that people tend to play roles and manage their appearance in order to create certain impressions on other role senders, for example clients in the case of service workers.

The effect of emotion work on customers is an important aspect because in service organizations, effectiveness essentially depends on the quality of the relationship between the service provider and its customers, and thus on the emotions expressed by employees (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). In some professions, influencing other's emotions is the primary task. This is for example the case for psychotherapists, whose job mainly consists in helping clients to elaborate their emotional experience, or for nightclub hostesses, who are paid to make customers feel good. In most cases, however, emotion work is a secondary task which helps the fulfillment of the main task. By making social interactions more predictable, emotion work contributes to the development and the

² Note that even when workers' inner emotions spontaneously correspond to the required emotions, one can consider that an automatic form of emotion regulation is going on (Zapf, 2002), a strategy called "passive deep acting" (e.g., Kruml & Geddes, 2000a).

³ This is probably so because most of the time emotional deviance is not a conscious strategy but a regulation problem, as we will argue later.

stabilization of the relationship between the customer and the service provider (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Moreover, it is assumed that influencing the clients' emotions will have an impact on their cognitions and their behaviors, in such a way that customers in a good mood will buy more or that satisfied clients will come back (e.g., Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Zapf, 2002). Finally, influencing a client's emotion may render the fulfillment of the main task easier. For example, a dentist may try to cheer up a fearful child in order to make the completion of the treatment easier (Zapf, 2002).

It is interesting to note that in previous conceptualizations, emotion work was only considered in the context of relationships with clients and customers. More recently, however, several authors suggested that emotion work might also be performed within organizations, i.e., with colleagues, supervisors, and subordinates (e.g., Davis, LaRosa, & Foshee, 1992; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Steinberg & Figart, 1999b; Wharton, 1999). Pierce (1999), for instance, found that one function of paralegals was to support and maintain lawyers' emotional stability by performing emotion work, and Kunda and Van Maanen (1999) demonstrated that a high-tech organizational culture also required the display of specific emotional responses between coworkers in order to convey an impression of loyalty and commitment toward the organization.

2.1.1.5. Control by the employer

Another distinctive feature of emotion work is the fact that the employer may control that employees really display the required emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Indeed, organizations are more and more willing to direct and control how employees present themselves to others (Morris & Feldman, 1996). This supervision may take different forms. Some service workers may have "emotion supervisors," i.e., managers responsible for making sure employee-customer interactions are conducted appropriately (Kruml & Geddes, 2000b). In other cases, organizations may rely on monitoring systems such as customers' surveys or fictive customers in order to control that their employees show the appropriate emotions in their interactions (e.g., Fuller & Smith, 1996; Leidner, 1999).

2.1.1.6. Emotion work in social interactions

Finally, an aspect that is transversal to the aforementioned elements is the fact that emotion work is required and performed during social interactions. It was Hochschild (1983) who first underlined the fact that emotion work occurs in the context of face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact.

Subsequently, it has generally been agreed upon the fact that emotion work has particular relevance to service encounters (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996), and more specifically, that it refers to "the quality of interactions between employees and clients" (Zapf, 2002, p. 238). However, because it emphasizes the relational rather than the task-based aspect of work (Steinberg & Figart, 1999b), and because jobs more and more have a relational component (e.g., Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996), emotion work might actually characterize a much wider range of professions than has been suggested until now (e.g., Briner, 1999; Wharton, 1999). This suggests that it could be particularly fruitful to study emotion work in the interactions in which it occurs rather than considering it as characterizing occupations or workers in general.

2.1.1.7. Summary and integration

In summary, emotion work is generally considered as being characterized by the following components: (a) employees receive *emotional requirements* from their organizations; (b) these requirements concern *emotional displays* rather than felt emotions; (c) in order for employees to display the required emotions, a process of *emotion regulation* takes place; (d) emotions are required because they have an *effect on others* (customers, but also coworkers, supervisors and subordinates); (e) whether the required emotions are really displayed by employees or not might be *controlled by the employer*, (f) emotion work occurs during *social interactions*.

Several elements of this definition are particularly emphasized in this dissertation. In the first place, we are interested in the specific emotional requirements that lay on employees, that is, whether workers are required to display positive, negative, or neutral emotions. Secondly, we are interested in the process of emotion regulation that occurs when employees are required to display an emotion in a specific situation, in particular in the relationships between required, displayed and felt emotions. Thirdly, in line with recent approaches that suggest that emotion work is not only relevant to relationships with customers, but also to relationships with coworkers, supervisors and subordinates, we will examine emotional requirements, displayed emotions and felt emotions in all task-related interactions at work, i.e., including interactions with customers but also with colleagues, supervisors and subordinates. Finally, because emotion work is required and performed in social interactions, our empirical focus will precisely be on employees' interactions, that is, we will examine which emotions are concretely required, displayed and felt during the social interactions that employees establish in their workplace.

On the basis of the aforementioned definition, several conceptualizations of emotion work have been developed. Two main conceptualizations are discussed in the following section.

2.1.2. Conceptualizations of emotion work

Emotion work has been conceptualized in two main ways (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). On the one hand, *job-focused* approaches are concerned with emotion work requirements and focus on the level of emotional demands that characterizes an occupation. On the other hand, *employee-focused* approaches are concerned with the strategies and problems met by employees in order to manage their emotional displays to fulfill work demands.

2.1.2.1. Job-focused approaches of emotion work

As indicated by their name, job-focused approaches consider emotion work as referring to the objective requirements concerning the emotions that employees are required to display in the course of their job.

Such an approach was for instance adopted by Hochschild (1983), who classified occupations either as requiring emotion work or not on the basis of the following criteria: (a) workers have face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public, (b) they are required to display emotions in order to produce an emotional state in their interaction partner(s), and (c) their emotional displays might be controlled by their employer. On this basis, she developed a list of jobs "most calling for emotional labor" (Hochschild, 1983, Appendix C, p. 236) that was subsequently used in several studies (e.g., Wharton, 1993). This one-dimensional approach, however, has been criticized because it obscures the variability of emotional demands across different work roles (e.g., Kruml & Geddes, 2000a, 2000b; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Steinberg & Figart, 1999a).

To address this limitation, it has been suggested to operationalize emotion work by measuring work demands such as the frequency and duration of interactions with customers (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997). This approach, however, also received criticisms since frequency and duration of service encounters have been suggested to be characteristics of the job, or antecedents, rather than requirements of emotion work strictly speaking (e.g., Kruml & Geddes, 2000b; Zapf et al., 1999).

More recent job-focused approaches thus explicitly focused on job expectations to express specific emotions (e.g., Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Zapf et al., 1999). Such

approaches generally distinguish dimensions of emotion work on the basis of the specific emotions that employees are required to display. The most well-known typology distinguishes emotional requirements on the basis of whether the emotions that must be displayed are positive emotions, negative emotions, or neutral emotions (e.g., Grandey, 2000; Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Zapf et al., 1999). These elements will be discussed in more details in section 2.2.1.

2.1.2.2. Employee-focused approaches of emotion work

Contrarily to job-focused approaches, who are concerned with "objective" job demands⁴, employee-focused approaches of emotion work are concerned with employees' experience, that is, employees' strategies and problems in managing their emotional displays to fulfill work demands.

Studies focusing on the processes of emotion regulation that employees might use to comply with emotional requirements are an example of such an employee-focused approach (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002). Such examinations were inspired by Hochschild (1983), who suggested that employees may use "surface acting" (i.e., display organizationally required emotions without authentically feeling them), "deep acting" (i.e., make efforts to genuinely feel the required emotions), or "passive deep acting" (a strategy also known as automatic emotion regulation, cf. Zapf, 2002, that refers to situations in which employees spontaneously and genuinely feel the required emotions without the effort involved in deep acting, cf. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Kruml & Geddes, 2000b).

Other employee-focused approaches focused on employees' concrete behavior, in particular on the relationships between required emotions, displayed emotions, and felt emotions. In this perspective, Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) developed a typology that distinguishes emotional harmony (i.e., the perfect correspondence between required, displayed, and felt emotions), emotional dissonance (i.e., the fact that employees express the required emotions without truly feeling them), and emotional deviance (i.e., the fact that employees express their inner feelings and not the required emotions). Whereas the concept of emotional dissonance has received a lot of empirical interest (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Nerdinger & Röper, 1999), the concept of emotional deviance has received much less attention (see Zerbe, 2000, for an exception) but has been suggested to be a promising area for future research (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). These elements will be discussed in more details in section 2.2.2.

⁴ Only in Hochschild's (1983) approach is emotion work clearly objectively determined. Other approaches rely on workers' interpretations of their emotional requirements to capture the so-called objective aspects of emotion work.

2.1.2.3. Summary and integration

Emotion work has been conceptualized in two main ways: Job-focused approaches are concerned with "objective" demands concerning the display of specific emotions, whereas employee-focused approaches are concerned with the "subjective" experience of employees in managing their emotions. Although many studies have considered emotion work in only one of its aspects, it has been suggested that a comprehensive conceptualization of emotion work should include both (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, 2002). In this dissertation, emotion work is explicitly conceptualized as being composed of both job-focused and employee-focused aspects.

It can be argued, however, that the terms "job-focused" (or "objective") and "employee-focused" (or "subjective") obscure the real nature of the two facets of emotion work. First, as stated above, most job-focused approaches of emotion work did not use objective measures of emotional demands but relied on employees' interpretation of these requirements. Such approaches can therefore hardly be considered as objective, strictly speaking. Moreover, two employees with the same job title might have differing emotional requirements. Thus, the "job-focused" aspects of emotion work are not independent from employees. In this dissertation, we propose to conceptualize the emotional demands that lay on employees as *emotion work requirements*, and the difficulties that employees may encounter in managing their emotions to fulfill emotion requirements as *emotion work regulation problems*. This terminology is consistent with the action theory framework and its distinction between regulation requirements, regulation problems, and regulation possibilities (e.g., Frese & Zapf, 1994; Zapf, 1993)⁵.

In previous studies, emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems have mostly been studied on a general level, focusing on the general extent to which employees are subjected to specific display rules (e.g., Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Zapf et al., 1999; Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz, 2001) or on the general extent to which they experience emotional dissonance and emotional deviance (e.g., Zerbe, 2000). In this dissertation, however, it is suggested that those dimensions do not (only) characterize a profession as a whole or a worker in general, but that they are situation specific. In other words, we suggest that emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are likely to vary from interaction to interaction. This situational conceptualization of emotion work is developed in the next section.

⁵ According to action theory, regulation requirements refer to the complexity and variety of tasks, emotion regulation problems refer to work stressors, and regulation possibilities refer to the notion of control. We refer the reader to Zapf (2002) for a comprehensive application of action theory to the concept of emotion work.

2.2. Situational aspects of emotion work

This section is aimed at demonstrating the situational specificity of emotion work. Because emotion work is performed during social interactions, the emotions that are required, as well as the emotions that are felt and displayed, are likely to vary as a function of features of the interactions. We might thus talk of *emotion work events*.

As suggested in the previous section, we examine separately the situational specificity of *emotion work requirements*, i.e., the emotional demands (positive, negative, or neutral) that lay on employees, and the situational specificity of *emotion work regulation problems*, i.e., the difficulties (emotional dissonance and deviance) that employees may encounter in managing their emotional displays to fulfill work demands.

2.2.1. Types, situational specificity, and other relevant aspects of emotion work requirements

Employees might be required to display different emotions in different interactions. We first provide a detailed presentation of the different types of emotion work requirements that have been distinguished in the literature. The central part of the section is concerned with the situational specificity of emotion work requirements, that is, with the fact that emotional requirements are likely to vary from interaction to interaction within a given work role. Because other, non-situational aspects might also be relevant to emotion work requirements, we rapidly address them in the last part of this section.

2.2.1.1. Types of emotion work requirements

Three types of emotion work requirements are generally distinguished (e.g., Adelman, 1995; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Zapf et al., 1999): positive (or integrative) emotions, negative (or differentiating) emotions, and neutral emotions (or masking).

Positive emotion work requirements imply presenting a warm outward demeanor and include in particular the display of friendliness, approval, respect, empathy, sympathy, pleasure, delight, satisfaction, or relief (e.g., Ekman & Friesen, 1982; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). The display of positive

emotions is generally used to enhance the well-being and the satisfaction of one's interaction partners (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Negative emotion work requirements imply presenting a disagreeable demeanor and include the display of unsupportive emotions such as hostility, anger, distrust or contempt. The display of negative emotions is generally used to intimidate or subdue interaction partners (e.g., Sutton, 1991).

Neutral emotion work requirements imply the suppression of one's emotional display (e.g., Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Zapf, 2002). Adopting a neutral emotional display might be used to convey an impression of "dispassionate authority" (Morris & Feldman, 1996). In addition, the suppression of emotional displays might be necessary to disguise private feelings such as revulsion, fear, pain, but also attraction and love (Fineman, 1993). Strong feelings might be detrimental to one's work performance if they interfere with the delivery of good service or violate professional ethical principles (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Smith & Kleinman, 1989).

2.2.1.2. Situational specificity of emotion work requirements

Although the vast majority of previous studies considered emotion work requirements to characterize professions as a whole, we suggest that emotion work requirements should also be considered as characterizing interactions. This is so because employees' interactions generally happen with various people and in various environments, follow various objectives, and so on. Such specific features of the situation may help employees make a more refined judgment about which emotions should be expressed during a particular interaction. Emotion work requirements are thus likely to vary depending on the situation. Two types of situational variables have been identified: cues from the setting of the interaction and cues from the interaction partner (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989).

The emotions that are required from employees are likely to depend on specific characteristics of the setting. An illustration is provided by Martin (1999), who observed that the emotions that were required from police officers differed as a function of what happened in the situation they encountered. For instance, a robbery in progress was seen as requiring an aggressive reaction (whereby negative emotion work is expected), whereas an interpersonal dispute was seen as requiring a conflict resolution intervention (whereby neutral emotion work is expected). A similar influence of the situation was observed by Clark and LaBeff (1982) in their examination of how nurses, physicians, police officers, and clergypersons delivery news of death. Depending on the type

of death, the age of the victim, the place of death, and so on, professionals adopted differing strategies such as *direct delivery*, whereby they stated the fact of a death without emotional involvement (thus doing neutral emotion work) or *conditional delivery*, whereby deliverers were much more concerned with the feelings and reactions of receivers and adapted their behavior to the receiver's reactions, for instance reassuring them that everything possible was done and that the person did not suffer (thus doing positive emotion work). In a completely different context, Sutton and Rafaeli (1988) demonstrated that the number of customers that are waiting in the line influences which norm applies to cashiers' emotional display: "During busy times, both clerks and customers tacitly agree that the expression of pleasant emotions is not essential. Conversely, both clerks and customers tacitly expect that pleasant emotions should be expressed during slow times" (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988, p. 474).

In addition to cues from the setting, emotion work requirements might also depend on cues from the target person. In particular, customers' behavior is likely to influence the type of emotional display that is required in a specific interaction. For instance, in his study of a bill-collection organization, Sutton (1991) identified contingent norms that specified which emotions had to be displayed by employees as a function of the emotional state of debtors:

Contingent norms reflected beliefs that collectors ought to express stronger irritation, even anger, to indifferent, friendly, and sad debtors because they were not sufficiently aroused and worried about their late payments. Contingent norms also reflected beliefs that some debtors were too upset to focus on their debts: Warmth was thought best for relaxing extremely anxious debtors, calmness best for cooling off angry debtors. (Sutton, 1991, p. 257)

A similar influence of the behavior of the interaction partner on the emotions that should be displayed can be seen in the work of physicians. DeCoster (1997), for instance, observed that physicians used different strategies as a function of the emotions expressed by their patients. For instance, with sad and anxious patients, doctors generally conveyed empathy and reassurance (i.e., positive emotion work), whereas with patients who did not take their illness "seriously enough" (as is for instance the case for a smoker who is affected by a severe chronic pulmonary disease), they mostly performed negative emotion work. Finally, physicians used neutral emotion work with patients with which it was important to maintain boundaries, such as hypochondriac persons.

In summary, the aforementioned studies clearly demonstrate that emotion work requirements are likely to vary within a work role as a function of the specific interactions in which employees are engaged.

2.2.1.3. Other relevant aspects for emotion work requirements

If the central focus of this dissertation is the situational specificity of emotion work, several general characteristics are still relevant with regard to emotion work requirements. Occupation, of course, is a relevant variable in this regard. Although gender has also been suggested to be closely related to emotion work, this relationship is less clear.

A vast body of literature has investigated the types of emotion work requirements that are associated with specific occupations. Positive emotion work has been the most widely studied emotion work requirement and has been demonstrated to be part of a wide range of professions such as flight attendant (e.g., Hochschild, 1983), nurse (e.g., Smith, 1992), supermarket cashier (e.g., Rafaeli, 1989a, 1989b), life insurance agent (e.g., Leidner, 1991), bank clerk (e.g., Pugh, 2001), and theme parks' employee (e.g., Van Maanen, 1991), among others; in short, professions that can be characterized as service jobs. Indeed, studies focusing on general occupational categories have demonstrated service workers to be more frequently required to display positive emotions than non-service workers (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). In contrast, negative and neutral emotion work requirements have been much rarely studied and only in specific work roles. Negative emotion work has been studied in professions such as bill collector (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Sutton, 1991) and criminal interrogator (e.g., Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991), whereas neutral emotion work has been suggested to be part of work roles such as doctor, social worker, counselor, nurse (e.g., Fineman, 1993), 911 dispatcher (e.g., Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tracy & Tracy, 1998), police officer (e.g., Martin, 1999), judge (e.g., Zapf, 2002), or psychotherapist (e.g., Yanay & Shahar, 1998).

Emotion work has also been suggested to depend on workers' gender. Based on the differential socialization of boys and girls, women are thought to be more frequently required to manage their emotional displays than men (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). There is evidence, however, that women are proportionally more numerous in service jobs than men (e.g., Gutek et al., 1999; Jobin, 1995). Because most studies interested in the relationship between gender and emotion work were ethnographic in nature (e.g., Hall, 1993; Leidner, 1991), they focused on a single profession and did not examine gender and occupation simultaneously, thus confounding both influences. In addition, because emotion work requirements are an objective aspect of one's work role, they should not vary as a function of workers' gender. In support of this view, Bulan, Erickson, & Wharton (1997) demonstrated that affective requirements such as handling people well or being friendly were as frequent among men than among women.

2.2.1.4. Summary and integration

Employees might be required to display positive emotions, negative emotions, or neutral emotions. Results from several ethnographic studies demonstrate that these emotion work requirements are likely to vary within a work role as a function of the specific interactions in which employees are engaged. However, the fact that the situational specificity of emotion work requirements has mostly been demonstrated in the context of ethnographic studies did not allow for an examination of the relative frequency of different types of emotion work requirements. Knowing how frequently employees are required to display positive, negative or neutral emotions is important because the frequency of emotion work has been suggested to be associated with negative consequences for workers (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997). Moreover, the frequency of different types of emotion work requirements might be associated with different outcomes (Zapf et al., 1999). In this dissertation, we explicitly focus on the relative frequency of the different types of emotion work requirements to which employees might be subjected. Other relevant aspects that are likely to influence the occurrence of emotion work requirements include occupation and, although it is much more discussed, gender. These elements will therefore also be included in our examination of the frequency of interactions with emotion work requirements.

2.2.2. Types, situational specificity, and other relevant aspects of emotion work regulation problems

Emotion work regulation refers to the way emotion work is concretely performed by employees, that is, which emotions are really displayed and felt by employees when they are required to display specific emotions in the course of their job. The ideal situation, of course, is emotional harmony, i.e., a perfect correspondence between required, displayed and felt emotions. From the organization's perspective, employees' emotional harmony is preferable because if clients have the feeling that the displayed emotion is inauthentic, emotion work may cause unwanted effects that are contrary to organizational goals (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). From the employee's perspective, emotional harmony seems preferable since it has been suggested that only situations of emotional discrepancy are associated with an impaired well-being (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Emotional harmony, however, does not happen every time emotion work is required. Emotional discrepancies are common because "even though display rules may regulate expressive *behavior*, they cannot regulate expressive *experience*" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 97, original emphasis).



The structure of this section is similar to the preceding one. We first provide a detailed presentation of the different types of emotion work regulation problems that have been distinguished in the literature. The central part of the section is concerned with the situational specificity of emotion work regulation problems, that is, with the fact that the occurrence of emotional dissonance and deviance is likely to vary from interaction to interaction within a given work role. Because other, non-situational, aspects might also be relevant to emotion work regulation problems, we address them in the last part of this section.

2.2.2.1. Types of emotion work regulation problems

Two types of emotion work regulation problems have been distinguished on the basis of the observable behavior of employees in reaction to the discrepancy between emotional norms and felt emotions: emotional dissonance and emotional deviance (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Zerbe, 2000).

Emotional dissonance occurs when displayed emotions satisfy the emotion work requirement, but clash with inner feelings (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). In other words, the required emotion is displayed, but not felt. In terms of process, emotional dissonance corresponds to "surface acting," whereby employees only regulate their visible behavior (Hochschild, 1983). Experiencing emotional dissonance does not necessarily mean that the service provider doesn't feel any emotion, but that the felt and displayed emotions are different. For instance, a nurse might continue displaying the positive emotions that are required from her work role despite the fact that she is almost at breaking point because of a night shift that was particularly hectic (Smith, 1991). In other situations, one may feel positive or negative emotions although one is required to suppress emotions, as is for instance the case for physicians, who are expected to display "detached concern" (Lief & Fox, 1963) but might feel disgust in the face of a deformed patient or might feel sexually attracted to a patient (Fineman, 1993).

Emotional deviance occurs when the required emotion is not expressed (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). In other words, there is a mismatch between emotional norms and displayed emotions. In situations of emotional deviance, employees disregard emotional requirements and express their inner feelings. For instance, instead of responding politely, a waiter might give a bad sneer to a customer who tells him how to do his job (Hall, 1993).

2.2.2.2. Situational specificity of emotion work regulation problems

As with emotion work requirements, we suggest that emotion work regulation problems should also be considered as characterizing interactions. Specific features of the situation may lead employees to feel and display different emotions than those that are required, and thus influence the occurrence of emotional dissonance and deviance. Emotion work regulation problems are thus likely to vary depending on the situation. Again, two types of situational variables will be considered: cues from the setting of the interaction and cues from the interaction partner (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989).

The emotions that are felt and displayed by employees in response to emotional norms are likely to depend on specific characteristics of the setting. One such feature is, of course, the emotion work requirement that applies to the specific situation. Although little research examined the relationship between emotion work requirements and actual behavior, on a theoretical level it has been suggested that employees generally feel and display the emotions that are required from them (e.g., Grandey, 2003). In support of this view, Diefendorff and Richard (2003) found that positive emotion work requirements as perceived by employees were positively related to emotional displays as rated by their coworkers, and Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) found that the requirement to display positive emotions was positively correlated with the management of one's emotional displays by means of deep acting (a concept that can be equated with emotional harmony) and, to a lesser extent, by means of surface acting (i.e., emotional dissonance). If employees generally appear to comply with positive emotion work requirements, one might wonder whether the same is true for negative and neutral emotion work requirements. As a matter of fact, displaying negative and neutral emotions is not a socially desirable behavior and has been demonstrated to be perceived as inappropriate in virtually all situations (e.g., Price & Bouffard, 1981). In addition, displaying positive or negative emotions is likely to lead to very different consequences. In a longitudinal research, Staw, Sutton, and Pelled (1994) demonstrated that employees who display positive emotions receive more favorable evaluations of their work and more social support from their supervisors and coworkers. In contrast, negative emotions have been suggested to be dysfunctional reactions since they disrupt ongoing activity and have maladaptive consequences (Ostello, 1996). In particular, displaying negative emotions is likely to have a destructive impact upon interpersonal relationships. For instance, Fitness (2000) demonstrated that subordinates are highly likely to retaliate towards supervisors who expressed anger towards them. Because expressing negative emotions has generally adverse effects on the relationship between interaction partners, it might be the case that employees prefer not to display

unpleasant emotions even if they are formally required to do so. Thus, the occurrence of emotional deviance might depend on the specific type of emotion that is required in a given interaction.

Besides emotion work requirements, several other features of the situation are likely to influence felt and displayed emotions. Investigating the association between specific events and employees' emotional reactions, Basch and Fisher (2000) demonstrated that situations in which workers are involved in a challenging task, in problem-solving or in decision-making elicit positive emotions such as enthusiasm and pride, whereas situations in which workers experience problems in the fulfillment of their tasks or workload elicit negative emotions such as worry and annoyance. If such "emotion-eliciting" events occur simultaneously with a contradicting emotion work requirement (as would be the case if an overloaded – and thus worried – nurse had to display patience and empathy to a complaining patient), employees are likely to experience emotional dissonance and/or emotional deviance. Indeed, situations of workload (operationalized as the degree of busyness of the transaction) have been demonstrated to be negatively related with the display of required emotions among employees who are expected to display positive emotions (Pugh, 2001). In the same vein, several of the clerks interviewed by Sutton and Rafaeli (1988) explained that they were genuinely happy to interact with customers during slow times, but that they felt tense when lines got long. Sutton himself, during the day he spent working as a clerk, noted that when the line got long, "I never looked up at the customers. I never established eye contact. I never said thank you. I was breaking the rules, and I knew it. But I couldn't help it" (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988, p. 475). A busy environment thus seems to increase both emotional dissonance and emotional deviance.

Another situational element that is likely to influence the emotions that are felt and displayed by employees is the behavior of their interaction partners. For instance, helping and supportive behaviors from coworkers and clients have been demonstrated to lead employees to experience feelings of pleasure, enthusiasm, and relief (Basch & Fisher, 2000), whereas interpersonal conflict, incivility events, and injustice events are a source of negative emotions (Grandey & Brauburger, in press). Such events might interfere with emotion work requirements, thus leading to emotional dissonance and/or deviance. For instance, Kruml and Geddes (2000b) demonstrated that customer affect is negatively related to emotional dissonance, that is, workers are more likely to experience emotional dissonance when customers exhibit negative emotions. Tolich (1993) observed the same phenomenon in his ethnographic study of supermarket clerks. As one of them explained:

I can smile, and it's not a sincere smile. You just learn to do it – it takes practice. And I've found over the years – and probably the worst ones are older people who might be senile and they've had a bad day or whatever, and they come in and they just want to complain and what – and it's

your fault. And when I know it's not my fault – but I can't argue with her and tell her it's not my fault. I just have to – the best way to deal with it is just smile and take the complaints. (Tolich, 1993, p. 373)

In addition, the way interaction partners behave is also likely to influence the occurrence of emotional deviance. When confronted with unfavorable treatment from their interaction partners, employees might use strategies of resistance whereby they voluntarily avoid to express the emotion required by the situation (Hall, 1993; McCammon & Griffin, 2000; Paules, 1996). Such a strategy is particularly apparent in the following excerpt drawn from an interaction between a policeman and a motorist:

Policeman to motorist stopped for speeding: "May I see your driver's license please?"

Motorist: "Why the hell are you picking on me and not somewhere else looking for some real criminals?"

Policeman: "Cause you're an asshole, that's why [...] but I didn't know that until you opened your mouth" (Van Maanen, 1978, p. 234)

In this situation, the policeman opened the interaction in conformity with the display rule (i.e., in a polite way), but expressed negative emotions – and thus deviated from the emotional norm – in reaction to the motorist's aggressive answer.

In summary, the aforementioned elements clearly demonstrate that emotion work regulation problems are likely to vary within a work role as a function of the specific interactions in which employees are engaged.

2.2.2.3. Other relevant aspects for emotion work regulation problems

Besides situational characteristics, individual differences might also influence which emotions people are predisposed to feel and express. As with emotion work requirements, occupation and gender have been suggested to be relevant variables in this regard.

Occupational category is a first element that is likely to influence the emotions that are felt and displayed in response to emotional norms. Studies that examined the relationship between occupational category and frequency of emotional dissonance and deviance are virtually inexistent, however. According to Morris and Feldman (1996), the frequency of emotional displays should be positively related with emotional dissonance because the more frequently employees are required to display specific emotions, "the greater the probability that they will encounter situations in which their 'real' feelings will conflict with expected emotions" (p. 993). Thus, since they are more

frequently required to regulate their emotional displays, service workers should experience emotional dissonance and emotional deviance more frequently than non-service workers. On the other hand, however, it has been suggested that service workers are more likely than non-service workers to have internalized the emotional demands of their jobs (Leidner, 1999; Zapf, 2002). They should thus be more likely than non-service workers to conform to emotional requirements. In addition, because of employers' monitoring systems (e.g., Leidner, 1999), and because of eventual complaints of dissatisfied customers (e.g., Fuller & Smith, 1996; Gutek, Cherry, Bhappu, Schneider, & Woolf, 2000), failing to conform to emotional requirements might not stay unnoticed, and is actually likely to result in organizational punishments (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). These pressures have been suggested to be especially strong for service workers (Hochschild, 1983). In this perspective, service workers might experience emotional dissonance and deviance less frequently than non-service workers. The study of Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) provided mixed results in this regard. On the one hand, human service workers appeared to be in a state of emotional harmony (operationalized through deep acting) more frequently than physical workers (e.g., construction workers). On the other hand, service/sales workers experienced emotional dissonance more frequently than clerical and physical workers.

Gender is another characteristic that is likely to influence emotional dissonance and emotional deviance. Numerous studies have drawn attention on the "emotional division of labor" between men and women (Heller, 1980; Hochschild, 1990; James, 1989). In particular, women have been shown to be more emotionally expressive (Allen & Haccoun, 1976; Gross & John, 1998) and emotionally sensitive than men, that is, they are better able to decode emotional expressions (Deaux, 1985; Hall, 1978) and to respond to and empathize with the emotional states of others (Guerrero & Reiter, 1998). In addition, women appear more likely than men to attribute a communicative function to emotions and to use them in interpersonal situations (Allen & Haccoun, 1976). Applying this to the work setting, we might expect women to be more responsive to emotional requirements, and therefore to experience emotional dissonance and emotional deviance less frequently than men. With regard to emotional dissonance, Pierce (1999) demonstrated that men mostly used surface acting (i.e., the emotions they displayed did not correspond to their inner feelings), whereas women mostly relied on deep acting, i.e., they tried to actually evoke the feeling itself, as illustrated by the case of Lisa, who "does not just smile but 'psyches' herself up to be cheerful and friendly to those around her" (Pierce, 1999, p. 135). With regard to emotional deviance, Hall (1993) demonstrated that female servers were considered more friendly than waiters, even when confronted with unpleasant customers, and in Rafaeli's (1989b) study, the

mean display of positive emotions was higher among female clerks than among male clerks. The fact that emotional dissonance and deviance is less likely in women than in men might be accounted for by two hypotheses. First, in displaying the expected emotions, women are "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) or enacting "gender strategies" (Hochschild, 1990), i.e., they behave in a way that is consistent with gender-role expectations. Typically, service jobs are characterized by a spillover of gender-based expectations – such as monitoring one's own behavior so as not to offend, smiling, behaving cheerfully and deferentially to people of every status and with every attitude – to the provider role (e.g., Gutek & Cohen, 1987). Failing to behave according to these expectations might represent a threat to women's gender identities (Leidner, 1991). Second, it has been suggested that women have a weaker "status shield" against poor treatment on the part of customers, and thus, that their feelings are accorded less weight than those of men (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Soares, 1998). As a consequence, emotional deviance might be viewed as more illegitimate – and therefore happen less frequently – for women than for men. Hall (1993), for instance, observed that resistance to unpleasant customers was easier for waiters, who could use their superior gender status, and Hochschild (1983) observed a similar gender difference among flight attendants:

Male flight attendants tended to react to passengers *as if they had more authority* than they really did. This made them less tolerant of abuse and firmer in handling it. [...] Female flight attendants, on the other hand, assuming that passengers would honor their authority less, used more tactful and deferential means of handling abuse. (Hochschild, 1983, p. 178, original emphasis)

2.2.2.4. Summary and integration

Employees might experience emotional harmony, emotional dissonance, or emotional dissonance in the interactions in which they are required to display a specific emotion. Studies on emotions in the workplace suggest that emotion work regulation problems are likely to vary within a work role as a function of the specific interactions in which employees are engaged. However, the situational specificity of emotion work regulation problems has received little empirical attention, and we do not know of any study that examined the relative frequency of different types of emotion work regulation problems. Knowing how frequently employees experience emotional dissonance and emotional deviance is important because the frequency of emotion work has been suggested to be associated with negative consequences for workers (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Moreover, the frequency of different types of emotion work regulation problems might be associated with different outcomes (Zerbe, 2000). In this dissertation, we explicitly focus on the

relative frequency of the different types of emotion work regulation problems that employees might experience. Other relevant aspects that are likely to influence the occurrence of emotion work regulation problems include occupation and gender. These elements will also be included in our examination of the frequency of interactions with emotion work regulation problems.

We argued that emotion work events should be examined rather than global assessments of emotion work because the frequency of differing types of emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems is likely to have specific consequences, in particular with regard to workers' psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. The topic of the effects of emotion work is developed in the next section.

2.3. Consequences of emotion work

The consequences of emotion work constitute a central area of interest. Organizations require from their employees that they display specific emotions during their interactions because they assume that it will have beneficial consequences with regard to several types of organizational outcomes. *Immediate gains* concern the immediate unfolding of interactions and might manifest themselves in terms of efficacy (for instance, when detectives get a confession from a suspect, cf. Stenross & Kleinman, 1989) as well as in terms of financial gains (as is for instance the case for hairdressers or waiters, who receive bigger tips when they display positive emotions, cf. Parkinson, 1991, and Tidd & Lockard, 1978). With regard to long-term effects, *encore gains* concern the fidelization that emotion work is likely to entail if customers are satisfied of their interactions with service providers, whereas *contagion gains* refer to the fact that a reputation of good service is likely to spread to potential customers, for instance by word of mouth (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Most research on the effects of emotion work, however, has focused on individual consequences (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Adelman, 1995; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Zapf et al., 1999, 2001). This is so because, despite its potential beneficial effects for organizational performance, emotion work has been suggested to be detrimental to workers' psychological well-being and job-related attitudes (e.g., Hochschild, 1983).

This section begins with an examination of the effects of emotion work on employees' psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. We then propose to take into account the effects of emotion work on the immediate evaluation of interactions, an aspect that has been largely neglected in previous research.

2.3.1. Emotion work and psychological well-being

The vast majority of studies interested in the consequences of emotion work on well-being examined its effects on burnout (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Zapf et al., 2001). The concept of burnout, however, has important limitations, as will be discussed in the following section. Because of that, alternative measures of psychological distress will be examined in this dissertation and are therefore discussed separately from burnout. We then discuss several variables that have been suggested to moderate the relationship between emotion work and psychological well-being.

2.3.1.1. Burnout

Research on burnout started in the context of service professions following the observation that the emotional demands inherent in these occupations were harmful for workers (Maslach, 1978). Burnout has been defined as a "response syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment" (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993, p. 622) that can occur among workers who do "people work."

Emotional exhaustion is the central characteristic of burnout and its most frequently studied component (e.g., Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). It refers to the depletion or draining of emotional resources and is characterized by a lack of energy (e.g., Schaufeli & Buunk, 1996). The examination of the effects of emotion work requirements on emotional exhaustion provided mixed results. In their 1999 study, Zapf et al. found emotional exhaustion to be positively correlated with display of positive emotions, display of negative emotions, and sensitivity requirements. In their 2001 study, however, the authors found that display of negative emotions was the only significant predictor of emotional exhaustion after having controlled for work characteristics, social stressors and social support. With regard to emotion work regulation problems, results are much more straightforward since virtually all studies interested in the effects of emotional dissonance found a positive relationship with emotional exhaustion (Abraham, 1998b; Grandey, 2003; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Nerding & Röper, 1999; Zapf et al., 1999, 2001). Emotional deviance has been suggested to lead to burnout, especially when employees have internalized the emotional requirements associated with their work role (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). To our knowledge, however, only one study operationalized emotional deviance (Zerbe, 2000), and it was unable to demonstrate its positive relationship with emotional exhaustion. As a matter of

fact, when Zerbe (2000) examined components of emotional deviance separately, only the display of positive emotions by itself, and not the difference between displayed and required emotions, appeared to influence emotional exhaustion⁶.

The second dimension of burnout, *depersonalization* or dehumanization, is concerned with the development of negative (i.e., insensitive, uncaring, or cynical) attitudes towards service recipients (e.g., Maslach et al., 2001). Customers are treated as objects rather than people, in particular through the use of derogatory comments and withdrawal (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). Although less frequently studied than emotional exhaustion, depersonalization was shown to be positively related to the requirement to display negative emotions and the requirement to be sensitive to customers' emotions (Zapf et al., 1999, 2001). Interestingly, the requirement to display positive emotions was demonstrated to be negatively related to depersonalization (Zapf et al., 2001). Rather than being a stressor, positive emotion work may actually act as a resource in that employees might see it as an interesting challenge. With regard to emotion work regulation problems, emotional dissonance has repeatedly been shown to predict depersonalization (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Kruml and Geddes, 2000a; Zapf et al., 1999, 2001). As with emotional exhaustion, no significant relationship could be demonstrated between emotional deviance and depersonalization (Zerbe, 2000).

The third dimension of burnout, *reduced personal accomplishment*, refers to the tendency to evaluate oneself and one's work with customers in a negative way. Burned-out workers experience a decline in feelings of efficiency and professional achievement (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). With regard to emotion work requirements, the display of positive emotions has been shown to be positively related to personal accomplishment (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Dormann & Kaiser, 2002; Zapf et al., 1999, 2001). As already demonstrated with depersonalization, emotion work might not be a "pure" stressor since the display of positive emotions is likely to be valued by customers as well as by the management (Zapf et al., 1999). Concerning emotion work regulation problems, several authors (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Zapf, 2001) found emotional dissonance to be negatively related to personal accomplishment, but no significant relationship was found between emotional deviance and personal accomplishment (Zerbe, 2000). At this point, a general comment on the absence of relationship between emotional deviance and the dimensions of burnout seems necessary. Although Zerbe (2000) imputes his results to methodological issues, we suggest that the problem might be more of a theoretical issue.

⁶ The display of positive emotions was negatively related to emotional exhaustion, whereas Zerbe (2000) expected a positive relationship between emotional deviance and emotional exhaustion.

As a matter of fact, the inhibition of inner feelings, especially of negative emotions, has been demonstrated to lead to deleterious consequences on psychological as well as on physical well-being (Gross, 1998a; Pennebaker & Beall, 1986). Thus, expressing one's real feelings despite the emotional requirement might be a dysfunctional reaction from the organization's perspective, but a functional reaction with regard to employees' well-being. From this perspective, the absence of relationship between emotional deviance and burnout should not be seen as a surprising result.

Several criticisms have been addressed to the concept of burnout, however, notably because the extent to which it can be distinguished from job stress is not clear (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Schaufeli & Buunk, 1996). This conceptual overlap is clearly illustrated in dynamical reconceptualizations of burnout such as the one developed by Koeske and Koeske (1989). According to these authors, burnout should be recast into a "demand → stress → strain → outcome" framework in which emotional exhaustion represents strain, whereas depersonalization and personal accomplishment represent other related variables. Emotional exhaustion, however, does not appear to be a "pure" strain and it might be argued that there is a conceptual overlap between emotional exhaustion and emotional dissonance (Zapf et al., 2001). In addition, the theoretical status of depersonalization and personal accomplishment remains unclear, and these constructs actually seem to be conceptually closer to job-related attitudes than to well-being. In order to clearly separate those concepts, the concept of burnout is not empirically studied in this dissertation. Rather, we examine irritability and psychosomatic complaints as indicators of strain, and job satisfaction and affective commitment to the organization as indicators of job-related attitudes. These elements are discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1.2. Other measures of psychological distress

Apart from burnout, researchers interested in the effects of emotion work on psychological well-being have used various concepts such as irritability, psychosomatic complaints, or depressive mood (see for instance Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Zapf et al., 1999).

Since emotion work has been suggested to lead to estrangement from one's feelings and to inauthenticity (e.g., Bulan et al., 1997; Hochschild, 1983; Tolich, 1993), emotion work has generally been hypothesized to be negatively associated with psychological well-being. Indeed, Pugliesi (1999) demonstrated that having to manage one's own feelings as well as others' emotions is positively related to distress. Some authors, however, suggested that emotion work is not necessarily distressing (e.g., Bulan et al., 1997; Wharton, 1999). Specifically, it has been

proposed that certain types of emotion work requirements, such as the requirement to display positive emotions, might actually have positive consequences on well-being (e.g., Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000; Zapf et al., 1999). At least two theoretical approaches provide support for this hypothesis. On the one hand, the facial-feedback hypothesis suggests that facial expression alters subjective feelings through physiological feedback mechanisms (Strack, Martin, & Stepper, 1988). According to this perspective, displaying "false smiles" (Ekman & Friesen, 1982) might lead employees to genuinely feel positive emotions. On the other hand, according to emotional contagion theories (e.g., Gump & Kulik, 1997; Totterdell, Kellett, Teuchmann, & Briner, 1998), we generally mimic the facial expressions and body movements of our interlocutors, and this might lead to emotional convergence between interaction partners (Anderson, Keltner, & John, 2003). Since the display of positive emotions by employees has been shown to be positively related to customers' positive affect (Pugh, 2001), a bi-directional contagion effect (whereby the positive emotions expressed by customers might in turn positively influence workers' inner feelings) seems plausible.

Results, however, did not confirm the suggested positive relationship between positive emotion work requirements and well-being. For instance, Zapf et al. (1999) found no significant link between display of positive emotions and irritability and psychosomatic complaints in two of their samples⁷, and there was actually a positive correlation between display of positive emotions and irritability in their third sample. Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) also found a positive relationship between the requirement to display positive emotions and physical symptoms (as measured with a somatic complaints index) after having controlled for age, gender, education, and negative affectivity, a finding they interpret as an indication that the potential salutary effect of having to display positive emotions might be over-ridden by the pressure put on employees. Results concerning other types of emotion work requirements are quite inconclusive. With regard to negative emotion work requirements, Zapf et al. (1999) found a positive correlation between display of negative emotions and psychosomatic complaints in one of their samples only. With regard to neutral emotion work, Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) did not find any significant relationship between emotional suppression and somatic symptoms.

Concerning emotional dissonance, results are much more clear cut. Zapf et al. (1999) found emotional dissonance to be positively correlated with irritability and psychosomatic complaints,

⁷ Zapf et al.'s (1999) analyses were based on three samples. The first sample consisted of employees working in social service institutions (e.g., home for handicapped children, hospital), the second sample consisted of employees of the hotel business, and the third sample was collected in 14 call centers of various firms.

Pugliesi and Shook's (1997) results indicated that covering one's true feelings so as to appear pleasant at work increases psychological distress, and Erickson and Wharton (1997) demonstrated that job-related inauthenticity significantly predicts depressed mood above and beyond demographic and job characteristics. Interestingly, although emotional deviance has been hypothesized to lead to an impaired well-being (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Zerbe, 2000), the effects of emotional deviance on psychological distress have not been examined empirically. On the basis of emotion regulation models that were developed in the context of general theories of emotions (Gross & Levenson, 1997), however, we again suggest that emotional deviance might actually have a positive impact on psychological well-being. As a matter of fact, since it facilitates self-expression, emotional deviance might have a "salutary effect on agents' collective esteem and solidarity" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 95).

2.3.1.3. Moderating influences on the relationship between emotion work and psychological well-being

Drawing an analogy with stress research (e.g., Kahn & Byosiere, 1992; Sonnentag & Frese, in press), several authors suggested that resources such as job autonomy or social support might protect employees' well-being from the negative effects of emotion work (e.g., Abraham, 1998a; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Wharton, 1999; Zapf, 2002). In contrast, the co-occurrence of stressors and emotion work has been suggested to increase the negative effects of emotion work on psychological well-being (Zapf et al., 2001).

Job autonomy (or job control) refers to the degree of discretion available to employees in the fulfillment of their tasks (Sonnentag & Frese, in press). To our knowledge, the moderating effect of job autonomy on the emotion work – well being relationship has never been tested empirically but several studies have provided evidence of its plausibility. Tolich (1993), for instance, proposed to distinguish between regulated emotion management and autonomous emotion management on the basis of workers' degree of control on their emotional performance. In his ethnographic study of supermarket cashiers, he observed that employees who autonomously managed their emotional display reported less emotional dissonance than those who had a low degree of control on their emotional displays. In addition, several quantitative studies found a direct negative relationship between job autonomy and emotional dissonance (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Morris & Feldman, 1997), and Zapf et al. (1999) found interaction control (i.e., the degree to which employees can influence their social interactions with customers) to be negatively correlated with irritability and psychosomatic complaints. Although the aforementioned elements refer to direct effects, and not

to moderating effects, they nevertheless indicate the plausibility of the moderating influence of job autonomy on the adverse effects of emotion work on workers' well-being, and they suggest the necessity of further investigations on that topic.

Social support refers to "resources provided by others," be it in terms of emotional support or in terms of instrumental and informational support (Sonnentag & Frese, in press). Although the moderating effect of social support on the emotion work – well-being relationship has not been tested empirically yet, it has been suggested that being able to vent one's true feelings to colleagues might prevent some of the adverse consequences of emotion work on employees' well-being. For instance, the flight attendants studied by Hochschild (1983) reported being encouraged by their management to seek support among their colleagues in order to calm down when feeling angry because of a difficult passenger. Again, although such ethnographic observations provide no strict empirical evidence of the moderating influence of social support on the negative effects of emotion work on workers' well-being, they nevertheless indicate its plausibility as well as the relevance of empirically testing such interaction effects.

Task stressors are "barriers to task fulfillment" that notably include time pressure, work overload, task complexity and uncertainty, role conflict and ambiguity, and disruptions (e.g., Semmer, 1996; Semmer, Zapf, & Dunckel, 1996). *Social stressors* refer to poor social interactions in the workplace and include for instance interpersonal conflicts, sexual harassment, and mobbing (Sonntag & Frese, in press; Zapf & Frese, 1991). The simultaneous occurrence of multiple stressors (for instance, emotional demands and task stressors), because of the overtaxing demands it places on employees, has been suggested to increase the negative effect of emotion work on psychological well-being (Zapf et al., 2001). Indeed, task uncertainty, organizational problems, and time pressure have been demonstrated to aggravate the effects of emotional dissonance on emotional exhaustion. In contrast, no such effect was found for the interaction of emotional dissonance and social stressors (Zapf et al., 2001).

2.3.1.4. Summary and integration

Emotion work significantly affects employees' psychological well-being. Being required to display negative emotions and experiencing emotional dissonance have particularly unfavorable consequences since they have been demonstrated to increase emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, irritability, and psychosomatic complaints. Because of the possible conceptual

overlap between burnout and emotion work, however, in this dissertation we focus on irritability and psychosomatic complaints as measures of psychological strain.

Resources such as job autonomy or social support might prevent the negative effects of emotion work on psychological well-being. Because, in line with the action theory framework (e.g., Frese & Zapf, 1988), we are interested in the elements that are likely to enhance employees' emotion work regulation possibilities, in this dissertation only the preventing effect of job resources (i.e., job autonomy and social support), and not the cumulative effect of job stressors, will be examined.

Besides psychological well-being, emotion work has also been suggested to affect employees' job-related attitudes. This is what we examine in the following section.

2.3.2. Emotion work and job-related attitudes

The effects of emotion work on job-related attitudes have mostly been studied through the examination of job satisfaction (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Wharton, 1993; Zapf et al., 1999). Other relevant job-related attitudes such as job commitment or positive feelings about one's work will also be treated in this section although they have been much more rarely studied in relation with emotion work (for exceptions, see Adelman, 1995; Bulan et al., 1997).

Contrarily to what was expected on the basis of Hochschild's (1983) contention, several studies found a positive relationship between emotion work and job satisfaction (Adelman, 1995; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Wharton, 1993) as well as between emotion work and job commitment (Adelman, 1995). These results, however, might be due to the way in which emotion work was operationalized. For instance, Morris and Feldman's (1997) measure of frequency of emotion work relies on items such as "I spend most of my work time interacting with patients" (p. 263). However, a high score on this scale does not necessarily mean that one is required to perform emotion work, but only that one has frequent contact with customers, an aspect of work that, especially in service jobs, might be viewed as interesting and challenging (Zapf, 2002). As for Wharton (1993), she did not measure emotion work directly but used Hochschild's (1983) classification to code occupational categories as either requiring emotion work or not. Again, this variable is more a measure of job characteristics (some of which might be seen as interesting and challenging by job incumbents, thus explaining these unexpected results) than a real measure of emotion work (Kruml & Geddes, 2000a). Apart from methodological reasons, theoretical issues also provide fruitful insights with regard to these results. Despite its suggested and demonstrated dysfunction for employees' well-being, emotion work is a functional behavior with regard to task

effectiveness since it contributes to the predictability and regulation of social interactions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). According to action theory (Frese & Zapf, 1994), successfully managing work demands contributes to "personality enhancement" (Zapf, 2002). Thus, if employees have the feeling that emotion work helps them to successfully handle complex social interactions, its positive relationship with job satisfaction is no more surprising. Studies that demonstrated the positive impact of positive emotion work on personal accomplishment (see section 2.3.1.1.) lend support to this line of reasoning. More recent studies that relied on multidimensional conceptualizations of emotion work obtained mixed results, however. Zapf et al. (1999), for instance, observed that most dimensions of emotion work were uncorrelated with job satisfaction. One exception was the negative link between sensitivity requirement and job satisfaction in one of their samples. Studying kindergarten teachers, Dormann and Kaiser (2002) found a marginally significant correlation between negative emotion work and job satisfaction, and no relationship between positive emotion work and job satisfaction, whereas Bulan et al.'s (1997) study of nurses and bank clerks showed the requirement to handle people well to be negatively related to positive feelings about one's work above and beyond demographic and work characteristics. In contrast, Diefendorff and Richard (2003) found perceptions of demands to express positive emotions to be positively related to job satisfaction.

As with other outcome variables, emotional dissonance shows a straightforward pattern in virtually all studies where it was examined. In their case study on prison officers, Rutter and Fielding (1988) found that the need to suppress genuinely felt emotions was negatively correlated with job satisfaction. Subsequently, several quantitative studies demonstrated that emotional dissonance is negatively related to job satisfaction (Abraham, 1998b; Dormann & Kaiser, 2002; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Pugliesi & Shook, 1997; Zapf et al., 1999). Finally, emotional deviance was not related to job commitment but appeared to have a negative effect on job satisfaction although the effect failed to reach the statistical criterion applied by Zerbe (2000).

2.3.2.1. Moderating influences on the relationship between emotion work and job-related attitudes

Resources such as job autonomy and social support have also been proposed as moderators of the emotion work – job satisfaction relationship (e.g., Grandey, 2000; Zapf, 2002). Indeed, empirical studies demonstrated that the effect of emotion work on job satisfaction is less adverse when employees have control over their tasks, or when they have supportive social contacts with their colleagues and supervisor. In particular, Wharton (1993) found that the positive effect of control at

work on job satisfaction was significantly greater among performers of emotion work than among non-performers, and Abraham (1998b) demonstrated the ability of social support to prevent the negative impact of emotional dissonance on job satisfaction.

2.3.2.2. Summary and integration

Emotion work significantly affects employees' job-related attitudes. Being required to display negative emotions and experiencing emotional dissonance have particularly unfavorable consequences since they have been demonstrated to lower employees' job satisfaction. In contrast, evidence concerning the effects of being required to display positive emotions is mixed. Some studies found a positive relationship between positive emotion work and job-related attitudes, others a negative relationship, and still others no relationship. It might be the case that positive emotion work requirements have positive consequences only when coupled with resources such as job autonomy or social support. In addition, such variables might prevent the negative effects of negative and neutral emotion work requirements and of emotional dissonance on job-related attitudes.

Psychological well-being and job-related attitudes constitute long-term effects of emotion work. In the next section, we argue that the immediate impact of emotion work on the interactions in which it takes place should also be examined.

2.3.3. Emotion work and the immediate evaluation of interactions

Doing emotion work during an interaction is likely to have an immediate impact on the evaluation of this interaction. In measuring long-term outcomes such as psychological distress or job satisfaction, however, studies interested in the effects of emotion work implicitly assumed that emotion work has an impact on health and job-related attitudes only to the extent that it is chronic. In other words, it is the repetition of situations involving emotion work that is suggested to influence one's psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. Although this approach found empirical support (despite the fact that the repetition of situations involving emotion work was never empirically assessed; instead, a general level of emotion work was measured, cf. Totterdell & Holman, 2003), it neglected employees' real-time experiences, that is, the immediate impact of emotion work on the way they evaluate their current interactions. This aspect is important to study because nothing is known yet about the timeframe in which emotion work develops its effects. In

particular, considering the immediate effects of emotion work might provide alternative explanations for some of the inconclusive results presented above.

In this section, we briefly present results from two theoretical fields that significantly contributed to the development of the study of real-time experience and we show the relevance of such an approach for the study of emotion work.

2.3.3.1. Stressful events

The relevance of studying specific events and their immediate impact has been recognized in the stress literature long ago (e.g., Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Schilling, 1989; DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982; Tennen, Affleck, Armeli, & Carney, 2000). In particular, focusing on minor stressors has been suggested to provide concrete descriptions of what exactly is distressing in one's roles and relationships. In parallel, several authors insisted on the necessity to distinguish short-term or immediate effects such as affective and behavioral reactions or effectiveness in handling social encounters from long-term effects such as psychosomatic complaints and somatic health (e.g., Frese & Zapf, 1988; Lazarus, DeLongis, Folkman, & Gruen, 1985; McGrath & Tschan, 2004).

Examples of recent studies that focus on short-term affective consequences of stressful events are numerous. For example, a whole stream of research examined the impact of daily stressors on mood or psychological distress in the context of couple and family relationships (e.g., Almeida and Kessler, 1998; Bolger, et al., 1989; DeLongis, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1988; Wilhelm, 2001). Similar approaches were applied to the work setting. For instance, Buunk and Verhoeven (1991) and Peeters, Buunk, and Schaufeli (1995a, 1995b) examined the relationships between the number and type of stressful events at work and negative affect at the end of the day, Reicherts and Pihet (2000) studied the effect of work-related stressful situations on emotional reactions of job newcomers, and Sonnentag (2001) examined the effects of work and recovery activities on mood and tension at the end of the day and before going to sleep. Coming from another theoretical background, several recent studies used the framework of Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) to find empirical evidence of associations between specific work events and emotional reactions (e.g., Basch & Fischer, 2000; Grandey, Tam, & Brauburger, 2002).

2.3.3.2. Social interactions processes

Social interaction processes is another area of research that focuses on short-term consequences of specific events (Reis & Gable, 2000). As compared to stress research, however, the interest is less on the study of the affective consequences of such naturally occurring social interactions than on the examination of more objective features such as their degree of quality, intimacy, conflict, respondents' degree of satisfaction, and so on (e.g., Nezlek, 1990; Tidwell, Reis, & Shaver, 1996; Wheeler, Reis, & Nezlek, 1983). For example, in their pioneer study, Wheeler and Nezlek (1977) found that women judged their interactions as significantly more satisfying and intimate than men at the beginning of the first year of college. Nezlek, Wheeler, and Reis (1990) replicated this result and additionally found that women perceived their interactions to be of greater quality than men. In a longitudinal study, Reis, Lin, Bennett, and Nezlek (1993) observed that interactions with opposite-sex partners tended to become more intimate but not more satisfying over time. And Wheeler, Reis, & Bond (1989) demonstrated that people in individualistic cultures judge their interactions as more superficial than people in collective cultures.

Studies on social interaction processes have generally focused on general types of relationships, such as relationships with peer college students (e.g., Nezlek et al., 1990; Reis, Wheeler, Spiegel, Kernis, Nezlek, & Perri, 1982; Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977), marital and romantic relationships (e.g., Tidwell et al., 1996), or friendship relationships (e.g., Hays, 1989; Lydon, Jamieson, & Holmes, 1997) but rarely on specific types of interactions. More recently, however, several researchers used this framework (and its methodology) to study particular types of events. DePaulo and her colleagues, for instance, studied lying in social interactions (DePaulo & Kashy, 1998; DePaulo, Kashy, Kirkendol, Wyer, & Epstein, 1996), and Wheeler and Miyake (1990) developed an instrument focusing on instances of social comparison during interactions.

2.3.3.3. Summary and integration

In this dissertation, we propose to merge both lines of research presented above. As a matter of fact, we examine the short-term impact of a specific type of stressful events, namely, those interactions in which employees are required to regulate their emotional display. However, instead of examining these immediate effects in terms of emotional reactions or affect, we focus on more objective features of interactions, that is, employees' evaluation of their general quality. This is so because emotional reactions (both in terms of felt and displayed emotions) are an integral part of the way we define and operationalize emotion work in this dissertation. Considering the emotions

that are felt and displayed in social interactions as emotional reactions to the current emotion work requirement would therefore constitute a conceptual overlap with the notions of emotional dissonance and deviance⁸. In addition to the necessary conceptual distinction between components and consequences of emotion work, examining interaction quality takes seriously the implicit assumption that emotion work is associated with the quality of interactions between service providers and customers (cf. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Zapf, 2002). If emotion work has been suggested to be required in order to lead customers, coworkers, supervisors and subordinates to evaluate their interactions in a more favorable way, one might wonder whether the effects of emotion work on the evaluation of the interactions is the same for the employees who perform emotion work, however. One major result of emotion work research is that being required to display specific emotions and/or experiencing emotional mismatches is likely to have detrimental consequences for employees. Only specific types of emotion work, such as being required to display positive emotions or displaying one's inner feelings although they contradict emotional norms, have been suggested to have less negative consequences. We expect these effects to be similar when the considered outcomes are employees' immediate evaluation of the interactions in which they are required to perform emotion work.

Studying social interactions, and emotion work events in particular, requires specific instruments that allow a fine-grained examination of daily experiences. Such *daily event-sampling methods* are discussed in the next section.

2.4. Daily event-recording methods

Social sciences have a long tradition of studying major life events. Since the '70s, however, a growing interest has been devoted to daily events on the basis of the assumption that such minor events may also have important consequences, especially if they are recurrent (e.g., DeLongis et al., 1988; Tennen et al., 2000). Paralleling these theoretical considerations, considerable methodological developments have been engendered by the contributions of Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977), with the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), and of Nezlek, Reis, Wheeler and colleagues (e.g., Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977), with the Rochester Interaction Record (RIR).

⁸ If, for instance, an employee displays and feels a positive emotion in an interaction requiring positive emotion work, we cannot simultaneously code this as a situation of emotional harmony and consider that the employee is reacting positively to the current interaction.

In this section, we provide an overview of the methodological advantages and disadvantages of event-recording methods and present the differing protocols that have been developed to study everyday experience.

2.4.1. Methodological relevance of event-recording methods

One major advantage of daily event-recording methods is that they allow the acquisition of knowledge that might be uneasy or even impossible to get otherwise (Reis & Gable, 2000). Additionally, everyday experience methods have several methodological advantages as compared to self-report questionnaires (Reis & Wheeler, 1991). Since questionnaires require subjects to provide global impressions, the cognitive processes that are involved are liable to substantial distortion.

First, biases might occur in the *selection of representative events*. Without explicit instructions, subjects are likely to narrow their responses to the subtypes of events that matter most to them. More importantly, the storage and retrieval of information is likely to be affected by the fact that certain events are especially frequent, happened recently, or are particularly distinctive in terms of intensity, emotionality, or unusualness. Indeed, it has been suggested that questionnaire data is rarely selected in a random and representative way (Reis & Wheeler, 1991).

Second, the *recall of the content of events* is likely to be affected by biases associated with memory processes (e.g., random forgetting) as well as by motivated distortions (e.g., defense mechanisms, dissonance reduction). In addition, sense-making biases lead individuals to reconstruct their past experience in light of later developments, or to confirm implicit theories of the self (Reis, 1994).

A third set of distortions concerns the *aggregation of events*. As a matter of fact, questionnaires require subjects to combine data from multiple events in order to create a single impression. To do so, people are likely to use heuristics (e.g., arithmetic averages, averages weighted by duration, recency or salience, selection) that might lead to biased reports (Stone & Shiffman, 2002). In support of this view, Reis and Wheeler (1991) were able to demonstrate that aggregate ratings substantially diverge from composites computed from event data.

It could be argued that, because diary data is still self-report, the aforementioned biases might also plague this methodological approach. Since event-sampling⁷ focuses on momentary accounts, however, these distortions have been suggested to be minimized, or even eliminated:

Event-by-event records are similar to molecular codes in that they require subjects to evaluate a specific, concrete circumstance, rather than to infer general trends across a series of events. They should therefore be less subject to biases and distortions. (Reis & Wheeler, 1991, p. 276)

2.4.2. Drawbacks of event-recording methods

Like all methods, event-sampling also has its flaws. First, filling out diaries is *time-consuming and burdensome*. Therefore, participants who agree to participate might not be representative of the population to which the results are to be generalized. In addition, because diary studies require participation over a certain period of time, respondents' motivation is likely to decrease over time, thus leading to unreported events or to dropouts (Stone et al., 1991). Several strategies have been used to minimize these problems. The central one is to design instruments that are short and easy to complete. For instance, Reis and Gable (2000) recommended that reports provided once a day should not exceed 15 minutes, and that reports provided several times a day should not exceed 5 to 7 minutes. Second, frequent contact (e.g., reminders, feedback, thanks) is likely to increase compliance in that it contributes to an atmosphere of trust and concern (Nezlek, Wheeler, & Reis, 1983). Another strategy is to ask participants to mail back their diaries at frequent intervals. For instance, subjects are more likely to complete their diaries on the correct day if they have to send them back the day following the completion. Finally, several studies also used an incentive system, whereby respondents received a financial compensation or were included in a lottery to the extent that they participated until the end of the sampling period (e.g., Nezlek, 1995; Wheeler et al., 1983).

A second concern is associated with the *effect of diary completion on participants' experience*. Because event-recording requires introspection and monitoring of daily life events, subjects' impressions of those events might be subtly altered. In particular, reactance is possible, whereby participants' behavior changes as a result of their participation in the study (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003). Another effect is habituation, whereby participants develop a habitual response style when filling out diaries. Although these issues deserve further investigation, indirect evidence suggests that their impact may be minimal (Reis & Gable, 2000).

2.4.3. Protocols for the recording of everyday experience

The interest in everyday experience has given rise to the development of a host of methodologies (Bolger et al., 2003; Duck, 1991; Eckenrode & Bolger, 1997; Reis & Gable, 2000; Stone et al., 1991). A well-established typology distinguishes between three types of general approaches: time-contingent methods, signal-contingent methods, and event-sampling methods (Reis, 1994; Wheeler & Reis, 1991).

Time-contingent methods and *signal-contingent methods* are time-based designs that ask people to provide reports at fixed times or when signaled to do so respectively. They are particularly well adapted to study the frequency and fluctuation of ongoing experiences (for instance mood, alcohol consumption) over time. Major disadvantages are that, unless they are very frequent, specific events are difficult to assess. Moreover, these designs, especially the signal-contingent ones, might be intrusive in that they require an immediate interruption of the ongoing activity.

Event-based methods ask participants to provide a report every time a specific event predetermined by the researcher occurs. Those designs are particularly useful to study phenomena that are very well defined and/or relatively low-frequency, especially if variations within a class of events are of interest (Reis & Gable, 2000). They require a very precise and unambiguous definition of the phenomena under study, otherwise participants might not be able to reliably identify the events to be described, leading to potential distortions in the reporting.

2.4.4. Summary and integration

In summary, daily event-recording methods have important theoretical and methodological advantages. In particular, they allow the collection of fine-grained information and provide means to minimize biases associated with the selection, the recall and the aggregation of events. Because of this, daily event-recording methods have been suggested to be especially well suited to the study of issues related to mood and emotions:

Because state moods and emotions are transient, they are difficult to measure accurately long after they have occurred. People over-estimate the frequency with which they have experienced both positive and negative emotions when reporting retrospectively compared to reporting in real time. (Fisher, 2000, p. 186).

Several types of protocols exist to record everyday experience. Because we are interested in a very specific type of events – emotion work events –, and in the subtypes of emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems, an event-based design is the most relevant approach. The Rochester Interaction Record (RIR; e.g., Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977) is one of the most well-known method of event-sampling. This instrument has been designed to “allow researchers to examine in detail the nature and extent of an individual’s participation in everyday social life” (Reis & Wheeler, 1991, p. 283). Although the RIR relies on a standardized format, it is intended to be adaptable to different types of theoretical interests, and several authors modified its form more or less substantially. Hays (1989), for instance, included scales concerning the costs and benefits received in social interaction in order to examine differences between close and casual friendships. Cutrona (1986), and more recently Tschan, Inversin, and Semmer (in press), applied the RIR to the work setting to study social relationships at work. In order to assess emotion work in social interactions at work, we used a modified version of the instrument developed by Tschan et al. (in press).

Before presenting in detail the instruments used in this study, we recapitulate the elements developed in this review of the literature and, on this basis, we formulate our research questions and hypotheses.

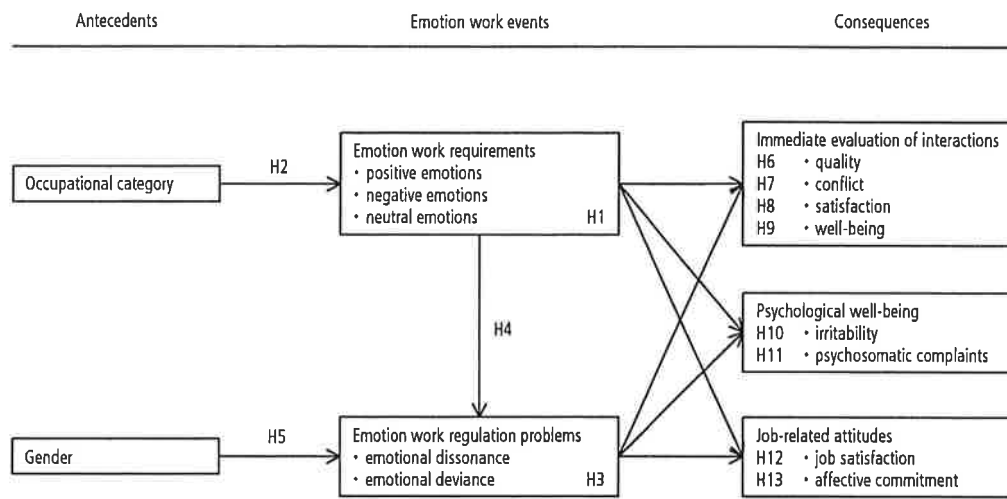
2.5. Research questions and hypotheses

In the preceding sections, we argued that emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are situation specific. In other words, the emotions that are required, as well as the emotions that are felt and displayed, vary from interaction to interaction. A first topic of investigation thus concerns the relative frequency of emotion work requirements and regulation problems (H1 and H3). Specific features of the interactions are likely to influence emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems. Because such situational features are likely to be countless and to be very different depending on the occupations that are considered, only one situational predictor, namely, the type of emotion that is required in a given situation, will be put in correspondence with the occurrence of emotional dissonance and deviance (H4). Because other relevant aspects such as occupational category and gender have been demonstrated to influence the occurrence of emotion work, they will also be included in our study (H2 and H5). The second topic of investigation concerns the consequences that emotion work is likely to entail on employees. We distinguish three types of effects of emotion work: a) its effects on employees’ immediate evaluation of the interactions in which it occurs (H6 to H9), b) its effects on employees’

psychological well-being (H10 and H11), and c) its effects on employees' job-related attitudes (H12 and H13). Finally, a third topic is concerned with the convergence/divergence between event-sampling and questionnaire measures of emotion work (H14).

Figure 2.1 provides a graphical representation of the framework and of the hypotheses that will be explored in this dissertation. The last question (H14) cannot be derived from Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework of emotion work events in the work setting



2.5.1. Frequency and antecedents of emotion work events

The following set of hypotheses explores the frequency and antecedents of emotion work requirements, on the one hand, and of emotion work regulation problems, on the other hand.

2.5.1.1. Emotion work requirements

We argued that employees who perform emotion work might be required to display different emotions depending on the situation. Emotional requirements may concern the display of positive, negative or neutral emotions (e.g., Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Our first hypothesis is exploratory and concerns the relative frequency of emotion work requirements.

Hypothesis 1: Intraindividually, interactions with a positive emotion work requirement will be more frequent than interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement, and these latter will be more frequent than interactions with a negative emotion work requirement.

Questionnaire studies have demonstrated service workers to be more frequently required to display positive emotions than non-service workers (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). In contrast, negative and neutral emotional requirements have never been investigated in studies considering different occupations. This is probably so because, when considering general occupational categories, these emotional requirements should be very rare.

Hypothesis 2a: Interactions with a positive emotion work requirement will be more frequent in service jobs than in non-service jobs. Occupational categories will not differ with regard the frequency of interactions with negative and neutral emotion work requirements.

Women have been suggested to be more frequently required to manage their emotional display than men (e.g., Hall, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Because women are over-represented in service jobs, particularly in professions calling for the display of positive emotions (Jobin, 1995; Wharton, 1993), the suggested gender effect might be due to the occupational category rather than to gender *per se*.

Hypothesis 2b: No additional variance in the frequency of interactions with any type of emotion work requirement will be explained by gender beyond occupational category.

2.5.1.2. Emotion work regulation problems

Emotion work regulation problems may manifest themselves in the form of emotional dissonance and emotional deviance. Our first hypothesis is exploratory and concerns the relative frequency of emotion work requirements.

Hypothesis 3: Intraindividually, interactions with emotional harmony will be more frequent than interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance. Moreover, interaction with emotional dissonance will be more frequent than interactions with emotional deviance.

Compliance with emotional requirements might be more frequent when positive emotions are required. As a matter of fact, displaying unpleasant emotions has been demonstrated to be associated with unfavorable outcomes, especially with regard to interpersonal relationships (e.g., Fitness, 2000; Lewis, 2000; Ostell, 1996) and is likely to lead interaction partners to display unpleasant emotions in turn (e.g., Gump & Kulik, 1997; Totterdell et al., 1998).

Hypothesis 4: Interactions with a negative or neutral emotion work requirement will more frequently lead to emotional deviance than interaction with a positive emotion work requirement.

The relationship between occupational category and frequency of emotional dissonance and deviance is far from being straightforward. On the one hand, it has been argued that the more frequently employees interact with customers, the more they will experience situations of emotional mismatch. On the other hand, it has been suggested that service workers are more likely than non-service workers to have internalized the emotional demands of their jobs (e.g., Leidner, 1999; Zapf, 2002). In this perspective, they should be less likely than non-service workers to fail when regulating their emotional displays. Given these contradicting predictions and the absence of research on this topic, we formulate a research question rather than a directional hypothesis.

Question 5a: Is there a difference between service and non-service jobs with regard to the frequency of interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance?

Because of their greater emotional sensitivity and expressivity (e.g., Deaux, 1985), women should be less likely than men to experience emotional dissonance and deviance. Evidence of this gender difference was provided by ethnographic as well as survey-based studies (e.g., Hall, 1993; Kruml & Geddes, 2000b; Pierce, 1999; Pugliesi & Shook, 1997; Rafaeli, 1989b). We expect these results to be replicated with an event-sampling methodology.

Hypothesis 5b: Interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance will be more frequent among men than among women beyond occupational category.

2.5.2. Consequences of emotion work

The following set of hypotheses explores the consequences of emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems on employees' immediate evaluation of their interactions, well-being, and job-related attitudes. On the basis of the literature, our major proposition is that emotion work has essentially negative consequences for employees. However, specific types of emotion work, such as having to display positive emotions and/or experiencing emotional deviance, might have a less adverse (although not necessarily positive) impact on employees. Because previous research on this last topic provided mixed evidence, some of our hypotheses are formulated in a cautious way.

For all subsequent hypotheses, we expect the predicted effects to appear after having controlled for gender, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, and social support. For the hypotheses regarding the effects of emotion work on the immediate evaluation of interactions, additional control variables include the gender of the interaction

partner(s), the number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions.

2.5.2.1. Immediate evaluation of interactions

As suggested by Hochschild (1983), the mere existence of an emotional norm is likely to interfere with one's autonomy and self-expression possibilities, and thus to lead employees to experience their interactions as being of lower quality. Since emotional dissonance has been suggested to be the most stressful aspect of emotion work (Zapf et al., 2001), the interactions in which it occurs are likely to be experienced as stressful events by employees. Failing to conform to one's emotional requirements is also likely to be experienced as a stressful event since it has been suggested to lead to interpersonal problems that might disrupt interactions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Hypothesis 6a: Positive, negative, and neutral emotion work requirements will be negatively related to the perceived quality of the interaction.

Hypothesis 6b: Emotional dissonance and emotional deviance will be negatively related to the perceived quality of the interaction.

The display of negative emotions is generally used to intimidate or subdue interaction partners (e.g., Sutton, 1991). In contrast, employees display positive emotions to enhance customers' well-being and satisfaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996), and neutral emotions to disguise private feelings that might otherwise hurt customers (Fineman, 1993). If emotional deviance is likely to disrupt interactions (see above), emotional dissonance should not do so because employees control their visible behavior, although their inner feelings differ from emotional requirements.

Hypothesis 7a: Negative emotion work requirements will be positively related to the degree of conflict in the interaction, whereas positive and neutral emotion work requirements will not be associated with the degree of conflict in the interaction.

Hypothesis 7b: Emotional deviance will be positively related to the degree of conflict in the interaction, whereas emotional dissonance will not be associated with the degree of conflict in the interaction.

Being required to display negative or neutral emotions and/or experiencing emotional dissonance are likely to be stressful events that put a constraint on employees' interactions. In contrast, being required to display positive emotions might be less stressful since it has been suggested to allow the interactions to flow more smoothly (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Levenson, 1994). In the same vein, emotional deviance might have a less adverse effect because, despite its disruptive aspect,

expressing one's inner feelings although they contradict emotional norms might fulfill self-expression needs (e.g., Sangsue, 1999).

Hypothesis 8a: Negative and neutral emotion work requirements will be negatively related to the degree of satisfaction with the interaction, whereas positive emotion work requirements will not be associated with the degree of satisfaction with the interaction.

Hypothesis 8b: Emotional dissonance will be negatively related to the degree of satisfaction with the interaction, whereas emotional deviance will not be associated with the degree of satisfaction with the interaction.

Hypothesis 9a: Negative and neutral emotion work requirements will be negatively related to the degree of situational well-being, whereas positive emotion work requirements will not be associated with the degree of situational well-being.

Hypothesis 9b: Emotional dissonance will be negatively related to the degree of situational well-being, whereas emotional deviance will not be associated with the degree of situational well-being.

In addition, we will examine the moderating effect of job resources such as job autonomy, social support, or employees' degree of control on the current interaction (a situation specific resource) on the relationship between emotion work and the perceived quality, conflict, satisfaction, and well-being in the interactions. Specifically, we expect the aforementioned resources to lower the negative effects of emotion work on the immediate evaluation of interactions.

2.5.2.2. Psychological well-being

The immediate effects of emotion work requirements on situational well-being should extend in the long run. Being required to display negative or neutral emotions should be associated with a lower psychological well-being, whereas being required to display positive emotions should not be related to psychological well-being. The negative effects of emotional dissonance on psychological well-being are well-established (e.g., Pugliesi & Shook 1997; Zapf et al., 1999). The effects of emotional deviance, in contrast, have received little attention. According to emotion regulation theory (e.g., Gross, 1998b), however, inhibiting emotions should lead to psychological distress, whereas expressing emotions is likely to be functional with regard to employees' well-being.

Hypothesis 10a: The frequency of negative or neutral emotion work requirements will be positively related to irritability, whereas the frequency of positive emotion work requirements will not.

Hypothesis 10b: The frequency of emotional dissonance will be positively related to irritability, whereas the number of interactions with emotional deviance will be positively related to irritability.

Hypothesis 11a: The frequency of negative or neutral emotion work requirements will be positively related to psychosomatic complaints, whereas the frequency of positive emotion work requirements will not.

Hypothesis 11b: The frequency of emotional dissonance will be positively related to psychosomatic complaints, whereas the frequency of emotional deviance will be positively related to irritability.

In addition, we will examine the moderating effect of job autonomy and social support on the relationship between emotion work and psychological well-being. Specifically, we expect the aforementioned resources to lower the negative effects of emotion work on employees' psychological well-being.

2.5.2.3. Job-related attitudes

Despite the lack of control that is implied, employees are generally required to display positive emotions in order to contribute to the development of an effective and satisfying work environment. In contrast, negative and neutral emotions are generally required in tricky situations (for instance with psychiatric patients), and are likely to be experienced as heavy constraints. The repetition of such situations is likely to be an indication of a difficult work environment. Finally, since employees who experience interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance fail to conform to their job requirements, they may develop feelings of "being a bad employee" (Zerbe, 2000, p. 202). In addition, employers might penalize them with regard to rewards or even punish them (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988).

Hypothesis 12a: The frequency of negative or neutral emotion work requirements will be negatively related to job satisfaction, whereas the frequency of positive emotion work requirements will be positively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 12b: The frequency of emotional dissonance and deviance will be negatively related to job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 13a: The frequency of negative or neutral emotion work requirements will be negatively related to affective commitment to the organization, whereas the frequency of positive emotion work requirements will be positively related to affective commitment to the organization.

Hypothesis 13b: The frequency of emotional dissonance and deviance will be negatively related to affective commitment to the organization.

In addition, we will examine the moderating effect of job autonomy and social support on the relationship between emotion work and job-related attitudes. Specifically, we expect the aforementioned resources to lower the negative effects of emotion work on employees' job-related attitudes.

2.5.3. Convergence / divergence of event-sampling and questionnaire measures of emotion work

So far, we have argued that an event-sampling approach of emotion work is needed because it provides more detailed insights into what is actually happening in the interactions in which employees are required to regulate their emotional display. An event-sampling measure of emotion work should nevertheless converge to some degree with other measures of emotion work since they both reflect the same phenomenon. Evaluating the degree of convergence of our event-sampling measure with another instrument designed to apprehend emotion work has the further advantage to provide a means of assessing its validity⁹. We therefore assessed the convergence between the event-sampling measure of emotion work and a questionnaire measure of emotion work, the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (FEWS) developed by Zapf and his colleagues (Zapf et al., 1999). Since diary methods have been shown to be more accurate than questionnaire methods (e.g., Conrath, Higgins, & McClean, 1983; Reis & Gable, 2000), we do not expect a complete correspondence but a moderate degree of convergence between both instruments.

Hypothesis 14: There will be moderately positive correlations between (a) the percentage of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and the general level of requirement to display positive emotions, (b) the percentage of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement and the general level of requirement to display negative emotions, (c) the percentage of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement and the general level of requirement to display neutral emotions, and (d) the percentage of interactions with emotional dissonance and the general level of emotional dissonance.

Emotional deviance will not be investigated because this dimension is not present in the questionnaire measure of emotion work.

⁹ Because, as in most research using diaries (e.g., Grebner, Elfering, Semmer, Kaiser-Probst, & Schlapbach, in press; Totterdell & Holman, 2003; Wheeler et al., 1983), constructs were measured with a single item in order to limit the burden placed on participants, traditional assessments of homogeneity such as Cronbach's alpha could not be used. In addition, since events by essence are not stable, traditional measures of internal consistency are inappropriate indicators of reliability (Duck, 1991; Reis & Wheeler, 1991; Stone, Kessler, & Haythornthwaite, 1991).

3. METHOD

This chapter is concerned with the procedure that was used, the participants that were selected, and the measures that were taken in this study. Two sections are devoted to this last topic: the first one presents the measures taken by means of diaries, the second one the measures obtained through questionnaires. Note that some results regarding validity issues are presented in this section.

3.1. Procedure

This study is part of the umbrella project "Work experience and quality of life in Switzerland" (Aequas) that began in Spring 1997 and investigates the transition from apprenticeship into work. The Aequas project is based on a longitudinal design with four waves and a time lag of one year between the first three waves, and of two years between the last two waves. Aequas is a collaborative project of five Swiss universities (Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel and Zürich) and consists of a common core project and several sub-projects that run in-depth studies on sub-samples of participants¹⁰. The Neuchâtel sub-project investigates the nature and quality of social relationships at work among young workers from the French part of Switzerland. As the core project, it relies on a longitudinal design in four waves (Autumn 1997, Autumn 1998, Autumn 1999, Winter 2002). The current study was included in the fourth wave of the Neuchâtel sub-project. However, because of attrition, the original sample of the sub-project had become too small. Additional participants were therefore randomly selected among the French-speaking employees who had voluntarily participated to the fourth wave of the core project (Spring 2001).

In the context of the larger project, participants were contacted by phone and were asked if they were willing to participate in the study. They were asked to indicate their current profession, percentage of employment and number of colleagues. Only subjects working 20% or more and having at least one colleague were selected for participating in the study. Selected participants were first asked to complete a general questionnaire that they received by mail the day following the telephone interview. In order to explain how to fill out the interactions records, an appointment

¹⁰ See Kälin, Semmer, Elfering, Tschan, Dauwalder, Heunert, and Crettaz von Roten (2000) for more details.

was made with each participant individually, and people were instructed to return their completed questionnaire on that occasion¹¹. During the individual encounter, participants were given seven brochures containing self-observation sheets in order to record their interactions during seven consecutive days and were instructed on their use. Participants were encouraged to carry a brochure with them all day and fill out the records immediately after the interactions happened, or at least twice a day (e.g., at noon and before going to sleep). To encourage daily recording, subjects were given seven envelopes and were asked to return their brochures each day. Following several authors' suggestion concerning the necessity to have participants to be cooperative and motivated (Reis & Wheeler, 1991; Stone et al., 1991) participants who had fully completed all research instruments (questionnaire and interaction records) received Fr. 50.- (approx. 33 Euros) and were included in a lottery in which they could win prizes (e.g., vouchers, t-shirts, caps, bags). Finally, in order to avoid diary keepers' anxiety about sharing very personal information, and therefore potential alterations in the recording process, participants were reassured with regard to the complete confidentiality of their data.

3.2. Participants

Among the 99 persons who agreed to participate to the study, only 90 returned the questionnaire and 78 both questionnaire and interaction records. Depending on the analyses conducted, the *Ns* might therefore differ substantially. As we do not have any demographic indication for the 9 persons who did not return their questionnaire, we consider our reference sample to be composed of 90 young adults (41 women and 49 men) whose mean age is 25 years ($SD = 3.2$), ranging from 22 to 36 years. Twenty-one participants work in caring professions (16 women and 5 men), 26 in sales and service (13 women and 13 men), 10 participants hold hotel trade jobs (3 women and men), 20 hold clerical jobs (9 women and 11 men), and 12 hold technical jobs (no women). Eighty percent of the participants work full time, 3% work 90%, 10% work 80% and the rest between 30 and 70%. The average job tenure is 2 years and 10 months.

¹¹ The appointment was made not only to hand the interaction records over to participants and explain how to fill them out, but also to conduct an interview concerning participants' relationships at work. These data are not part of the present study and will not be reported.

3.3. Diary measures

Emotion work events were measured with a modified version of the Rochester Interaction Records (RIR). This instrument had already been translated in French and adapted to the study of social relationships at work by Tschan et al. (in press). We extended it to include relevant items in order to study required, displayed and felt emotions during social interactions. Besides questions concerning the interactions, the brochures also included general questions about the day, as well as evaluative questions to be answered at the end of the sampling period.

3.3.1. Questions about the day

In each brochure, we asked participants to provide information about the current day, such as day of the week, time of getting up and time devoted to several types of activities. Participants also indicated whether the current day was a working day or not. In the following analyses, only working days are taken into consideration.

Mood at the end of the day was assessed with the Differential Emotions Scale (Izard, Dougherty, Bloxom, & Kotsch, 1974) translated in French by Philippot (1993) and adapted by Sangsue (1999) but was not examined in this study.

3.3.2. Questions about the interactions

An example of interaction record can be seen in Figure 3.1.

Participants were required to report every interaction that lasted 10 minutes or more during seven consecutive days. An interaction was defined as any encounter with another person(s) in which the participants attended to one another and adjusted their behavior in response to one another (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977; Wheeler et al., 1983). Examples were provided in order to indicate which situations were not to be considered as interactions (e.g., sitting side by side and watching television) and which situations were appropriate for reporting in the interaction records (e.g., commenting the film seen on television). The various categories were explained in detail and two fictive situations were discussed until the participant felt comfortable with the forms. The focus on interactions of 10 minutes at least is typical for this methodology (see for instance Peeters et al., 1995b; Tschan et al., in press) and was suggested for two reasons (Nezlek et al., 1983; Reis &

Figure 3.1. An example of interaction record

Début de l'interaction :	_____ h _____	Durée de l'interaction :	_____ h _____ min
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	Initiales	Age	Sexe	Catégorie
1 ^{ère} personne			<input type="checkbox"/> 1 femme <input type="checkbox"/> 2 homme	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 famille <input type="checkbox"/> 2 partenaire <input type="checkbox"/> 3 ami proche <input type="checkbox"/> 4 collègue <input type="checkbox"/> 5 supérieur <input type="checkbox"/> 6 client / patient <input type="checkbox"/> 7 autre : _____
2 ^{ème} personne			<input type="checkbox"/> 1 femme <input type="checkbox"/> 2 homme	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 famille <input type="checkbox"/> 2 partenaire <input type="checkbox"/> 3 ami proche <input type="checkbox"/> 4 collègue <input type="checkbox"/> 5 supérieur <input type="checkbox"/> 6 client / patient <input type="checkbox"/> 7 autre : _____
3 ^{ème} personne			<input type="checkbox"/> 1 femme <input type="checkbox"/> 2 homme	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 famille <input type="checkbox"/> 2 partenaire <input type="checkbox"/> 3 ami proche <input type="checkbox"/> 4 collègue <input type="checkbox"/> 5 supérieur <input type="checkbox"/> 6 client / patient <input type="checkbox"/> 7 autre : _____
4 personnes ou plus	/		_____ femmes _____ hommes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 famille <input type="checkbox"/> 2 partenaire <input type="checkbox"/> 3 ami proche <input type="checkbox"/> 4 collègue <input type="checkbox"/> 5 supérieur <input type="checkbox"/> 6 client / patient <input type="checkbox"/> 7 autre : _____

Dans quel contexte l'interaction s'est-elle déroulée ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 hors travail, privé <input type="checkbox"/> 2 au travail, tâches <input type="checkbox"/> 3 au travail, privé <input type="checkbox"/> 4 au travail, officiel
---	--

Décrivez le **contenu** de l'interaction en quelques phrases :

Qui a pris l' initiative de l'interaction ?	l(es) autre(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 vous
Qui a contrôlé l'interaction ?	l(es) autre(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 vous
Quelle était la qualité de l'interaction ?	très mauvaise	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 très bonne
Quel était le degré de désaccord / conflit ?	très faible	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 très élevé
Quelle était l' intimité de l'interaction ?	très impersonnelle	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 très intime
Etes-vous satisfait-e de cette interaction ?	très insatisfait-e	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 très satisfait-e
Comment vous êtes-vous senti-e ?	très mal	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 très bien

	Non	Positive (p. ex. amabilité)	Négative (p. ex. colère)	Neutre ou pas d'émotion
Dans cette situation, y avait-il une consigne ou une attente externe concernant l'expression d'une émotion de votre part ?	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Dans cette situation, quelle émotion avez-vous montrée ?		<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Dans cette situation, quelle émotion avez-vous ressentie ?		<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Wheeler, 1991). On a theoretical level, it has been argued that interactions shorter than 10 minutes could only rarely be considered as meaningful social events (Nezlek et al., 1983). On a

practical level, the 10-minute cut-off is thought to enhance participants' compliance since asking them to describe every social encounter would be too burdensome a task. It seems likely, however, that many professional interactions, especially in professions such as salesperson or clerk, are shorter than 10 minutes. This led Tschan et al. (in press) to propose the inclusion of interactions of less than 10 minutes in future research using this methodology. As a compromise with regard to compliance, however, they suggested keeping the 10-minute cut-off in general but adding a request to report shorter interactions if they are considered important. Therefore, besides interactions of 10 minutes or more, participants were also required to report shorter interactions of particular importance.

3.3.2.1. Background questions

For each interaction, participants provided information about the time of *beginning of the interaction*, its *duration* and the *other persons involved*. In particular, respondents indicated the number of people they interacted with, their gender, and whether they were colleagues, superiors, clients, friends, family members, romantic partner, or other. Another question referred to the *context* of the interaction, i.e. whether it was a task-related professional interaction (e.g., a bank clerk treating a customer's demand or an official meeting), a non-task-related professional interaction (e.g., chatting with colleagues at the break), or a private interaction. In this study, we mainly focus on task-related professional interactions.

3.3.2.2. Evaluation of the interaction

Participants rated the interaction on seven dimensions. They reported (a) who *initiated* the interaction and (b) who *controlled* the interaction, that is, who had the highest influence on the unfolding of the encounter. For these two dimensions, the 5-point Likert scales indicated that initiation or control was (1) clearly taken by the interaction partner(s), (2) rather taken by the interaction partner(s), (3) mutual or shared, (4) rather taken by the respondent, or (5) clearly taken by the respondent. Participants then reported (c) the *quality* of the interaction, a global rating that refers to the way the interaction unfolded, (d) the degree of *conflict / disagreement* in the interaction (e) the degree of *intimacy*, a rating that refers to respondents' degree of personal involvement in the interaction, (f) their degree of *satisfaction* with the interaction, a rating that refers to their expectancies with regard to the interaction, and (g) their degree of *well-being* during the interaction. For these five dimensions, the 5-point Likert scales indicated that the aforementioned dimensions characterized the interaction (1) in no way (e.g., respondents were very

unsatisfied), (2) to a low extent (e.g., there was a low degree of intimacy), (3) to an average extent (e.g., the interaction was of average quality), (4) to a fair extent (e.g., the interaction was rather conflictual), or (5) to a great extent (e.g., respondents felt very well during the interaction). The dimensions of initiation and intimacy were not used in the present study because of their low degree of variance in professional interactions.

3.3.2.3. Emotion work requirements

For each interaction, participants indicated whether there was a requirement to display an emotion during the interaction. Four mutually exclusive categories of responses were proposed: (a) There was no emotional requirement in the interaction, (b) a positive emotion was required in the interaction (e.g., empathy, joy), (c) a negative emotion was required in the interaction (e.g., severity, anger), (d) a neutral emotion was required in the interaction (e.g., neutrality, objectivity). These categories were derived from previous conceptualizations of emotion work (e.g., Adelman, 1995; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Zapf et al., 1999). The difference between not being required to display any emotion and being required to display neutral emotions was stressed.

3.3.2.4. Emotion work regulation problems

Emotion work regulation problems were computed by combining the variable pertaining to the emotional requirement with two other questions referring to the *emotion that was displayed* by the participant during the interaction, on the one hand, and to the *emotion that was felt* by the respondent during the interaction, on the other hand. As with emotional requirements, displayed and felt emotions could be rated as either positive, negative, or neutral (i.e., no emotion was displayed or felt, respectively). Combining the information on required, displayed and felt emotions allows us to know exactly how participants regulated their emotions in response to the emotional requirements, and, in particular, whether they met problems in this process of emotion regulation. A score of 0 was attributed to the interactions in which required, displayed and felt emotions were similar (i.e., *emotional harmony*), a score of 1 was attributed to the interactions in which respondents displayed the required emotion without feeling it (i.e., *emotional dissonance*), and a score of 2 was attributed to the interactions in which participants did not display the required emotion (i.e., *emotional deviance*).

3.3.3. Evaluative questions

As in other research using diaries (e.g., Leary, Nezlek, Downs, Radford-Davenport, Martin, & McMullen, 1994; Peeters, 1994; Reis, Senchak, & Solomon, 1985; Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977), evaluative questions were included at the end of the last brochure in order to assess the accuracy with which participants filled out the records. Because the descriptive results concerning these questions provide indications with regard to the validity of the measure but do not respond to any of our hypotheses, they are presented here rather than in the results section.

Among the 41 persons who responded to the evaluative questions, the mean rating for *pleasure in filling out the records* was 4.2 ($SD = 1.1$) (1 = no pleasure at all, 7 = a lot of pleasure). This result might be interpreted as an indication that participants did not perceive the filling out of the brochures during seven days as too intrusive a task. The mean rating for *accuracy in filling out the records* was 4.7 ($SD = 0.7$) (1 = very inaccurate, 7 = very accurate). This figure indicates a moderate accuracy and is comparable with results found in other studies using the Rochester Interaction Record. In the study of Reis et al. (1985), for instance, the score of accuracy was 5.5¹². Peeters (1994), who used a modified version of the RIR in organizational settings, obtains a mean value of 5.1¹³. Finally, participants' guess about the *percentage of omitted interactions* was 17.8% ($SD = 12.7$). This figure is slightly higher than results found in other studies using interaction records, the percentage of omitted interactions being generally comprised between 5 and 10% (Reis & Wheeler, 1991). A possible explanation might lie in the fact that our sample is composed of employees, whereas Nezlek, Reis and Wheeler mostly relied on students, a population that may have more time at disposition to fill out the records. The fact that Peeters (1994) also obtains a percentage of omitted interactions higher than 10% ($M = 11.8\%$) lends support to this line of reasoning.

Although these self-reports measures cannot be considered as objective evaluations of accuracy, they nevertheless indicate that subjects did not experience major difficulties in the filling out of the records and that they believed their reports to be quite accurate.

¹² Reis et al. (1985) used a reversed scale (1 = very accurate, 7 = very inaccurate) and therefore obtained an original score of 2.5. We recoded their value in order to be able to compare it with ours.

¹³ *ibid.*

Neuroticism was assessed six months before the current study as part of the measures taken in the context of the umbrella project. We used a short version of the NEO-FFI (Ostendorf, 1990) adapted by Schallberger and Venetz (1999). The six items had to be evaluated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (absolutely). Internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) of the scale was .73.

3.4.2. Work characteristics

Social stressors assess difficulties in the relationship with colleagues and superiors and a negative group climate. It was measured using the eight-item scale developed by Frese and Zapf (1987). Examples of items are: "Mon supérieur presse les gens" ("My superior pushes all the time") or "On doit toujours payer les pots cassés par les autres" ("One has to pay for the mistakes of others"). The items were evaluated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (absolutely). Internal consistency of the scale was .87.

Social support was assessed with Frese's (1989) social support scales. Participants were asked to indicate to which point their superior and colleagues were ready to listen to them and help them with work-related and private problems. Responses were given on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (absolutely). Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .82.

Task stressors is an index aggregating two scales¹⁵ (uncertainty [1 item] and time pressure [3 items]) drawn from the Instrument for Stress Oriented Task Analysis (ISTA, Semmer et al., 1995) and two scales (role conflict [3 items] and role ambiguity [4 items]) drawn from the instrument developed by Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman (1970). One example of item is: "Avez-vous l'impression de bien connaître vos responsabilités ?" ("Do you have the feeling you know your responsibilities well?"). Responses were given on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (almost never) to 5 (almost always). Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .72.

Job autonomy assesses the latitude employees have with regard to the organization of their tasks and was measured with two items taken from ISTA (Semmer et al., 1995). One example of items is: "Pouvez-vous décider vous-même de la manière dont vous faites votre travail ?" ("Can you decide by yourself in which way to carry out your tasks?"). Responses were given on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (absolutely). Internal consistency of the scale was .60.

¹⁵ See Kälin et al. (2000) for a similar procedure.

3.4.3. Emotion work

Besides our event-sampling measure of emotion work, we also investigated the general extent to which participants experienced emotion work using the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (FEWS) developed by Zapf et al. (1999). Because the instrument was developed in German, we translated it in French and assessed the validity of the French version by back-translating.

3.4.3.1. Scales of the FEWS

Zapf et al. (1999) combined the literature on emotion work with action theory (Frese & Zapf, 1994; Zapf, 1993) to propose an instrument that distinguishes emotional regulation requirements (a concept that refers to the complexity and variety of tasks), emotional regulation possibilities (i.e., control) and emotion regulation problems (an action theory conceptualization of work stressors). Each of these aspects consists of several subscales that are discussed hereafter.

With regard to emotional requirements, Zapf et al. (1999) conceived four scales: the *requirement of positive emotional display* refers to the frequency with which positive emotions have to be displayed to customers in order to make them feel happy; the *requirement of negative emotional display* (also referred to as variety) concerns the frequency with which negative emotions have to be displayed in order to regulate negative social interactions; *sensitivity requirements* refer to the necessity to be sensitive and attentive to the emotion of customers; the *requirement to show sympathy* refers to the necessity to adapt one's feelings to make them similar to the customer's feelings (this is generally the case when the client feels a negative emotion).

With regard to emotion regulation possibilities, a factor concerning *interaction control* (i.e., having control on social situations where emotion work is taking place) was developed. Although Zapf et al. (1999) proposed a scale for *emotion work control* (operationalized as a special case of job control with regard to the display of emotions), results did not confirm this construct. Items pertaining to this subscale were therefore not included in our analyses.

Finally, emotion regulation problems were represented by a factor tapping *emotional dissonance*, that is, the discrepancy between felt and organizationally desired emotions (i.e., displaying emotions that are not felt or suppressing felt emotions that are inconsistent with the display rule).

It should be noted that this structure corresponds to the third version of the FEWS (Zapf, Mertini, Seifert, Vogt, & Isic, 1999). However, in this study we used the fourth version of this instrument (Zapf, Mertini, Seifert, Vogt, Isic, & Fischbach, 2000), which comprises one additional scale for the

requirement to show neutral emotions. Although Zapf et al. (1999) did not discuss this scale, we included it in our analyses. As a matter of fact, several authors suggested neutral emotion work requirements to be a relevant dimension of the concept of emotion work (e.g., Adelman, 1995; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Finally, both versions of the FEWS comprise questions concerning the frequency with which specific emotions have to be displayed, on the one hand, and the source of emotional norms, on the other hand. However, both aspects were not included in Zapf et al.'s analyses and were therefore also excluded from our analyses.

All items had to be answered on five-point Likert scales. For most items, 1 corresponds to "very seldom, never", 2 to "seldom (approx. once a week)", 3 to "sometimes (approx. once a day)", 4 to "often (several times a day)", and 5 to "very often (several times per hour)." However, some items presented two opposite situations and asked participants to indicate which situation is most similar to theirs. For these items, 1 corresponds to "the exact situation of A," 2 to "a situation similar to A," 3 to "a situation between A and B," 4 to "a situation similar to B," and 5 to "the exact situation of B."

The French version of the FEWS can be seen in the Appendix.

3.4.3.2. Factor analysis of the French version of the FEWS

Because this study is the first one to use the French version of the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales, in this section we provide a detailed examination of its structural properties and reliability.

The 33 items elaborated by Zapf et al. (1999) to tap *display of positive emotions*, *display of negative emotions*, *display of neutral emotions*, *showing sympathy*, *sensitivity requirements*, *emotional dissonance*, and *interaction control*, were subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis with varimax orthogonal rotation. This solution extracted 61.5% of total variance. The factor loadings, cross-loadings, eigenvalues, and variance statistics are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Summary of items and factor loadings for varimax seven-factor solution for the FEWS ($N = 71$)

Item	Factor loading							H^2
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
ES1 se mettre au diapason des émotions des clients	.70	-.07	.07	.05	.29	-.04	.08	.60
ES2 nécessaire de savoir comment les clients se sentent	.73	.27	.31	.13	.06	.06	.19	.75
ES3 nécessaire de se mettre à la place des clients	.26	.52	.33	.02	-.11	.10	.18	.50
ES4 pas besoin de connaître les émotions des clients	-.71	-.32	-.15	.07	-.05	-.11	-.17	.68
EV1 fréquence des émotions négatives	-.06	.72	-.35	.07	.12	.06	.19	.70
EV2 mettre les clients de mauvaise humeur	.03	.66	-.06	.10	-.14	-.02	-.06	.48
EV3 montrer diverses émotions négatives	-.19	.63	-.14	.06	.33	.00	.12	.59
EV4 montrer des émotions négatives intenses	.22	.39	-.02	.31	-.13	-.34	-.25	.50
EV5 donner une impression d'humeur négative	.02	.72	-.09	-.07	-.11	.21	.03	.59
EV6 émotions positives et négatives	.05	.64	-.26	.10	.08	-.06	.06	.50
EV7 attitude décidée et sévère	.19	.67	.20	.01	.27	-.06	-.14	.63
EP1 fréquence des émotions positives	.29	-.38	.49	.01	.18	.22	.40	.71
EP2 mettre les clients de bonne humeur	.33	-.29	.66	-.11	.03	-.01	.01	.65
EP3 montrer diverses émotions positives	.23	-.01	.69	.05	-.02	.15	.24	.62
EP4 montrer des émotions positives intenses	.47	.10	.22	.19	-.49	.02	.19	.59
EP5 donner une impression de bonne humeur	-.06	-.25	.63	-.14	.22	-.10	-.17	.57
EH1 terminer la conversation quand on en juge bon	.05	.15	.04	.84	.14	.03	.04	.76
EH2 terminer la conversation à son gré	-.26	.15	-.05	.77	.03	.05	.02	.70
EH3 déterminer le temps consacré aux clients	-.07	-.05	-.08	.80	-.03	.05	-.10	.67
EH4 durée des contacts prédéterminée	.37	.20	-.17	-.01	.49	.32	-.10	.55
ED1 réprimer ses émotions	.39	.14	.21	.09	.24	.47	-.02	.51
ED2 pas important de ne pas dévoiler ses émotions	-.60	.09	-.21	.26	-.09	.03	.06	.49
ED3 montrer des émotions qui ne correspondent pas à ce qu'on ressent envers les clients	.36	-.06	.37	-.08	.37	.25	.14	.50
ED4 montrer des émotions positives ou négatives quand sentiment d'indifférence	.17	.12	.17	.27	.76	-.05	.01	.72
ED5 montrer des émotions qui ne correspondent pas à ses émotions véritables	.31	-.02	.22	-.17	.78	.14	.06	.81
EW1 fréquence des émotions neutres	.18	.00	.02	-.01	.00	.83	-.01	.72
EW2 mettre les clients d'humeur neutre	-.05	.06	.33	-.03	.13	.43	-.39	.47
EW3 pas besoin d'éviter de montrer des émotions intenses	.13	-.07	-.10	.52	-.30	-.12	.38	.55
EW4 donner une impression d'humeur neutre	.01	.05	-.02	.07	.01	.84	-.05	.72
EA1 se montrer compréhensif	-.14	.20	.24	-.02	-.19	-.15	.66	.62
EA2 montrer de la compassion	.17	.00	.09	.00	.08	.03	.82	.71
EA3 pas besoin de participer aux émotions des clients	-.71	.10	.05	.14	-.02	-.22	.00	.59
EA4 adapter ses émotions à celles des clients	.43	.11	-.19	.04	.14	-.01	.54	.55
Eigenvalue	5.82	4.45	2.74	2.31	1.86	1.59	1.51	
Percentage of variance	12.05	11.64	8.08	8.07	7.60	7.18	6.87	

Note. Boldface indicates highest factor loadings. H^2 = communality.

Despite some cross-loadings, the factorial structure presents a coherent pattern. As the aim of this analysis was to replicate the factorial structure found by Zapf et al., we tried to stay close to the intended structure of the instrument. Therefore, if the internal consistency of a subscale was not exaggeratedly lowered by the presence of an item loading higher onto a different factor, we included all items intended to appear in a subscale. It should also be noted that Zapf et al. (1999) performed confirmatory factor analyses using structural equation modeling. Unfortunately, our sample was too small to use a similar procedure. It is therefore difficult to compare our results to theirs. Moreover, certain subscales, such as *showing sympathy* and *display of neutral emotions*, do not appear in their factor analyses.

Factor 1 accounts for 12.05% of the variance and loads onto items tapping *sensitivity requirements*. One item from this original subscale (ES3) has a higher factor loading on factor 2 than on factor 1. However, as its presence did not substantively lower the internal consistency of the subscale, we included it in the subscale, whose Cronbach's alpha is .78.

Factor 2 is comprised of seven items relating to *display of negative emotions* and adds a further 11.64% of variance. This factor is conceptually clear, with all factors loading from the original subscale. Cronbach's alpha of this subscale is .78.

Factor 3, which accounts for 8.08% of the variance, loads exclusively onto scale items relating to *display of positive emotions*. However, one item from this original subscale (EP4) has a higher factor loading on factor 5 than on factor 3. This is not surprising given the conceptual difference between this item (having to show intense positive emotions) and the other ones (having to display positive emotions or good mood). It must also be noted that the same problem happened for Zapf et al. (1999), with this item loading higher onto routineness than on display of positive emotions. As Zapf et al. nevertheless included the incriminated item, and as its presence did not substantively lower the internal consistency of the subscale, we also included it in the subscale, whose Cronbach's alpha is .71.

Factor 4 accounts for 8.07% of the variance and loads almost exclusively onto items referring to *interaction control*. One cross-loading item (EH4) was not included because of its negative impact on the internal consistency of the subscale (.81).

Factor 5 is comprised of five items relating to *emotional dissonance* and adds a further 7.60% of variance. Two items (ED1 and ED2) present cross-loadings on factor 6 and 1 respectively. As Zapf et al. (1999, p. 392) indicated that "little problems occurred for the modeling of the emotional dissonance [and sensitivity requirements] factor[s]" but nevertheless included all items, and as the

presence of the incriminated items did actually increase the internal consistency of the subscale, they were included in the final subscale, whose Cronbach's alpha is .78.

Factor 6 accounts for 7.18% of the variance and loads onto scale items relating to *display of neutral emotions*. Again, one item (EW3) loaded higher onto another factor but was nevertheless included in the subscale because of its modest effect on the internal consistency (.63). One should note that, contrarily to the other items of this subscale, the incriminated item has an A-B answering format, which might lead participants to answer differently to the items¹⁶.

Finally, factor 7, which accounts for 6.87% of the variance, loads exclusively onto items referring to *showing sympathy*. However, one item from this original subscale (EA3) has a higher factor loading on factor 1 than on factor 7. This item (not necessary to participate to customers' emotions) might in effect be conceptually closer to *sensitivity requirements* than to *showing sympathy*. As its presence significantly lowered the internal consistency of the subscale, it was not included in the final subscale, whose Cronbach's alpha is .65. It is worth noting that, with a value of .69, Zapf et al. (1999) also obtain a moderate internal consistency for this subscale.

Table 3.2 summarizes the characteristics (included items, excluded items, Cronbach's alphas) of the aforementioned subscales.

Table 3.2. Summary of subscales¹⁷

Subscales	Included items	Excluded item	Cronbach's alpha
1 Display of positive emotions	ep1, ep2, ep3, ep4, ep5		.71
2 Display of negative emotions	ev1, ev2, ev3, ev4, ev5, ev6, ev7		.78
3 Display of neutral emotions	ew1, ew2, ew3r, ew4		.63
4 Showing sympathy	ea1, ea2, ea4	ea3r	.65
5 Sensitivity requirements	es1, es2, es3, es4r		.78
6 Emotional dissonance	ed1, ed2r, ed3, ed4, ed5		.78
7 Interaction control	eh1, eh2, eh3	eh4r	.81

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that A-B items also caused some problems in the Spanish version of the FEWS (Garcia-Buades, Manassero, Ramis, Torrens, Genovard, & Genovard, 2003).

¹⁷ For reasons of clarity, factors are not presented from the highest percentage of variance to the lowest percentage of variance as is usually done, but in the same order as Zapf et al. (1999) discuss them.

3.4.4. Psychological well-being

Irritability taps problems in unwinding after work and the tendency to react in an irritated way. It was measured with the eight-item scale of Mohr (1991). One example of item is: "Il m'est difficile de me détendre après le travail" ("I find it hard to relax after work"). The items were evaluated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (completely wrong) to 7 (completely right). Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .83.

Psychosomatic complaints were measured with a sixteen-item list of symptoms (for instance, headaches, back pain, dizziness) from the list developed by Mohr (1991). The items were evaluated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (almost never) to 5 (almost everyday). Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .86.

3.4.5. Job-related attitudes

Job satisfaction was measured with four items drawn from the scale developed by Baillod and Semmer (1994) on the basis of Oegerli (1984) and taps an intrinsic motivation with regard to one's job. One example of item is: "Après des jours de congé, je me réjouis vraiment de retourner au travail" ("After some days off, I'm really happy to return to work"). The items were evaluated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (almost never) to 7 (almost always). Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .83.

Affective commitment to the organization was measured with the eight-item scale of Allen and Meyer (1990). One example of item is: "Je serais très heureux/se de passer beaucoup d'années dans cette entreprise" ("I would be very happy to spend many years with this organization"). The items were evaluated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (completely wrong) to 7 (completely right). Internal consistency of the scale was .85.

4. RESULTS

This chapter is divided in three main parts. The first part refers to hypotheses concerning the frequency and antecedents of emotion work events. The second part consists in the examination of hypotheses regarding the effect of emotion work on the immediate evaluation of interactions, psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. In the third part we investigate the convergence/divergence between the event-sampling measure of emotion work we developed in this study and a questionnaire designed to assess a general level of emotion work, the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (Zapf et al., 1999). Before that, we provide figures about the response rate and a brief overview of the extent to which participants experienced various interactions during the sampling period. Table 4.1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations between study variables. The data have been aggregated to the person level for the diary measures.

4.1. Response rate and overview of participants' everyday experience

Overall, the 78 participants reported 2'656 interactions over the seven days of filling out of the interaction records. This represents a mean of 34 interactions per person for one week. Participants were asked to report all their interactions of 10 minutes or more, but also the interactions of less than 10 minutes they considered of particular importance. Fifty-eight participants reported 171 such "short but important" interactions. However, as this represents only 6.4% of the whole, and to be able to compare our data to other research using interaction records, we ignored them in the analyses and focused on the interactions of 10 minutes or more ($N = 2'485$).

Table 4.2 shows how the total number of interactions lasting 10 minutes and more is distributed with regard to context, number of interaction partners, type of interaction partner(s), and gender of interactions partner(s). On average, participants reported having experienced 16.5 private interactions, 10 task-related interactions at work, and 5 private interactions "at work" during one week. Since the focus of this research is emotion work in professional interactions, the analyses presented in this dissertation are only based on the task-related interactions at work ($N = 789$).

Table 4.1. Intercorrelations of all study variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1 Nb of interactions with positive emotion work	4.89	7.22																						
2 Nb of interactions with negative emotion work	0.05	0.23	-.05																					
3 Nb of interactions with neutral emotion work	0.86	1.84	.18	-.01																				
4 Nb of interactions with emotional dissonance	0.93	1.47	.62	.09	.41																			
5 Nb of interactions with emotional deviance	0.86	1.29	.27	-.02	.48	.15																		
6 Gender	0.47	0.50	-.29	.10	-.11	-.25	-.06																	
7 Occupational category	0.67	0.47	-.29	-.17	-.12	-.33	-.17	.48																
8 Neuroticism	2.64	0.62	-.09	-.01	-.05	-.04	-.05	-.03	-.08															
9 Task stressors	2.35	0.43	.21	.11	.19	.15	.24	.10	.06	.28														
10 Job autonomy	3.86	0.78	-.17	-.03	-.02	-.20	.12	.04	-.00	-.15	-.25													
11 Social stressors	1.76	0.68	.05	-.05	-.10	-.08	.09	.07	.07	.33	.53	-.15												
12 Social support	3.42	0.67	.07	-.07	.04	.00	-.02	-.10	-.20	-.21	-.28	.03	-.49											
13 Irritability	2.90	0.94	.12	-.09	.02	.08	-.02	-.09	-.16	.30	.35	-.10	.33	-.00										
14 Psychosom. complaints	1.78	0.55	.18	-.04	.26	.08	.20	-.21	-.16	.05	.29	-.08	.38	-.04	.55									
15 Job satisfaction	4.88	1.11	.20	-.21	.01	.09	.02	-.08	-.24	-.37	-.42	.12	-.53	.39	-.19	-.19								
16 Affective commitment	4.85	1.03	.16	-.09	-.03	-.02	.06	-.03	-.15	-.26	-.26	.10	-.32	.39	-.13	-.16	.64							
17 Interaction quality	3.94	0.57	.11	-.17	.10	.02	.07	-.06	.07	-.20	-.13	.16	-.23	.35	-.16	-.04	.06	.13						
18 Interaction conflict	1.81	0.57	-.19	.07	-.16	-.26	.04	.22	.22	.10	.11	.05	.25	-.20	.07	.02	.08	.07	-.49					
19 Interaction satisfaction	3.96	0.57	.04	-.07	.11	-.05	.03	-.03	.00	-.23	-.23	.20	-.29	.38	-.11	-.03	.23	.23	.71	-.45				
20 Situational well-being	4.02	0.60	.06	-.05	.07	-.03	-.06	-.03	-.04	-.32	-.28	.27	-.29	.28	-.26	-.11	.25	.28	.69	-.43	.76			
21 Nb of interac. partners	2.16	0.76	.10	.04	.22	.22	.08	.25	.06	-.15	.25	-.11	.10	.12	.06	-.08	.01	.08	-.16	.05	-.15	-.15		
22 Interaction control	3.05	0.75	.35	.05	.20	.30	.26	-.17	-.22	-.01	.15	.30	-.01	.07	.15	.16	.20	.10	.05	-.03	.16	.11	-.23	

Note. $68 < N < 73$. Coefficients above $r = .23$ are significant at $p < .05$; above $r = .30$ at $p < .01$; and above $r = .38$ at $p < .001$.

Table 4.2. Distribution of interactions with regard to context, number of interaction partners, type of interaction partner(s) and gender of interaction partner(s)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	%
Context				
Private interactions	16.5	10.4	1289	52.0
Task-related interactions at work	10.1	9.5	789	31.9
Private interactions at work	5.1	4.3	397	16.1
Number of interaction partners				
Interactions with one person	19.8	12.2	1545	62.3
Interactions with two persons	4.8	3.9	376	15.1
Interactions with three persons	2.8	2.9	216	8.8
Interactions with four persons and more	4.4	4.8	347	13.8
Type of interaction partner(s)				
Interactions with family member(s) (except partner)	4.6	5.4	360	14.5 ^a
Interactions with partner	5.6	6.4	440	17.7 ^a
Interactions with friend(s)	4.6	4.6	358	14.4 ^a
Interactions with colleague(s)	10.5	9.0	822	33.1 ^a
Interactions with superior(s)	2.5	2.7	195	7.8 ^a
Interactions with client(s)	3.2	4.9	253	10.2 ^a
Gender of interaction partner(s)				
Interactions with one or several women	14.7	12.4	1147	46.2
Interactions with one or several men	10.0	7.3	783	31.5
Interaction with mixed groups	7.1	5.5	553	22.3

Note. These data were collected on 6.7 days on average ($SD = 1.2$). Most participants ($N = 72$) filled out the interaction records during seven consecutive days. Three respondents participated during four days, one during two days, and two during one day only.

^a The sum of these percentages is not 100 since one can have an interaction with several types of partners simultaneously.

4.2. Frequency and antecedents of emotion work events

In this section, we present the results of the analyses regarding the frequency and antecedents of emotion work events. The first part concerns the frequency and antecedents of the interactions in which employees have an emotion work requirement, whereas the second part concerns the frequency and antecedents of the interactions in which employees experience emotion work regulation problems.

To control for the fact that service workers have significantly more daily interactions than non-service workers ($M_{\text{service workers}} = 2.8$, $SD = 2.7$, $M_{\text{non-service workers}} = 1.5$, $SD = 1.2$, $t_{(76)} = 2.95$, $p < .01$), the following analyses are based on the percentage of different types of interactions rather than on their raw number. Thus, the statistical tests were performed using data transformed with the arcsine function¹⁸. However, for the sake of clarity, descriptive results are reported in proportions.

4.2.1. Frequency and antecedents of emotion work requirements

All types of emotion work requirements taken together, participants reported that they were required to perform emotion work in 46.4% of their professional interactions.

Hypothesis 1 states that the frequency of emotion work requirements should vary as a function of the type of emotion employees have to display. Specifically, we expect positive emotion work requirements to be more frequent than neutral emotion work requirements, and these latter to be more frequent than negative emotion work requirements. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the percentage of interactions with positive, neutral, and negative emotion work. As hypothesized, there is a significant effect of type of emotion work requirement ($F_{(1, 71)} = 40.21$, $p < .001$). The multiple comparisons based on the estimated marginal means (using the least significant difference) indicate that all types of emotion work requirements significantly differ in frequency from each other. Participants reported having to display positive emotions in 35.9% ($SD = 32.9$) of their task-related interactions, whereas neutral and negative emotion work had to be performed in only 9.7% ($SD = 16.7$) and 0.8% ($SD = 4.3$) of the interactions respectively. Thus, Hypothesis 1 is supported.

¹⁸ The result is given in radians. For a proportion of 1 (i.e., 100%), the arcsine value is 1.57 (Fleiss, 1981).

However, it is to be expected that the frequency of different types of emotion work requirements varies as a function of the job participants hold (H2a). Specifically, we expect positive emotion work requirements to be more frequent in service jobs than in non-service jobs. We do not expect differences between the two groups with regard to neutral and negative emotion work. As hypothesized, there is a significant difference between service jobs and non-service jobs with regard to positive emotion work requirements, $t_{(70)} = 1.71$, $p < .05$, one-tailed. Positive emotions had to be displayed in 40.7% ($SD = 34.2$) of the interactions of service workers and in 26.4% ($SD = 28.4$) of the interactions of non-service workers. Both groups did not differ with regard to neutral ($t_{(70)} = 0.53$, *n.s.*) and negative emotion work ($t_{(70)} = 1.57$, *n.s.*). Service workers reported being required to display neutral emotions in 10.4% ($SD = 17.4$) of their interactions, non-service workers in 8.3% ($SD = 15.5$) of the cases. Service workers reported being required to display negative emotions in 1.2% ($SD = 5.2$) of their interactions, and non-service workers reported having no negative emotion work requirement. Thus, Hypothesis 2a is supported.

Because of the higher proportion of women who work in service jobs as compared to men, gender differences with regard to emotion work requirements should be accounted for by employees' occupational category. Hypothesis 2b therefore states that no additional variance in the frequency of different types of emotion work requirements will be explained by gender beyond and above occupational category. In order to study the effect of gender beyond and above the effect of occupational category, we conducted a one-way ANOVA with occupational category entered as a covariate first. As hypothesized, gender does not explain any additional variance in the frequency of positive emotion work ($M_{\text{women}} = 42.5\%$, $SD = 34.2$, $M_{\text{men}} = 30.3\%$, $SD = 31.1$, $F_{(1, 69)} = 0.50$, *n.s.*) and in the frequency of neutral emotion work ($M_{\text{women}} = 8.9\%$, $SD = 16.9$, $M_{\text{men}} = 10.4\%$, $SD = 16.8$, $F_{(1, 69)} = 0.47$, *n.s.*). However, contrarily to our expectations, after having controlled for occupational category, men and women significantly differ in the frequency to which they are required to display negative emotions, ($F_{(1, 69)} = 3.93$, $p = .05$). Men reported having to display negative emotions in 1.35% ($SD = 5.78$) of their task-related interactions, women in 0.14% ($SD = 0.79$) of the cases. Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis 2b.

4.2.2. Frequency and antecedents of emotion work regulation problems

Hypothesis 3 states that, in general, employees conform to the emotion work requirements that are assigned to them. Specifically, we expect emotional dissonance and emotional deviance to be less

frequent than the correspondence between required, displayed and felt emotions (emotional harmony). In addition, we expect emotional deviance to be less frequent than emotional dissonance. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the percentage of interactions with emotional dissonance, emotional deviance, and emotional harmony. As hypothesized, there is a significant effect of type of emotion work regulation ($F_{(1, 57)} = 20.45$, $p < .001$). However, the multiple comparisons based on the estimated marginal means (using the least significant difference) indicate that, if they are significantly less frequent than emotional harmony, emotional dissonance and deviance do not differ in frequency. Participants reported experiencing emotional harmony in 60% ($SD = 33.2$) of their task-related interactions, whereas they experienced emotional dissonance and deviance in 17.8% ($SD = 24.5$) and 22.2% ($SD = 29.1$) of the interactions respectively. Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis 3.

However, it is to be expected that the frequency of emotional deviance varies as a function of the type of emotions that are required in a given situation (H4). Specifically, we expect emotional deviance to be more frequent when employees have the requirement to display negative and neutral emotions than when they are required to display positive emotions. Given the low frequency of negative emotion work requirements, it was impossible to perform a one-way repeated measures ANOVA. However, a simple look at the descriptive results (cf. Table 4.3) indicates that results are in accordance with the hypothesis. As a matter of fact, emotional deviance is least frequent when employees were required to display positive emotions ($M = 12.2\%$). In comparison, participants experienced emotional deviance in 50% of the interactions with a requirement to display negative emotions, and in 51.4% of the interactions with a requirement to display neutral emotions. Thus, although we were not able to perform any statistical test, descriptive results seem to support Hypothesis 4.

Although we had no hypothesis on that subject, we also examined the frequency of emotional dissonance as a function of the type of emotions that were required in the interaction. Contrarily to emotional deviance, emotional dissonance is most frequent in the interactions where employees were required to display positive emotions ($M = 26.8\%$). In comparison, participants experienced emotional dissonance only in 12.5% of the interactions in which they were required to display neutral emotions and in none of the interactions in which they were required to display negative emotions.

Table 4.3. Percentage of interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance as a function of emotion work requirement

Emotion work requirement	Dissonance		Deviance	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Positive emotion work	26.8	34.8	12.2	21.8
Negative emotion work	0.0	0.0	50.0	57.7
Neutral emotion work	12.5	27.6	51.4	44.9

Question 5a focused on a comparison of service and non-service workers with regard to the frequency of interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance. Our results indicate that there is no significant difference between occupational categories with regard to the frequency of emotional dissonance ($t_{(56)} = 0.20$, *n.s.*). Service workers reported experiencing emotional dissonance in 18.9% ($SD = 22.3$) of their interactions, non-service workers in 14.8% ($SD = 30.4$). With regard to emotional deviance, service workers were concerned in 26.1% ($SD = 30.7$) of their interactions, whereas non-service workers were only in 12% ($SD = 22.1$) of their interactions, but the difference does not reach traditional levels of statistical significance ($t_{(56)} = 1.60$, $p = .12$). Thus, service and non-service workers do not differ in the frequency to which they experience emotional dissonance and deviance.

Finally, independently of the occupational category, women should be less prone than men to experience emotionally dissonant and deviant interactions (H5b). In order to study the effect of gender beyond and above the effect of occupational category, we conducted a one-way ANOVA with occupational category entered as a covariate first. Contrary to our expectations, gender does not explain any additional variance in the frequency of emotional dissonance ($F_{(1, 55)} = 1.25$, *n.s.*) and deviance ($F_{(1, 55)} = 0.01$, *n.s.*). Women experienced emotional dissonance in 15.9% ($SD = 18.6$) of their interactions, men in 19.7% ($SD = 29.6$). Although the difference is not statistically significant, emotional deviance even appears to be slightly more frequent among women ($M = 24.5\%$, $SD = 32.2$) than men ($M = 19.9\%$, $SD = 26.1$). Thus, Hypothesis 5b is not supported by our data.

4.3. Consequences of emotion work

In this section, we present the results of the analyses regarding the consequences of emotion work requirements and regulation problems. The first part concerns the immediate effects of emotion work on the evaluation of interactions, whereas the second and third parts concern the long-term effects of emotion work on psychological well-being and job-related attitudes respectively.

4.3.1. Emotion work and the immediate evaluation of interactions

4.3.1.1. Overview of analyses

Hypotheses concerning the immediate consequences of emotion work were tested by multilevel analyses using the MLwiN software package (Rasbash, Browne, Goldstein, Yang, Plewis, Healy, Woodhouse, Draper, Langford, & Lewis, 2002).

Multilevel analysis is a data analysis method for hierarchical data structures¹⁹ (e.g., Bryk and Raudenbush, 1992; Goldstein, 1995; Hox, 2002; Snijders and Bosker, 1999). Many social phenomena have this form. For instance, students are grouped in classes, patients are assigned to clinics, or, as is our case, repeated observations are collected within individuals. However, past research often failed to treat such hierarchical structures adequately in terms of statistical analysis. Aggregating data (for instance, averaging variables at the level of interactions for each person) leads to a loss of information and statistical power (Hox, 2002), as well as a varying reliability due to the different amount of observations between persons (Wilhelm, 2001). Disaggregation, on the other hand, ignores the non-independence of the lower level units (i.e., the fact that several observations provided by the same person are more correlated with each other than with observations provided by another person), which increases the risk of getting spurious results (Hox, 2002). Multilevel analysis has the major advantage of allowing the simultaneous estimation of within- and between-persons effects and their interaction (e.g., Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992; Goldstein, 1995; Hox, 2002; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). To do so, multilevel analysis extends the traditional regression analysis to a two stage procedure, whereby a first equation models the

¹⁹ A hierarchy consists of units grouped at different levels. In multilevel analysis, the lower level is called level-1, the next level, level-2, and so on. Although multilevel analysis allows the modelization of a virtually unlimited number of levels, models containing more than two levels are still rare (see Wilhelm, 2001, for an exception).

relationships between the observed variables *within* each of the higher level units (persons, in our case), whereas a second equation models how these relationships vary *between* higher level units (e.g., Jones & Duncan, 1998; Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998). Because it estimates both equations simultaneously, multilevel analysis allows the variance and covariance components to be assigned to the appropriate level (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992). Moreover, if a higher level unit contains a small number of observations or extreme values, the estimates are "shrunk" towards the overall relationship, thus emphasizing the contribution of the more precisely estimated relationships (Jones, 1993). Multilevel models therefore readily handle unbalanced number of cases per person and missing data (e.g., Kenny et al., 1998; Reis & Gable, 2000). Further conceptual and mathematical details can be found in Bryk and Raudenbush (1992), Goldstein (1995), Hox (2002), or Snijders and Bosker (1999).

Dependent variables were interaction evaluations such as perceived degree of quality, conflict, satisfaction, and well-being in interactions. As the evaluation of interactions might be influenced by several other elements besides emotion work requirements and strategies, we entered additional predictors in the regression equation. Since women and men have repeatedly been shown to experience their interactions in different ways (e.g., Reis, 1986; Reis, 1998; Reis et al., 1985; Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977), we controlled for gender of the participant, as well as for gender of the interactions partner(s). At the person-level, other personal characteristics such as neuroticism and occupation, and work characteristics such as task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, and social support might also influence the evaluation of interactions (see for instance Grebner et al., in press) and were therefore controlled for. At the interaction-level, we also controlled for number of interaction partners and perceived degree of control on the interaction. Because emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are not mutually independent (i.e., an interaction might be characterized as requiring the display of negative emotions and as being emotionally dissonant at the same time), and because the interactions with regulation problems are a subset of all interactions (i.e., interactions in which there is a requirement to display an emotion), we performed two sets of analyses, one concerning emotion work requirements, the other one concerning emotion work regulation problems. Since emotion work regulation problems concern differences between required, displayed and felt emotions, in this latter set of multilevel models felt emotions were controlled for²⁰.

²⁰ We did not do so in the analyses pertaining to emotion work requirements because if the felt emotion is controlled for, results then provide the effect of the emotional requirement only in situations of emotional dissonance or of

As suggested by several authors (Hox, 2002; Jones & Duncan, 1998; Rasbash et al., 2002), continuous predictors were centered around the mean. This procedure allows an easier interpretation of the intercept, which then represents the mean level of the dependent variable for an average value of the predictor (this is especially useful when 0 is not a meaningful value for the predictor, as is for instance the case with Likert-scales ranging from 1 to 5). Moreover, centering around the mean attenuates problems of multicollinearity in testing interaction effects (Aiken & West, 1991).

A separate multilevel model was calculated for each dependent variable. First, an intercept-only model was calculated in order to decompose the part of variance that is situation-related from the part that is person-related. This model, which contains no explanatory variables, provides an estimate of the intra-class correlation (ICC), that is, the proportion of variance that is explained by the person-level compared to the total variance (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992; Jones, 1993). In addition, it gives a reference value of the deviance, a measure of the degree of misfit of the model (Hox, 2002; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). In a second step, situation-level and person-level predictors were entered in the model as fixed parameters. This means that the variance components of the predictors were set equal for all participants. In other words, this model assumes that the regression slopes do not differ between individuals. It is generally recommended to begin with the modeling of fixed effects only because fixed parameters are estimated more precisely than random parameters (Hox, 2002). Once a well-fitting model was assessed for the fixed part (as evaluated by the decrease of the deviance compared to the intercept-only model), the random part was then modeled. In order to avoid convergence problems, we tested random slope variation for each predictor separately and then added all the significant variance (and covariance) components simultaneously in a final model. Whether this model fitted better to the data was assessed by comparing the deviance of the final model with the deviance of the previous model. Finally, in a fourth step we tested for potential interaction effects.

4.3.1.2. Perceived quality of the interaction

According to Hypotheses 6a and 6b, being required to display positive, negative or neutral emotions, as well as experiencing emotional dissonance or emotional deviance, should be negatively associated with the perceived quality of the interaction. Results are presented in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

emotional deviance. However, we are interested in the effect of the mere existence of an emotional norm, i.e., even in situations where workers experience no emotional mismatch.

Table 4.4. Multilevel model predicting interaction quality with emotion work requirements

Predictor variables	Quality	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	4.206	0.141
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.077	0.141
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.216	0.156
Neuroticism	-0.134	0.104
Task stressors	0.158	0.176
Job autonomy	0.090	0.080
Social stressors	0.010	0.115
Social support	0.337**	0.102
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	0.114	0.091
Male interaction partner(s)	-0.060	0.097
Number of interaction partners	-0.036**	0.012
Interaction control	0.037	0.038
Positive emotion work	-0.153*	0.076
Negative emotion work	-1.077*	0.474
Neutral emotion work	-0.288*	0.129
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.139***	0.039
VAR Interaction control	0.027*	0.012
COV Intercept - Interaction control	0.014	0.016
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.594***	0.033

Note. $N = 734$ events reported by 66 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Table 4.5. Multilevel model predicting interaction quality with emotion work regulation problems

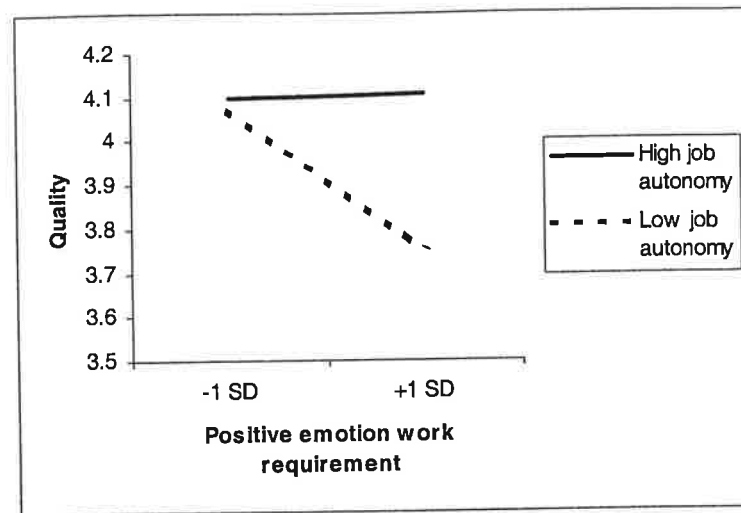
Predictor variables	Quality	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	4.422	0.173
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.042	0.150
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.036	0.132
Neuroticism	-0.182 ^a	0.093
Task stressors	-0.095	0.177
Job autonomy	0.215**	0.076
Social stressors	0.215*	0.098
Social support	0.204*	0.099
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	0.007	0.104
Male interaction partner(s)	-0.213 ^a	0.112
Number of interaction partners	-0.044**	0.015
Interaction control	-0.001	0.029
Felt positive emotions	-0.048	0.121
Felt negative emotions	-1.056***	0.129
Emotional dissonance	-0.520***	0.141
Emotional deviance	-0.640***	0.134
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.001	0.018
VAR Gender	0.000	0.000
COV Intercept - Gender	0.127**	0.047
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.422***	0.032

Note. $N = 392$ events reported by 53 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Emotion work requirements and the perceived quality of the interaction. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of positive, negative, and neutral emotion work requirements on the perceived quality of the interaction. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .216. Thus, only 22% of the total variance in interaction quality is situated at the person-level, while 78% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(16)} = 210, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H6a), all types of emotion work requirements are negatively related to the perceived quality of the interaction. As a matter of fact, being required to display negative emotions lowers the perceived quality of the interaction of 1.08 points ($p < .05$), being required to suppress one's emotional display of 0.29 ($p < .05$), and being required to display positive emotions of 0.15 points ($p < .05$). A post hoc test indicates that the effect of negative emotion work is significantly more negative than the effect of positive emotion work ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.78, p = .05$). In addition, at the interaction-level, number of interaction partners ($B = -0.04, p < .01$) is negatively related to perceived quality, whereas, at the person-level, social support ($B = 0.34, p < .01$) is positively related to perceived quality. Thus, Hypothesis 6a is supported.

Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. Although the decrease of the deviance of the model is only marginally significant ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 5.5, p < .10$), there is a significant interaction between positive emotion work requirement and job autonomy ($B = 0.20, p < .05$). As indicated by Figure 4.1, being required to display positive emotions lowers the perceived quality of the interaction only for employees who have a low degree of job autonomy.

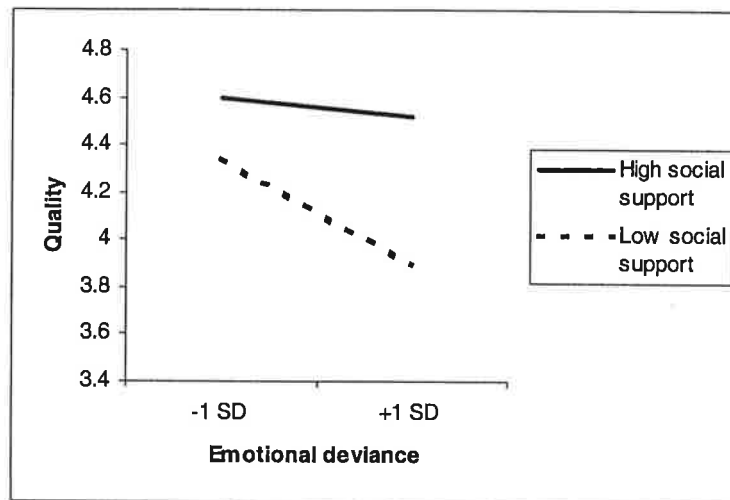
Figure 4.1. Interaction of positive emotion work requirement and job autonomy on perceived quality of interaction



Emotion work regulation problems and the perceived quality of the interaction. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of emotional dissonance and emotional deviance on the perceived quality of the interaction. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .325. Thus, 32.5% of the total variance in interaction quality is situated at the person-level, while 67.5% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(17)} = 268, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H6b), emotional dissonance and emotional deviance are negatively related to the perceived quality of the interaction. As a matter of fact, experiencing emotional dissonance lowers the perceived quality of the interaction of 0.52 points ($p < .001$), experiencing emotional deviance of 0.64 points ($p < .001$). In addition, at the interaction-level, feeling negative emotions ($B = -1.06, p < .001$), number of interaction partners ($B = -0.04, p < .01$), and male interaction partner(s) (although only marginally significantly, $B = -0.21, p < .10$) are negatively related to perceived quality. At the person-level, job autonomy ($B = 0.21, p < .01$), social stressors ($B = 0.21, p < .05$) and social support ($B = 0.20, p < .05$) are positively related to perceived quality, whereas neuroticism shows a marginally significant negative relationship with perceived quality ($B = -0.18, p < .10$). Thus, Hypothesis 6b is supported.

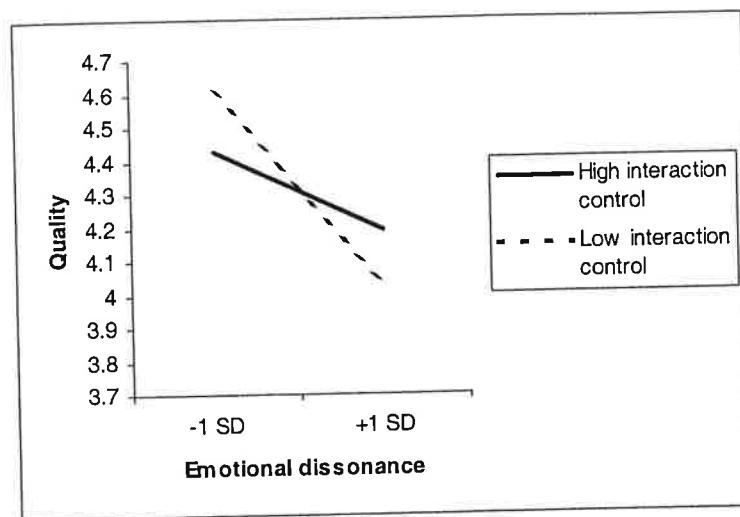
Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. Entering two interaction terms with social support significantly increases the fit of the model ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 12, p < .01$). There is a significant interaction between emotional deviance and social support ($B = 0.42, p < .01$). As indicated by Figure 4.2, the effect of emotional deviance on the perceived quality of the interaction is less aversive among employees who have greater social support.

Figure 4.2. Interaction of emotional deviance and social support on perceived quality of interaction



Moreover, although the decrease of the deviance of the model is only marginally significant ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 5.3, p < .10$), there is a significant interaction between emotional dissonance and interaction control ($B = 0.18, p < .05$). As indicated by Figure 4.3, the effect of emotional dissonance on the perceived quality of the interaction is less aversive among employees who have a greater control over their interactions.

Figure 4.3. Interaction of emotional dissonance and interaction control on perceived quality of interaction



4.3.1.3. Perceived degree of conflict in the interaction

According to Hypotheses 7a and 7b, being required to display negative emotions, as well as experiencing emotional deviance, should be positively associated with the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction, whereas being required to display positive or neutral emotions or experiencing emotional dissonance should not. Results are presented in Tables 4.6 and 4.7.

Emotion work requirements and the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of positive, negative, and neutral emotion work requirements on the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .165. Thus, only 16.5% of the total variance in interaction conflict is situated at the person-level, while 83.5% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(16)} = 185, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H7a), only negative emotion work is related to the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction. As a matter of fact, being required to display negative emotions increases the degree of conflict of 1.44 points ($p < .01$). In addition, social stressors ($B = 0.21, p < .05$) and job autonomy (although only marginally significantly, $B = 0.13, p < .10$) are positively related to perceived conflict in the interaction. Thus, Hypothesis 7a is supported.

Table 4.6. Multilevel model predicting conflict in interaction with emotion work requirements

Predictor variables	Conflict	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	1.772	0.128
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	-0.212 ^a	0.123
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.150	0.133
Neuroticism	0.130	0.088
Task stressors	-0.163	0.151
Job autonomy	0.127 ^a	0.065
Social stressors	0.209*	0.102
Social support	0.002	0.086
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	-0.039	0.101
Male interaction partner(s)	0.130	0.106
Number of interaction partners	0.016	0.013
Interaction control	-0.010	0.030
Positive emotion work	0.141	0.107
Negative emotion work	1.442**	0.522
Neutral emotion work	0.063	0.137
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.024	0.024
VAR Positive emotion work	0.191*	0.098
COV Intercept - Positive emotion work	0.032	0.038
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.786***	0.043

Note. $N = 736$ events reported by 66 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Table 4.7. Multilevel model predicting conflict in interaction with emotion work regulation problems

Predictor variables	Conflict	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	1.773	0.233
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	-0.060	0.164
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.342 ^a	0.204
Neuroticism	0.146	0.116
Task stressors	0.012	0.215
Job autonomy	0.084	0.098
Social stressors	0.119	0.125
Social support	0.131	0.124
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	-0.042	0.127
Male interaction partner(s)	0.136	0.137
Number of interaction partners	0.019	0.019
Interaction control	0.009	0.036
Felt positive emotions	-0.098	0.147
Felt negative emotions	1.217***	0.227
Emotional dissonance	0.189	0.190
Emotional deviance	0.299 ^a	0.165
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.097*	0.044
VAR Emotional dissonance	0.131	0.154
COV Intercept - Emotional dissonance	-0.076	0.068
VAR Felt negative emotions	0.617*	0.333
COV Intercept - Felt negative emotions	0.080	0.095
COV Emotional dissonance - Felt negative emotions	0.005	0.176
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.610***	0.049

Note. $N = 394$ events reported by 54 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

Emotion work regulation problems and the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of emotional dissonance and emotional deviance on the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .209. Thus, only 21% of the total variance in interaction conflict is situated at the person-level, while 79% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(20)} = 220, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H7b), only emotional deviance is related to the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction, although the effect is marginally significant. As a matter of fact, experiencing emotional deviance increases the degree of conflict of 0.30 points ($p < .10$). Experiencing emotional dissonance has no influence on the perception of conflict. In addition, at the interaction-level, feeling negative emotions significantly increases the perception of conflict in the interaction ($B = 1.22, p < .001$); at the person-level, service workers seem to judge their interactions as slightly less conflictual than non-service workers ($B = -0.34, p < .10$). Thus, Hypothesis 7b is supported.

Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

4.3.1.4. Satisfaction with the interaction

According to Hypotheses 8a and 8b, being required to display negative or neutral emotions, as well as experiencing emotional dissonance, should be negatively associated with the degree of satisfaction with the interaction, whereas being required to display positive emotions or experiencing emotional deviance should not. Results are presented in Tables 4.8 and 4.9.

Table 4.8. Multilevel model predicting satisfaction in interaction with emotion work requirements

Predictor variables	Satisfaction	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	3.997	0.124
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.103	0.123
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.073	0.136
Neuroticism	-0.116	0.089
Task stressors	-0.014	0.155
Job autonomy	0.083	0.068
Social stressors	0.028	0.101
Social support	0.223*	0.088
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	0.068	0.087
Male interaction partner(s)	0.172 ^a	0.092
Number of interaction partners	-0.018	0.011
Interaction control	0.108**	0.033
Positive emotion work	-0.072	0.085
Negative emotion work	-1.205**	0.453
Neutral emotion work	-0.249*	0.125
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.081**	0.032
VAR Positive emotion work	0.079	0.060
COV Intercept - Positive emotion work	-0.011	0.035
VAR Interaction control	0.016*	0.009
COV Intercept - Interaction control	-0.012	0.013
COV Positive emotion work - Interaction control	0.006	0.017
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.541***	0.031

Note. $N = 736$ events reported by 66 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Table 4.9. Multilevel model predicting satisfaction in interaction with emotion work regulation problems

Predictor variables	Satisfaction	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	4.153	0.193
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.039	0.143
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.039	0.171
Neuroticism	-0.062	0.102
Task stressors	0.018	0.187
Job autonomy	0.170*	0.083
Social stressors	-0.003	0.111
Social support	0.117	0.104
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	-0.053	0.101
Male interaction partner(s)	-0.081	0.108
Number of interaction partners	-0.030*	0.015
Interaction control	0.027	0.029
Felt positive emotions	0.215 ^a	0.120
Felt negative emotions	-1.085***	0.141
Emotional dissonance	-0.326*	0.166
Emotional deviance	-0.248	0.162
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.070*	0.032
VAR Emotional dissonance	0.203*	0.121
COV Intercept - Emotional dissonance	-0.015	0.048
VAR Emotional deviance	0.223 ^a	0.141
COV Intercept - Emotional deviance	0.011	0.054
COV Emotional dissonance - Emotional deviance	-0.047	0.115
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.373***	0.030

Note. $N = 394$ events reported by 53 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Emotion work requirements and satisfaction with the interaction. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of positive, negative, and neutral emotion work requirements on employees' satisfaction with the interaction. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .176. Thus, only 18% of the total variance in satisfaction with the interaction is situated at the person-level, while 82% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(19)} = 195, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H8a), negative and neutral emotion work are related to participants' satisfaction with the interaction. As a matter of fact, being required to display negative emotions lowers the degree of satisfaction of 1.21 points ($p < .01$), being required to suppress one's emotional display of 0.25 points ($p < .05$). A post hoc test indicates that the effect of negative emotion work is significantly more negative than the effect of neutral emotion work ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.20, p < .05$). In addition, at the interaction-level, interaction control ($B = 0.11, p < .01$) and male interaction partner(s) (although only marginally significantly, $B = 0.17, p < .10$) and, at the person-level, social support ($B = 0.22, p < .05$) are positively related to satisfaction with the interaction. Thus, Hypothesis 8a is supported. Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

Emotion work regulation problems and satisfaction with the interaction. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of emotional dissonance and emotional deviance on employees' satisfaction with the interaction. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .181. Thus, only 18% of the total variance in satisfaction with the interaction is situated at the person-level, while 82% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(20)} = 274, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H8b), only emotional dissonance is related to participants' satisfaction with the interaction. As a matter of fact, experiencing emotional dissonance lowers the degree of

satisfaction of 0.33 points ($p < .05$). Experiencing emotional deviance has no influence on participants' satisfaction with their interactions. In addition, at the interaction-level, feeling negative emotions ($B = -1.08, p < .001$) and number of interaction partners ($B = -0.03, p < .05$) are negatively related to satisfaction with the interaction, whereas feeling positive emotions shows a marginally significant positive relationship with satisfaction ($B = 0.21, p < .10$); at the person-level, job autonomy is positively related to satisfaction with the interaction ($B = 0.17, p < .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 8b is supported.

Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. The entry of two interaction terms with social support significantly increases the fit of the model ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 7.3, p < .05$). There are significant interactions between emotional dissonance and social support ($B = -0.62, p < .001$), as well as between emotional deviance and social support ($B = 0.40, p < .05$). Surprisingly, the first interaction (cf. Figure 4.4) indicates that the effect of emotional dissonance on the degree of satisfaction with the interaction is aversive only among employees who receive *greater* social support, whereas the second interaction (cf. Figure 4.5) indicates that the effect of emotional deviance on satisfaction with the interaction is aversive only among employees who have less social support.

Figure 4.4. Interaction of emotional dissonance and social support on satisfaction with interaction.

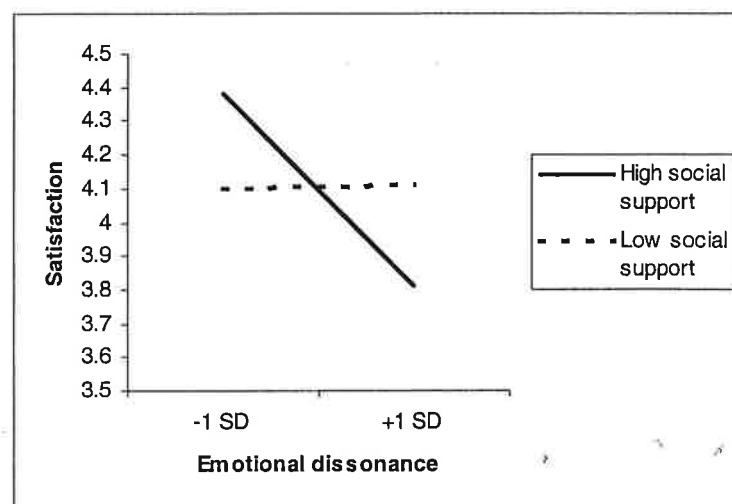
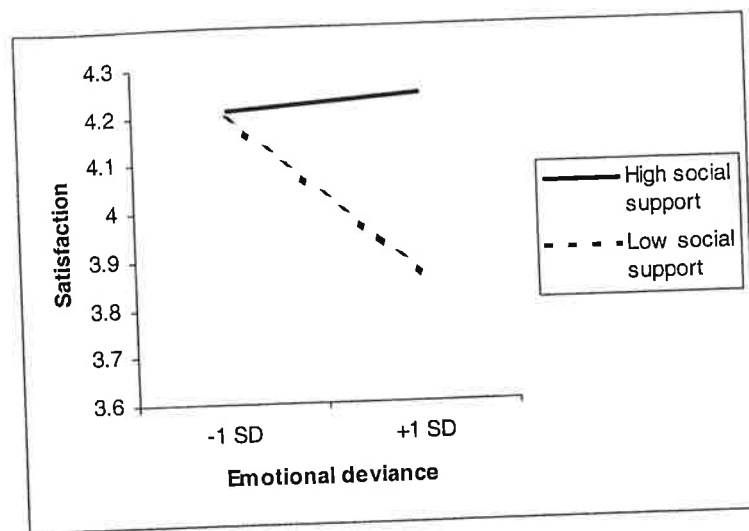


Figure 4.5. Interaction of emotional deviance and social support on satisfaction with interaction.



4.3.1.5. Situational well-being

According to Hypotheses 9a and 9b, being required to display negative or neutral emotions, as well as experiencing emotional dissonance, should be negatively associated with situational well-being, whereas being required to display positive emotions or experiencing emotional deviance should not. Results are presented in Tables 4.10 and 4.11.

Emotion work requirements and situational well-being. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of positive, negative, and neutral emotion work requirements on employees' situational well-being. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .245. Thus, only 24.5% of the total variance in situational well-being is situated at the person-level, while 75.5% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(19)} = 183, p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. Contrary to our expectations (H9a), only neutral emotion work lowers participants' well-being in their interactions. As a matter of fact, being required to suppress one's emotional display lowers the situational well-being of 0.30 points ($p < .05$). In addition, at the interaction-level, number of interaction partners is negatively related to situational well-being ($B = -0.03, p < .01$), whereas interaction control is positively related to situational well-being ($B = 0.06, p < .05$). At the person-level, job autonomy

($B = 0.15$, $p < .05$) and social support ($B = 0.19$, $p < .05$) are positively related to situational well-being. Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis 9a.

Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

Emotion work regulation problems and situational well-being. We estimated a multilevel model to predict the effect of emotional dissonance and emotional deviance on employees' situational well-being. Additional predictors that were controlled for include gender of the respondent, occupational category, neuroticism, task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, social support, gender of the interaction partner(s), number of interaction partners, and employees' degree of control on their interactions. The intercept-only model yields an ICC of .278. Thus, 28% of the total variance in situational well-being is situated at the person-level, while 72% is at the situation-level. Entering the predictor variables significantly decreases the deviance of the model ($\chi^2_{(20)} = 289$, $p < .001$), indicating that the new model fits better to the data. As expected (H9b), emotional dissonance lowers participants' well-being in their interactions, however, contrary to our expectations, emotional deviance also does so. As a matter of fact, experiencing emotional dissonance lowers the situational well-being of 0.29 points ($p < .05$), experiencing emotional deviance of 0.32 points ($p < .05$). In addition, at the interaction-level, feeling negative emotions ($B = -0.84$, $p < .001$), number of interaction partners ($B = -0.04$, $p < .01$), male interaction partner(s) ($B = -0.24$, $p < .05$), and female interaction partner(s) (although only marginally significantly, $B = -0.17$, $p < .10$) are negatively related to situational well-being, whereas feeling positive emotions shows a positive relationship with well-being ($B = 0.32$, $p < .05$). At the person-level, job autonomy is positively related to situational well-being ($B = 0.16$, $p < .05$). Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis 9b.

Table 4.10. Multilevel model predicting situational well-being with emotion work requirements

Predictor variables	Well-being	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	4.118	0.122
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.102	0.126
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.124	0.139
Neuroticism	-0.135	0.092
Task stressors	-0.022	0.161
Job autonomy	0.152*	0.070
Social stressors	0.019	0.103
Social support	0.194*	0.089
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	0.006	0.082
Male interaction partner(s)	0.071	0.086
Number of interaction partners	-0.030**	0.010
Interaction control	0.063*	0.030
Positive emotion work	-0.033	0.083
Negative emotion work	-0.700	0.430
Neutral emotion work	-0.297*	0.116
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.114***	0.036
VAR Positive emotion work	0.096 ^a	0.060
COV Intercept - Positive emotion work	-0.024	0.037
VAR Interaction control	0.013 ^a	0.008
COV Intercept - Interaction control	-0.037**	0.013
COV Interaction control - Positive emotion work	0.028 ^a	0.016
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.475***	0.027

Note. $N = 735$ events reported by 66 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

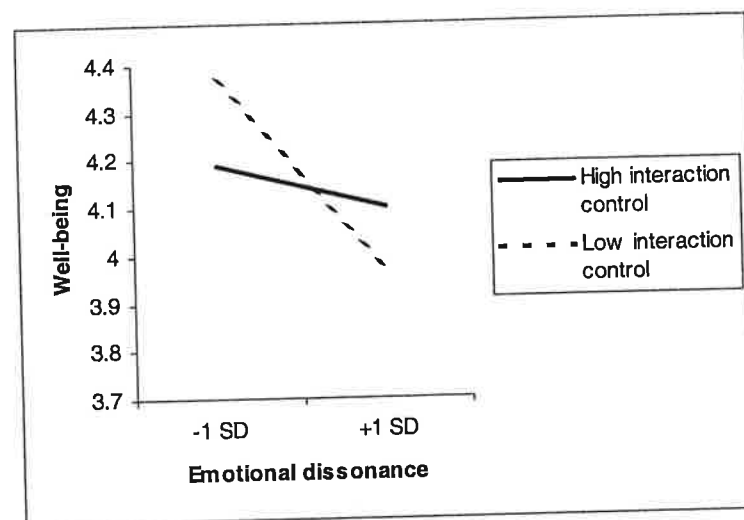
Table 4.11. Multilevel model predicting situational well-being with emotion work regulation problems

Predictor variables	Well-being	
	Estimate	Standard error
Fixed effects		
Intercept	4.267	0.189
Level 2		
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.052	0.134
Occupation (0 = non-service, 1 = service)	-0.108	0.162
Neuroticism	-0.111	0.096
Task stressors	0.080	0.176
Job autonomy	0.156*	0.078
Social stressors	-0.039	0.103
Social support	0.113	0.098
Level 1		
Female interaction partner(s)	-0.169 ^a	0.089
Male interaction partner(s)	-0.237*	0.096
Number of interaction partners	-0.042**	0.013
Interaction control	-0.017	0.026
Felt positive emotions	0.317*	0.142
Felt negative emotions	-0.839***	0.126
Emotional dissonance	-0.295*	0.129
Emotional deviance	-0.317*	0.142
Random effects		
Level 2		
VAR Intercept	0.152*	0.066
VAR Emotional deviance	0.165 ^a	0.120
COV Intercept - Emotional deviance	0.052	0.069
VAR Felt positive emotions	0.278**	0.114
COV Intercept - Felt positive emotions	-0.158*	0.078
COV Emotional deviance - Felt positive emotions	-0.074	0.087
Level 1		
VAR Intercept	0.285*** ^a	0.023

Note. $N = 393$ events reported by 53 participants. The significance level of the Wald-Test (parameter estimates/standard error) is indicated by * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$. The Wald-Test is two-sided for fixed effects. For random effects, it is one-sided for variances (VAR) and two-sided for covariance estimates (COV).

Since we expect resources such as social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on the evaluation of the interaction, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. The entry of two interaction terms with interaction control significantly increases the fit of the model ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 6, p < .05$). There is a significant interaction between emotional dissonance and interaction control ($B = 0.16, p < .05$). As indicated by Figure 4.6, the effect of emotional dissonance on situational well-being is more aversive among employees who have less interaction control.

Figure 4.6. Interaction of emotional dissonance and interaction control on situational well-being



4.3.1.6. Summary of findings

A summary of findings with regard to the immediate effects of emotion work requirements and regulation problems is provided in Table 4.12.

As predicted by Hypotheses 6a and 6b, all types of emotion work requirements and all types of emotion work regulation problems significantly lower the perceived quality of the interaction. As predicted by Hypotheses 7a and 7b, only negative emotion work requirements and emotional deviance significantly lower the perceived degree of conflict in the interaction. As predicted by Hypotheses 8a and 8b, only negative and neutral emotion work requirements and emotional dissonance significantly lower employees' degree of satisfaction with the interaction. Finally, as predicted by Hypothesis 9a and 9b, negative emotion work requirements and emotional dissonance

significantly lower situational well-being, but contrarily to our expectations, neutral emotion work requirements and emotional deviance also do so.

Table 4.12. Summary of findings with regard to the immediate consequences of emotion work

	Quality (H6)	Conflict (H7)	Satisfaction (H8)	Well-being (H9)
Emotion work requirements				
Positive emotion work	- / -	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative emotion work	- / -	+ / +	- / -	- / 0
Neutral emotion work	- / -	0 / 0	- / -	- / -
Emotion work regulation problems				
Emotional dissonance	- / -	0 / 0	- / -	- / -
Emotional deviance	- / -	+ / +	0 / 0	0 / -

Note. The prediction is listed first, followed by the finding.

Our findings thus clearly demonstrate that emotion work has immediate consequences on the way employees evaluate their interactions. Let us now turn to the long-term consequences of emotion work, i.e., its consequences on employees' psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. We therefore finish here with multilevel analyses and come back to more "traditional" types of statistical analysis.

4.3.2. Emotion work and psychological well-being

According to Hypotheses 10a, 10b, 11a, and 11b, the number of interactions with a negative or a neutral emotion work requirement, as well as the number of interactions with emotional dissonance, should be negatively related to psychological well-being, whereas the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement should not be related to psychological well-being, and the number of interactions with emotional deviance should be positively related to psychological well-being.

4.3.2.1. Overview of analyses

Hypotheses concerning the consequences of emotion work on psychological well-being were tested by "traditional" hierarchical regression analyses using the SPSS software package (SPSS Inc., 1999).

Irritability and psychosomatic complaints were regressed separately on individual characteristics (gender, occupational group, and neuroticism) in step 1, work characteristics (task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, and social support) in step 2, and emotion work variables in step 3. To compute the emotion work variables, the data pertaining to the interactions were aggregated within each person. Thus, for each person, we calculated the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement, the number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement, and the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement, on the one hand, and the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and the number of interactions with emotional deviance, on the other hand. Note that *within* emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems, the categories are mutually exclusive (i.e., an interaction characterized as requiring the display of a positive emotion does not simultaneously require the display of negative or of neutral emotions, and an interaction characterized as emotionally dissonant is not deviant at the same time). This is not so, however, *between* emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems (i.e., an interaction might be characterized as requiring the display of negative emotions and as being emotionally dissonant at the same time). Thus, to avoid problems of multicollinearity, two sets of regressions were performed: A first set of analyses was done with the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement, with a negative emotion work requirement, and with a neutral emotion work requirement²¹. A second set of analyses was performed with the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and with emotional deviance²².

4.3.2.2. Irritability

Results are presented in Table 4.13. To avoid cumulating tables, the results regarding emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are presented in the same table although the concerned steps refers to two different hierarchical regressions. Step 3a thus refers to emotion work requirements, whereas Step 3b refers to emotion work regulation problems.

²¹ As all participants did not work the same amount of days during the sampling period, the number of interactions taken into consideration was divided by the number of worked days.

²² *ibid.*

Table 4.13. Hierarchical regressions predicting irritability with emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems

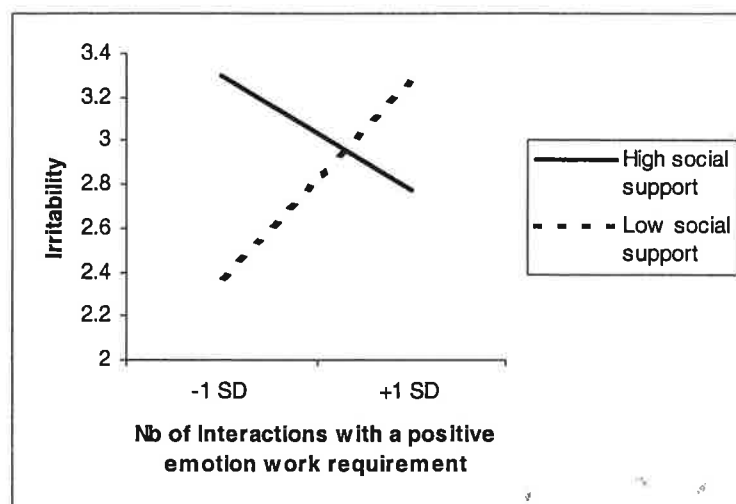
Variables	Irritability				
	β_1	β_2	β_3	Adj. R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1. Individual characteristics				.053 ^a	.093 ^a
Gender (0 = male)	.024	.059	.057		
Occupation (0 = non-service)	.120	.111	.143		
Neuroticism	.265*	.144	.126		
Step 2. Work characteristics				.160*	.150*
Task stressors		.307*	.329*		
Job autonomy		.002	-.009		
Social stressors		.196	.186		
Social support		.162	.152		
Step 3a. Emotion work requirements				.127*	.008
Number of interactions with positive emotion work requirement			-.048		
Number of interactions with negative emotion work requirement			-.085		
Number of interactions with neutral emotion work requirement			-.004		
Step 4a. Interaction effects					
Positive emotion work x Social support				.193*	.068*
Step 3b. Emotion work regulation problems				.145*	.011
Number of interactions with emotional dissonance			.014		
Number of interactions with emotional deviance			-.115		
Step 4b. Interaction effects					
Emotional dissonance x Social support				.178*	.040 ^a

Note. $N = 70$. β_1 beta weight for model 1, β_2 beta weight for model 2, β_3 beta weight for model 3. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$.

Emotion work requirements and irritability. The first model (comprising gender, occupational category, and neuroticism) explains 5.3% of the variance and is marginally significant. The entry of work characteristics contribute additional variance to the equation ($\Delta R^2 = .15, p < .05$) with task stressors as the only significant predictor ($\beta = .31, p < .05$). The entry of emotion work requirements variables does not contribute additional variance to the final equation. As expected, the number of interactions with positive emotion work is not related to irritability. Contrary to our expectations, however, the number of interactions with negative and the number of interactions with neutral emotion work requirements do not increase irritability either. Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis 10a.

Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on psychological well-being, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. There is a significant interaction between the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and social support ($\Delta R^2 = .07, p < .05$). As indicated by Figure 4.7, having a lot of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement increases irritability only among employees who have less social support, whereas it slightly decreases irritability among employees who have more social support.

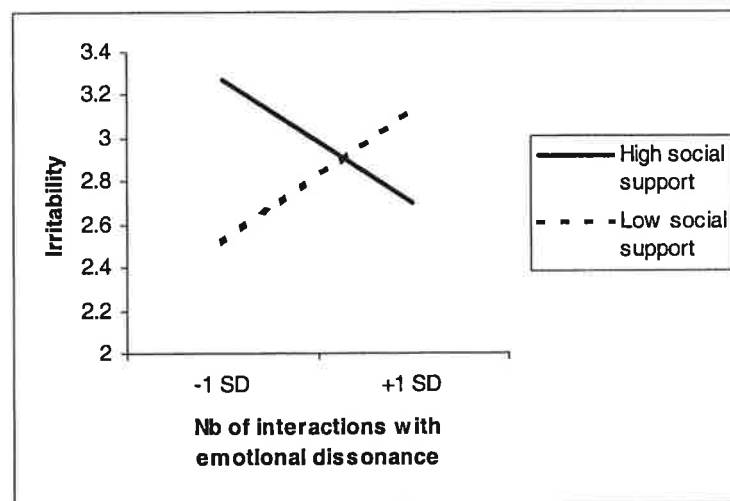
Figure 4.7. Interaction of the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and social support on irritability



Emotion work regulation problems and irritability. The entry of emotion work regulation problems variables does not contribute additional variance to the equation. Contrary to our expectations, the number of interactions with emotional dissonance does not increase irritability, and the number of interactions with emotional deviance does not decrease irritability. Thus, Hypothesis 10b is not supported by our data.

Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on psychological well-being, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. There is a marginally significant interaction between the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and social support ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, $p < .10$). As indicated by Figure 4.8, experiencing a lot of dissonant interactions increases irritability only among employees who have less social support, whereas it slightly decreases irritability among employees who have more social support.

Figure 4.8. Interaction of the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and social support on irritability



4.3.2.3. Psychosomatic complaints

Results are presented in Table 4.14. To avoid cumulating tables, the results regarding emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are presented in the same table although the concerned steps refers to two different hierarchical regressions. Step 3a thus refers to emotion work requirements, whereas Step 3b refers to emotion work regulation problems.

Emotion work requirements and psychosomatic complaints. The first model explains only 0.9% of the variance and is not significant. The work characteristics step contribute additional variance to the equation ($\Delta R^2 = .22, p < .01$), with social stressors as the only significant predictor ($\beta = .41, p < .01$). The entry of the emotion work requirements variables does not contribute additional variance to the final equation ($\Delta R^2 = .05, p = .22$). The number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement, however, is a significant predictor ($\beta = .24, p < .05$). The final model explains 20.6% of the variance. As expected, the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement is not related to psychosomatic complaints, and the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement is negatively related to psychosomatic complaints. Contrary to our expectations, however, the number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement does not increase psychosomatic complaints. Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis 11a.

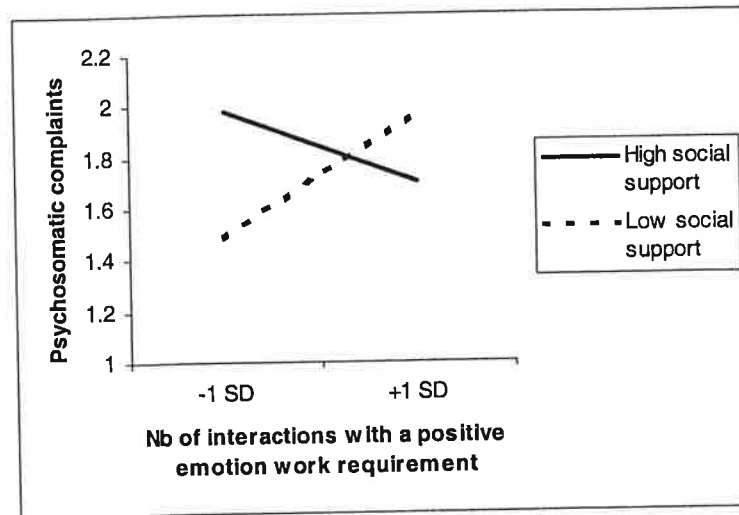
Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on psychological well-being, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. There is a significant interaction between the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and social support ($\Delta R^2 = .05, p < .05$). As indicated by Figure 4.9, having a lot of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement increases psychosomatic complaints only among employees who have less social support, whereas it slightly decreases irritability among employees who have more social support.

Table 4.14. Hierarchical regressions predicting psychosomatic complaints with emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems

Variables	Psychosomatic complaints				
	β_1	β_2	β_3	Adj. R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1. Individual characteristics				.009	.052
Gender (0 = male)	.172	.215 ^a	.196		
Occupation (0 = non-service)	.061	.061	.060		
Neuroticism	.077	-.089	-.057		
Step 2. Work characteristics				.187**	.216**
Task stressors		.204	.132		
Job autonomy		.018	.006		
Social stressors		.406**	.466**		
Social support		.131	.134		
Step 3a. Emotion work requirements				.206**	.051
Number of interactions with positive emotion work requirement			-.036		
Number of interactions with negative emotion work requirement			-.001		
Number of interactions with neutral emotion work requirement			.242*		
Step 4a. Interaction effects				.257***	.054*
Positive emotion work x Social support					
Step 3b. Emotion work regulation problems				.175**	.014
Number of interactions with emotional dissonance			.029		
Number of interactions with emotional deviance			.119		

Note. $N = 70$. β_1 beta weight for model 1, β_2 beta weight for model 2, β_3 beta weight for model 3. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$.

Figure 4.9. Interaction of the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and social support on psychosomatic complaints



Emotion work regulation problems and psychosomatic complaints. The entry of emotion work regulation problems variables does not contribute additional variance to the equation. Contrary to our expectations, the number of interactions with emotional dissonance does not increase psychosomatic complaints, and the number of interactions with emotional deviance does not decrease psychosomatic complaints. Thus, Hypothesis 11b is not supported by our data.

Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on psychological well-being, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

4.3.2.4. Summary of findings

A summary of findings with regard to the effects of emotion work requirements and regulation problems on psychological well-being is provided in Table 4.15.

In contradiction with Hypotheses 10a and 10b, irritability is not affected by any emotion work requirement and any emotion work regulation problem. The only supported expectation is the absence of relationship between the frequency of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and irritability. In contradiction with Hypotheses 11a and 11b, psychosomatic complaints are not affected by the frequency of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement and by any emotion work regulation problem. The only supported expectations are the positive relationship between the frequency of interactions with a neutral emotion work

requirement and psychosomatic complaints, and the absence of relationship between the frequency of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and psychosomatic complaints.

Table 4.15. Summary of findings with regard to the consequences of emotion work on psychological well-being

	Irritability (H10)	Psychosomatic complaints (H11)
Emotion work requirements		
Positive emotion work	0 / 0	0 / 0
Negative emotion work	+ / 0	+ / 0
Neutral emotion work	+ / 0	+ / +
Emotion work regulation problems		
Emotional dissonance	+ / 0	+ / 0
Emotional deviance	- / 0	- / 0

Note. The prediction is listed first, followed by the finding.

Our findings thus indicate that emotion work has almost no direct effects on employees' psychological well-being. However, several interaction effects indicate that the adverse effects of emotion work on well-being are more likely to develop when employees have a low degree of job autonomy or a low degree of social support. We now turn to the consequences of emotion work on job-related attitudes.

4.3.3. Emotion work and job-related attitudes

According to Hypotheses 12a, 12b, 13a, and 13b, the number of interactions with a negative or a neutral emotion work requirement, as well as the number of interactions with emotional dissonance or with emotional deviance, should be negatively related to job-related attitudes, whereas the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement should be positively associated with job-related attitudes.

4.3.3.1. Overview of analyses

Hypotheses concerning the consequences of emotion work on psychological well-being were tested by "traditional" hierarchical regression analyses using the SPSS software package (SPSS Inc., 1999).

Job satisfaction and affective commitment were regressed separately on individual characteristics (gender, occupational group, and neuroticism) in step 1, work characteristics (task stressors, job autonomy, social stressors, and social support) in step 2, and emotion work variables in step 3. To compute the emotion work variables, the data pertaining to the interactions were aggregated within each person. Thus, for each person, we calculated the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement, the number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement, and the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement, on the one hand, and the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and the number of interactions with emotional deviance, on the other hand. Note that *within* emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems, the categories are mutually exclusive (i.e., an interaction characterized as requiring the display of a positive emotion does not simultaneously require the display of negative or of neutral emotions, and an interaction characterized as emotionally dissonant is not deviant at the same time). This is not so, however, *between* emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems (i.e., an interaction might be characterized as requiring the display of negative emotions and as being emotionally dissonant at the same time). Thus, to avoid problems of multicollinearity, two sets of regressions were performed: A first set of analyses was done with the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement, the number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement, and the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement²³. A second set of analyses was performed with the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and the number of interactions with emotional deviance²⁴.

4.3.3.2. Job satisfaction

Results are presented in Table 4.16. To avoid cumulating tables, the results regarding emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are presented in the same table although the concerned steps refers to two different hierarchical regressions. Step 3a thus refers to emotion work requirements, whereas Step 3b refers to emotion work regulation problems.

²³ As all participants did not work the same amount of days during the sampling period, the number of interactions taken into consideration was divided by the number of worked days.

²⁴ *ibid.*

Table 4.16. Hierarchical regressions predicting job satisfaction with emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems

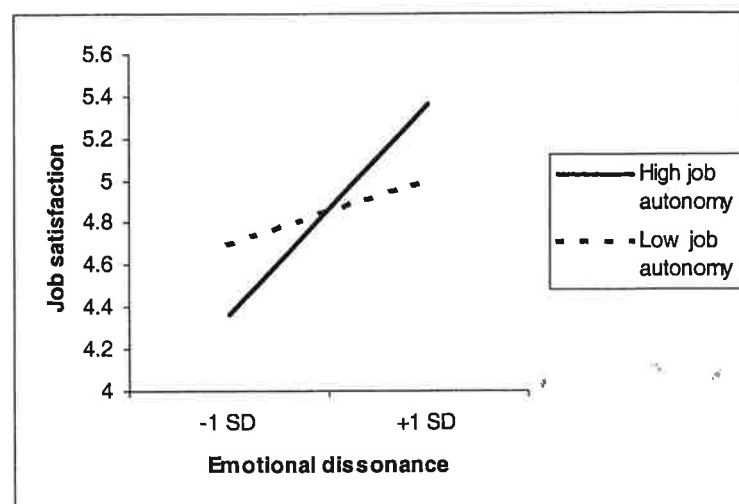
Variables	Job satisfaction				
	β_1	β_2	β_3	Adj. R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1. Individual characteristics				.197***	.232***
Gender (0 = male)	-.048	-.084	.150		
Occupation (0 = non-service)	.300*	.251*	.290*		
Neuroticism	-.412***	-.224*	-.205 ^a		
Step 2. Work characteristics				.379***	.209***
Task stressors		-.189	-.180		
Job autonomy		-.034	-.003		
Social stressors		-.307*	-.364**		
Social support		.112	.056		
Step 3a. Emotion work requirements				.433***	.073*
Number of interactions with positive emotion work requirement			.144		
Number of interactions with negative emotion work requirement			-.240*		
Number of interactions with neutral emotion work requirement			-.059		
Step 4a. Interaction effects				.450***	.022 ^a
Positive emotion work x Job autonomy					
Step 3b. Emotion work regulation problems				.362***	.003
Number of interactions with emotional dissonance			.044		
Number of interactions with emotional deviance			.032		

Note. $N = 70$. β_1 beta weight for model 1, β_2 beta weight for model 2, β_3 beta weight for model 3. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$.

Emotion work requirements and job satisfaction. In the first step, the individual characteristics explain 20.4% of positive satisfaction ($p < .001$). The work characteristics step contribute additional variance to the equation ($\Delta R^2 = .21, p < .001$) with social stressors as the only significant predictor ($\beta = -.31, p < .05$). When the emotion work requirements variables are entered into the regression, they account for an additional 7.3% of the variance ($p < .05$). The number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement is the only significant predictor ($\beta = -.24, p < .05$). The final model explains 43.3% of the variance. As expected, the number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement is negatively related to job satisfaction. Contrary to our expectations, however, the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement does not increase job satisfaction, and the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement does not decrease job satisfaction. Thus, our data provide only partial support to Hypothesis H12a.

Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on job-related attitudes, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. There is a marginally significant interaction between the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and job autonomy ($\Delta R^2 = .02, p < .10$). As indicated by Figure 4.10, having a lot of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement increases satisfaction only among employees who have more job autonomy.

Figure 4.10. Interaction of the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and job autonomy on job satisfaction



Emotion work regulation problems and job satisfaction. The entry of emotion work regulation problems variables does not contribute additional variance to the equation. Contrary to our expectations, the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and the number of interactions with emotional deviance do not decrease job satisfaction. Thus, Hypothesis 12b is not supported by our data.

Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on job-related attitudes, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

4.3.3.3. Affective commitment to the organization

Results are presented in Table 4.17. To avoid cumulating tables, the results regarding emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems are presented in the same table although the concerned steps refers to two different hierarchical regressions. Step 3a thus refers to emotion work requirements, whereas Step 3b refers to emotion work regulation problems.

Emotion work requirements and affective commitment. The first model explains 7.3% of the variance ($p < .05$) with neuroticism as a significant predictor ($\beta = -.27$, $p < .05$). When work characteristics are entered, they contribute additional variance to the equation ($\Delta R^2 = .15$, $p < .05$) with social support as a significant predictor ($\beta = .27$, $p < .05$). The entry of emotion work requirements variables does not contribute additional variance to the equation. Contrary to our expectations, the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement does not increase affective commitment to the organization, whereas the number of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement and the number of interactions with neutral emotion work requirement do not decrease affective commitment to the organization. Thus, Hypothesis 13a is not supported by our data.

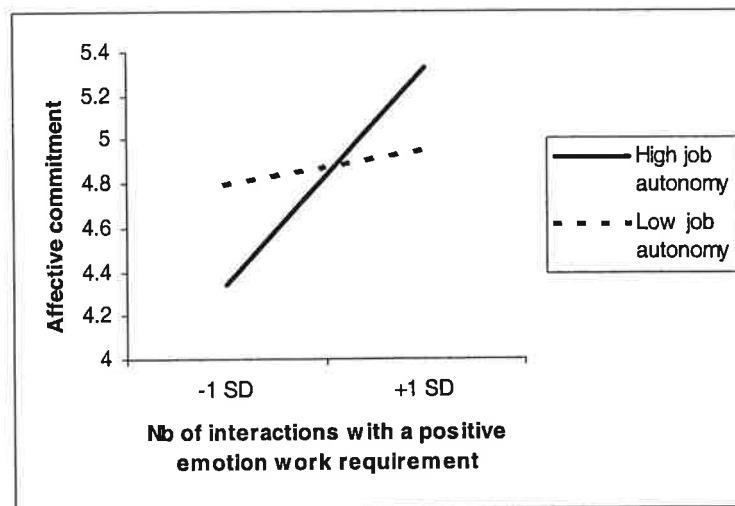
Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work requirements on job-related attitudes, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. Because these analyses are exploratory in nature, we report only significant results. There is a marginally significant interaction between the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and job autonomy ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, $p < .10$). As indicated by Figure 4.11, having a lot of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement increases affective commitment to the organization only among employees who have more job autonomy.

Table 4.17. Hierarchical regressions predicting affective commitment to the organization with emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems

Variables	Affective commitment				
	β_1	β_2	β_3	Adj. R^2	ΔR^2
step 1. Individual characteristics				.073*	.113*
Gender (0 = male)	-.045	-.066	-.091		
Occupation (0 = non-service)	.235 ^a	.159	.159		
Neuroticism	-.272*	-.120	-.104		
Step 2. Work characteristics				.186**	.154*
Task stressors		-.194	-.195		
Job autonomy		-.041	-.021		
Social stressors		-.083	-.108		
Social support		.270*	.252 ^a		
Step 3a. Emotion work requirements				.157*	.010
Number of interactions with positive emotion work requirement			.091		
Number of interactions with negative emotion work requirement			-.055		
Number of interactions with neutral emotion work requirement			-.046		
Step 4a. Interaction effects					
Positive emotion work x Job autonomy				.193*	.043 ^a
Neutral emotion work x Social support				.184*	.034 ^a
Step 3b. Emotion work regulation problems				.165*	.005
Number of interactions with emotional dissonance			-.078		
Number of interactions with emotional deviance			.037		

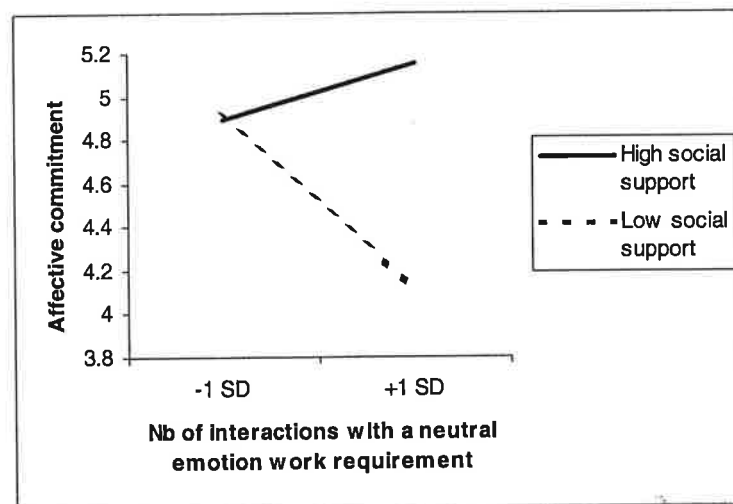
Note. $N = 70$. β_1 , beta weight for model 1, β_2 , beta weight for model 2, β_3 , beta weight for model 3. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ^a $p < .10$.

Figure 4.11. Interaction of the number of interactions with a positive emotion work requirement and job autonomy on job satisfaction



Moreover, there is a marginally significant interaction between the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement and social support ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, $p < .10$). As indicated by Figure 4.12, having a lot of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement is aversive only among employees who have less social support.

Figure 4.12. Interaction of the number of interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement and social support on job satisfaction



Emotion work regulation problems and affective commitment. The entry of emotion work regulation problems variables does not contribute additional variance to the equation. Contrary to our expectations, the number of interactions with emotional dissonance and the number of interactions with deviance do not decrease affective commitment to the organization. Thus, Hypothesis 13b is not supported by our data.

Since we expect resources such as social support and job autonomy to prevent the adverse impact of emotion work regulation problems on job-related attitudes, we performed additional tests pertaining to potential interaction effects. There are no interaction effects, however.

4.3.3.4. Summary of findings

A summary of findings with regard to the effects of emotion work requirements and regulation problems on job-related attitudes is provided in Table 4.18.

In contradiction with Hypotheses 12a and 12b, job satisfaction is not affected by the frequency of interactions with a positive or a neutral emotion work requirement and by any emotion work regulation problem. The only supported expectation is the negative relationship between the frequency of interactions with a negative emotion work requirement and job satisfaction. In contradiction with Hypotheses 12a and 12b, affective commitment to the organization is not affected by any emotion work requirement and any emotion work regulation problem.

Table 4.18. Summary of findings with regard to the consequences of emotion work on job-related attitudes

	Job satisfaction (H12)	Affective commitment (H13)
Emotion work requirements		
Positive emotion work	+ / 0	+ / 0
Negative emotion work	- / -	- / 0
Neutral emotion work	- / 0	- / 0
Emotion work regulation problems		
Emotional dissonance	- / 0	- / 0
Emotional deviance	- / 0	- / 0

Note. The prediction is listed first, followed by the finding.

Our findings thus indicate that emotion work has almost no direct effects on employees' job-related attitudes. However, several interaction effects indicate that the adverse effects of emotion work on job-related attitudes are more likely to develop when employees have a low degree of job autonomy or a low degree of social support.

4.4. Convergence / divergence of event-sampling and questionnaire measures of emotion work

This last section is concerned with the assessment of the convergence/divergence between our event-sampling measure and the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (FEWS), a questionnaire measure of emotion work designed by Zapf et al. (1999). Although it is not central to our hypotheses, this topic is nevertheless important because convergence between both instrument would indicate that our event-sampling measure of emotion work constitutes a valid measure of emotion work. However, because event-sampling methods are likely to provide supplementary information as compared to questionnaires (e.g., Grebner et al., in press), we do not expect a complete correspondence but a moderate degree of convergence between both instruments.

Thus, according to our last hypothesis (H14), there should be a moderate correspondence between the event-sampling and the questionnaire measures of emotion work. In order to get a detailed picture of the relationships between the two instruments, we assessed their convergent validity by means of the multitrait-multimethod matrix (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). This chapter begins with some background elements about this technique. In the second part, we present the results of the multitrait-multimethod matrix as applied to our data.

4.4.1. Principles of the multitrait-multimethod matrix

The multitrait-multimethod matrix (MTMM) is an approach that has been developed by Campbell and Fiske (1959) to assess the construct validity of a set of measures. These authors reckoned that construct validity has two subcategories: convergent validity (i.e., the degree to which concepts that are postulated to be related are interrelated in reality) and discriminant validity (i.e., the degree to which concepts that are postulated not to be related are not interrelated in reality). Both convergence and divergence should be demonstrated in order to claim that one's measures have construct validity.

4.4.1.1. Elements of the MTMM

Essentially, the MTMM is a simple correlation matrix between the different concepts (or traits) measured by the different instruments (or methods)²⁵. The MTMM proposes to consider several patterns of correlations:

- The "monotrait-monomethod" values (reliability diagonal): These correlations represent estimates of the reliability of each measure (i.e., Cronbach's alpha) in the matrix.
- The "monotrait-heteromethod" values (validity diagonal): These are the correlations between the same trait as measured using different methods.
- The "heterotrait-monomethod" triangles: These are the correlations among concepts that share the same method of measurement. That is, within each method, the pattern of correlations between the different traits are examined.
- The "heterotrait-heteromethod" triangles: These are correlations that differ in both trait and method. In other words, these values provide information on the relationships between different traits as measured by different instruments. Because these correlations share neither trait nor method, they are generally expected to be the lowest in the matrix.
- The "monomethod blocks": These values consist of all correlations that share the same method of measurement. Actually, this block is made up of both "monotrait-monomethod" values and "heterotrait-monomethod" triangles.
- The "heteromethod blocks": The values consist of all correlations that do not share the same methods. Actually, this block is made up of both "monotrait-heteromethod" values and "heterotrait-heteromethod" triangles.

4.4.1.2. Interpretation of the MTMM

According to Campbell and Fiske (1959), the convergent validity should be assessed by examining four elements:

- First, the values of the validity diagonal should be different from zero and "sufficiently large to encourage further examination of validity" (Campbell & Fiske, 1959, p. 82)²⁶. This means that similar traits as measured by different instruments should be significantly positively correlated.

²⁵ The MTMM assumes that each concept is measured by each method.

²⁶ The authors, however, do not provide any criterion to evaluate the strength of the link.

- Second, an entry in the validity diagonal should be higher than the values of its respective columns and rows in the heterotrait-heteromethod triangles. In other words, a trait should have a stronger link with the same trait as measured by different instruments than with different traits as measured with another instrument.
- Third, an entry in the validity diagonal should be higher than the values of its respective columns and rows in the heterotrait-monomethod triangles. That is, a trait should have a stronger link with the same trait as measured with a different instrument than with different traits as measured with the same instrument. Meeting this condition implies that there is no method effect in the data.
- Finally, the heterotrait triangles of both the monomethod and heteromethod blocks should show a pattern of correlations that is comparable. In other words, the relationships between different traits should be similar "within" different instruments.

4.4.2. Convergent validity of event-sampling and questionnaire measures of emotion work

In order to perform this analysis, only subjects who filled out the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (Zapf et al., 1999) and the interaction records²⁷ were taken into consideration. The sub-sample consists of 58 persons (33 women and 25 men) working mostly in sales and services ($n = 20$, $N = 26$) and caring professions ($n = 19$, $N = 21$), and, to a lesser extent, in clerical jobs ($n = 11$, $N = 20$), hotel trade jobs ($n = 4$, $N = 10$) and technical jobs ($n = 4$, $N = 12$)²⁸.

The multitrait-multimethod matrix for our data is shown in Table 4.19. This analysis compares display of positive emotions, display of negative emotions, display of neutral emotions, and emotional dissonance as measured with the FEWS, and percentage of interactions²⁹ with positive emotion work, negative emotion work, neutral emotion work, and emotional dissonance as measured with the interaction records. Deviance was not included in the present analysis since this dimension of emotion work is not part of the FEWS.

²⁷ Five participants filled out both instruments but were nevertheless eliminated of this sub-sample either a) because they reported no professional interactions, b) because they had only short professional interactions or c) because their answers to the emotion work questions in the interaction records had to be deleted due to a misunderstanding of the question.

²⁸ For each occupational category, n refers to the representation of the "sub-sample participants," whereas N refers to the representation of participants from the whole sample ($Total N = 90$).

²⁹ As the following analyses refer to percentages of different types of interactions, the data were transformed with the arcsine function. For a proportion of 1, the arcsine value is 1.57 (Fleiss, 1981).

Table 4.19. Multitrait-multimethod matrix

	Interaction records				FEWS			
	Positive emotion work	Negative emotion work	Neutral emotion work	Emotional dissonance	Positive emotion work	Negative emotion work	Neutral emotion work	Emotional dissonance
Interaction records								
Positive emotion work	(-)							
Negative emotion work	-0.08	(-)						
Neutral emotion work	-0.26^a	-0.03	(-)					
Emotional dissonance	.37**	-0.02	.28*	(-)				
FEWS								
Positive emotion work	.31**	-0.08	.03	.13	(.70)			
Negative emotion work	-0.07	.42**	-0.03	.06	-.28*	(.79)		
Neutral emotion work	-0.16	-0.23 ^a	.24*	.02	.07	.03	(.62)	
Emotional dissonance	.10	-0.13	.29*	.22*	.38**	.05	.30*	(.81)

Note: $N = 58$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, ^a $p < .10$, two-tailed. The validity diagonal is indicated in boldface (one-tailed). The reliabilities are indicated in brackets (NB: There is no reliability diagonal for the interaction records since variables are represented by one item only). The heterotrait-monomethod triangles are delimited by a solid line. The heterotrait-heteromethod triangles are delimited by a broken line.

According to the first condition specified by Campbell and Fiske (1959), the values in the validity diagonal should be significantly different from zero. Our data fulfill this condition since the correlations between similar dimensions as measured by the two instruments are of .22 for emotional dissonance, .24 for neutral emotion work, .31 for positive emotion work and .42 for negative emotion work and all these values are significantly different from zero.

Campbell and Fiske's (1959) second condition specifies that a concept should be more strongly associated with the same concept as measured with another instrument than with different concepts as measured with another instrument. This condition is only partially met by our data. As a matter of fact, emotional dissonance as measured with the FEWS and the percentage of interactions with neutral emotion work as measured with the interaction records correlate more strongly with each other than with their corresponding dimension as measured with the other instrument (i.e., emotional dissonance as measured with the interaction records and neutral emotion work as measured with the FEWS, respectively).

The third criterion of the MTMM is that a concept should be more strongly associated with the same concept as measured with another instrument than with different concepts as measured with the same instrument. This condition also receives partial support. As a matter of fact, both within the interaction records and the FEWS, emotional dissonance is more strongly correlated with positive and neutral emotion work, as measured with the same instrument, than with the same dimension as measured with a different instrument.

Finally, the relationships between different concepts should be similar within different instrument. This condition is fulfilled by our data. As a matter of fact, the pattern of intercorrelations of the interaction records variables is very consistent with the pattern shown by the FEWS. This is most notably the case with regard to emotional dissonance. In both instruments, emotional dissonance correlates significantly with the requirement to display positive emotions and neutral emotions, and shows no link with the requirement to display negative emotions. One difference between the FEWS and the interaction records concerns the negative link (trend) that appears in the latter but not in the former between the requirement to display positive emotions and the requirement to display neutral emotions.

Although not all conditions proposed by Campbell and Fiske (1959) are fully met, there appears to be a satisfying correspondence between our measure of emotion work and the FEWS developed by Zapf et al. (1999). Thus, Hypothesis 14 is supported.

5. DISCUSSION

In this dissertation, we suggested that emotion work should be studied as it happens concretely in daily interactions at work. We argued that three arguments support this suggestion. First, on a conceptual level, emotion work has repeatedly been defined as a relational construct. Thus, employees' emotion work requirements, as well as their potential problems in complying with these norms, are likely to vary from situation to situation, depending on specific features of the situation such as cues from the setting or cues from their interaction partner(s). Second, studying emotion work at the level of interactions allows distinguishing between its immediate effects on the evaluation of the current interaction, and its long-term effects, notably on psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. Third, since they focus on momentary accounts, event-sampling methods are less plagued by retrospection biases than self-report questionnaires. In this chapter, we begin by summarizing and integrating our results with regard to these three aspects. We then discuss the implications of these findings with regard to theory, research, and application. Finally, we discuss the limitations and sketch the future directions that are suggested by this study.

5.1. Summary and integration of results

5.1.1. Frequency and antecedents of emotion work events

Frequency and antecedents of emotion work requirements. We have argued that emotion work might be characterized more accurately when events, rather than global assessments, are studied. In particular, the frequency of interactions with an emotion work requirement might depend on the type of emotion that is required in the situation. As expected, interactions with a positive emotion work requirement were more frequent than interactions with a neutral emotion work requirement, and these latter were more frequent than interactions with a negative emotion work requirement. This result is interesting in that it confirms that professional interactions (be they with colleagues, superiors, or customers) mostly require the display of positive emotions, this "lubricant to any civil exchange" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 167). However, our results also indicate that, although rare, neutral and negative emotions are likely to be required in all professions. As a matter of fact, it

seems likely that all employees, at times, are required to convey an impression of authority, of neutrality or of equity. However, negative emotion work requirements appear to be much rarer in our sample. This is probably so because we did not sample professions in which displaying negative emotions is an intrinsic requirement of the job. Rather, employees in our sample might be required to display negative emotions only in outstanding circumstances, such as an interaction with an aggressive or obnoxious customer (e.g., Hall, 1993) or with a very difficult patient. Although this study is the first one to our knowledge to provide a detailed examination of the frequency of interactions requiring specific types of emotion work, our results can be compared with those obtained at a macro-level by Zapf et al. (2001). Responding to a questionnaire, their participants indicated that positive emotion work requirements were more frequent (on average, between once and several times a day) than negative emotion work requirements (on average, a little bit less than once a day). As in our sample, emotional requirements concern more frequently the display of positive than of negative emotions. However, negative emotion work requirements are reported slightly more frequently by the participants in Zapf et al.'s (2001) study than in our sample. The difference might be due to the fact that the professions sampled by Zapf et al. (2001) included social workers, nurses and educators working in a home for handicapped children and in kindergartens, all professions where displaying negative emotions might be a frequent requirement (evidence of this can be seen in the descriptive statistics provided by Zapf et al., 1999). Alternatively, it might be that the use of questionnaires led Zapf et al.'s (2001) respondents to overestimate the frequency of negative emotion work requirements, for instance because such emotional demands are associated with outstanding (and thus salient) situations (cf. Reis & Gable, 2000).

As hypothesized, interactions with a positive emotion work requirement were significantly more frequent for service workers than for non-service workers. This confirms previous results obtained by means of questionnaires (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Negative and neutral emotion work requirements, on the opposite, appeared to be as rare for service workers as for non-service workers. This is still an interesting result, though, especially since the frequency of negative and neutral emotion work requirements has never been compared across occupational categories. These results provide further support to our interpretation that the employees we sampled in this research are not required to display neutral and negative emotions on a regular basis, but only in particular interactions, such as when confronted with "problematic" customers. Such specific circumstances are likely to occur as rarely among service workers than among non-service workers.

Although we expected gender to explain no additional variance beyond occupational category in the frequency of interactions with any of the emotion work requirements, our results indicated that this was the case only with regard to interactions with positive and neutral emotion work. Contrarily to our hypothesis, men reported more interactions with a negative emotion work requirement than women. This result might reflect the potential conflict between gender-related display rules and role-based display rules (Davis et al., 1992). As a matter of fact, women are typically expected to be kind, helpful, and sympathetic, whereas men are typically expected to behave in an aggressive, forceful, and independent way (e.g., Heilman, 2001). When their professional norms require the display of emotions that contradict these gender-based roles, employees are likely to be evaluated unfavorably. Hochschild (1983), for instance, suggested that:

When a man expresses anger, it is deemed "rational" or understandable anger, anger that indicates not weakness of character but deeply held conviction. When women express an equivalent degree of anger, it is more likely to be interpreted as a sign of personal instability. (Hochschild, 1983, p. 173)

In support of this view, Lewis (2000) demonstrated that female leaders who express anger receive worse evaluations than women who display no emotions and than male leaders who display anger. And women appear to be conscious of such effects, since they are more likely than men to perceive their angry displays as having relationship and personal costs (Davis et al., 1992). If, as we hypothesized, employees in our sample are only required to display negative emotions in particular, outstanding situations, and since women – because their feelings are accorded less weight (e.g., Soares, 1998) – have a harder time enforcing rules, they might well prefer to let men deal with such situations. Alternatively, they might reinterpret the emotional requirement associated with the interaction and adopt more tactful and deferential means of handling abusive interactions. Both tactics were used by the female flight attendants observed by Hochschild (1983).

Frequency and antecedents of emotion work regulation problems. We have argued that employees should comply with emotion work requirements in the majority of their interactions. As expected, interactions characterized by emotional harmony were more frequent than interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance. This result is in line with previous questionnaire studies that demonstrated a positive relationship between perceived demands to express positive emotion work and the display of positive emotions (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003) or the management of one's emotional displays by means of deep acting (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2003). Those studies, however, were limited to the requirement of positive emotion work, whereas our results extend these findings to situations in which employees are required to display negative and neutral

emotions (see below for a detailed comment on this issue). Contrarily to what we expected, however, employees did not experience emotional deviance significantly less frequently than emotional dissonance. Several authors have argued that, because of monitoring and rewards and punishment systems, employees should do their best to align their feelings, or at least their emotional display, with the emotional requirements that lay on them (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Sutton, 1991). Since these studies were mostly performed in the context of the United States, where display rules and emotional socialization seem to be much more explicit than in Europe (Zapf, 2002), the relative frequency of emotional deviance in our sample could be due to a cultural difference, whereby the employees we studied have more latitude in their emotional displays than North American employees.

We have argued that the type of emotion that is required in a specific interaction should influence the occurrence of emotional deviance. As expected, employees experienced more emotional deviance in interactions where they were required to display negative or neutral emotions than in interactions where they had to display positive emotions. Conforming to a positive emotion work requirement thus seems "easier" than conforming to a negative or neutral emotion work requirement. We do not know, however, if employees avoid to display negative and neutral emotions, even when required to do so, because they anticipate that they will get less favorable outcomes from the interaction, particularly in terms of social influence (Staw et al., 1994). An alternative explanation might be related with the low "scriptedness" of the interactions in which negative and neutral emotions are required. As a matter of fact, since negative and neutral emotion work requirements appear to be rarer than positive emotion work requirements, emotional deviance might be more frequent because employees were not socialized and/or lack the "tools" to elicit such emotional displays. This interpretation would particularly make sense if, as suggested before, our participants are not required to display negative and neutral emotions as an intrinsic part of their job, but only in outstanding situations.

We were also interested in comparing service and non-service workers with regard to the frequency to which they experience emotional dissonance and deviance. Our results indicated that emotional dissonance was as frequent among service workers than non-service workers, and service workers even reported a slightly higher percentage of interactions with emotional deviance than non-service workers, although the difference did not reach significance. Thus, the contention that service workers are characterized by a greater internalization of emotional norms (e.g., Leidner, 1999) is not confirmed by our data. Our results also show the limits of Morris and Feldman's (1996) argument that service workers should experience emotional regulation problems more frequently

than non-service workers because they are more frequently required to regulate their emotional displays. It might be the case that their argument holds only when using the *raw number* of interactions. In contrast, when considering the *relative* frequency of emotion work (as we did by using the percentage of interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance with regard to the total number of interactions with an emotional requirement), the expected effect did not show up. These findings suggest that the distinction between raw and relative frequency might be an important one. Let us illustrate with an example. Imagine the working day of the two following persons. The first worker is a nurse who was required to regulate his emotional display in 12 interactions and who experienced emotional dissonance in 6 of these interactions. The second worker is an accountant who was required to regulate her emotional display in 2 interactions only and who experienced emotional dissonance in one of these interactions. Although the nurse experienced emotional dissonance more frequently than the accountant in absolute frequency, in relative frequency their situation is similar: both employees experienced emotional dissonance in 50% of their interactions... With this example, we do not want to say that one approach is better than the other, but to draw attention to the fact that results are likely to be very different depending on whether one considers the raw or the relative frequency.

Finally, although we expected interactions with emotional dissonance and deviance to be more frequent among men than among women after having controlled for occupational category, our results indicated that this was not the case. As a matter of fact, emotional dissonance was as frequent among men than among women, and women even experienced emotional deviance in a slightly higher percentage of their interactions than men, although the difference did not reach significance. This surprising result might be due to the relative overlap of gender and occupational category in our sample. Future studies should explore the frequency of emotional dissonance and deviance with a sample that includes more "nontraditional" employees (e.g., Williams, 1989) in order to distinguish the effects of gender from the effects of occupational category.

5.1.2. Consequences of emotion work

5.1.2.1. Immediate effects of emotion work

We have argued that the immediate impact of emotion work, in terms of evaluation of the current interaction, should be distinguished from its long-term effects on variables such as psychological well-being or job-related attitudes. Our study provided evidence that emotion work requirements

and regulation problems do indeed have an impact on employees' evaluation of their interactions. In addition, almost all our hypotheses concerning the immediate effects of emotion work requirements and regulation problems were supported by our data. As a matter of fact, 6 of the 8 hypotheses were fully supported, and two received partial support.

Emotion work requirements and the immediate evaluation of interactions. As expected, the perceived quality of the interactions was significantly lowered by all types of emotion work requirements. This is consistent with the contention that the existence of an emotional norm (be it positive, negative or neutral) – because it limits employees' self-expression and autonomy – has negative outcomes for employees (e.g., Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Hochschild, 1983). The crucial role of lack of autonomy is further supported by our finding that positive emotion work requirements lowered the perceived quality of the interactions only among employees who had a low degree of job autonomy. Interestingly, positive emotion work requirements had a less negative impact on the perceived quality of the interaction than negative emotion work requirements, and they did not affect any other evaluative dimension of interactions. This limited impact of positive emotion work might be due to the fact that, when required to display positive emotions, employees may attempt to actually experience these emotions (or, at least, to display them, as demonstrated by the low frequency of emotional deviance in interactions where positive emotions are required), thus resulting in personal benefits (Grandey, 2000). In addition, it has been suggested that positive emotions are required from employees because they contribute to the regulation of social interactions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), and more specifically, to the enhancement of customers' well-being and satisfaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Both elements are likely to contribute to a smooth unfolding of social interactions. In contrast, negative emotion work requirements appear to be a more aversive type of emotional norm. This is also confirmed by the fact that the interactions in which employees were expected to display negative emotions were characterized as being more conflictual and less satisfying. However, contrarily to our expectations, the existence of a negative emotion work requirement did not lower situational well-being. To our knowledge, only Zapf et al. (1999, 2001) empirically studied the effects of negative emotion work requirements, and as they did so with questionnaire surveys, their results demonstrated a negative effect of negative emotion work requirements in the long run (i.e., on emotional exhaustion and depersonalization). Our findings demonstrate that the negative impact of being required to display negative emotions also applies in the short run (i.e., with regard to the evaluation of interactions). As expected, in the interactions where they were required to display neutral emotion work, employees reported a lower perceived quality, a lower degree of satisfaction, and a lower

situational well-being. Thus, neutral emotion work requirements seem to have even a more aversive impact on the evaluation of interactions than negative emotion work requirements. With regard to long-term consequences, studies in the domain of emotion regulation have demonstrated that suppressing one's emotions is related with an impaired well-being (e.g., Gross, 1998a). The fact that neutral emotion work requirements lowers situational well-being seems to indicate that this adverse effect already occurs in the interactions in which employees are required to display neutral emotions.

Emotion work regulation problems and the immediate evaluation of interactions. Let us now turn to the immediate impact of emotion work regulation problems. As expected, in the interactions where they experienced emotional dissonance, employees reported a lower perceived quality, a lower degree of satisfaction, and a lower situational well-being. Thus, emotional dissonance does not only have a negative impact in the long run, as has been extensively documented (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Zapf et al., 2001), but it unfolds its effects already in the short run, during the interactions in which employees' inner feelings clash with the emotions they display to comply with emotional norms. As suggested by Zapf et al. (1999), emotional dissonance seems indeed to be one of the most stressful aspects of emotion work and our results provide indications that the interactions in which it happens are appraised as stressful events. However, as suggested by previous research (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Tolich, 1993), having control over one's interactions moderated the adverse impact of emotional dissonance on the perceived quality of the interactions as well as on situational well-being. One surprising finding was the fact that experiencing emotional dissonance lowered employees' satisfaction with their interactions only among employees who had *greater* social support. It might be, however, that employees who experience emotional dissonance and are unsatisfied with their interactions seek more social support than employees who, maybe because they have other resources, are satisfied with their interactions despite the fact that they experience emotional dissonance.

Contrarily to emotional dissonance, emotional deviance was positively associated with the perceived degree of conflict in the interactions, which might be an indication of its disruptive effect on interactions; at the same time emotional deviance was not related with the degree of satisfaction with the interaction, which might be due to the fact that expressing one's inner emotions when they contradict emotional norms fulfills a self-expressive function (as long as one has social support, however, as indicated by the interaction effect). In addition, emotional deviance lowered the perceived quality of interactions (especially for employees who had less social support) and was associated with more conflict, as hypothesized. Contrarily to our expectations, however,

emotional deviance also lowered situational well-being. This finding indicates that, contrarily to Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) suggestion, expressing one's inner feelings when they are contradictory to emotional norms does not necessarily have a positive effect for employees. This might be so because failing to conform to one's emotional requirement is likely to be associated with customers' complaints (e.g., Gutek et al., 2000).

In summary, our findings demonstrate that emotional dissonance and emotional deviance are conceptually distinct concepts. Moreover, as suggested by several scholars (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Wharton, 1993), "job resources" such as social support and interaction control moderate some of the negative effects of emotional dissonance and deviance. Interestingly, our findings demonstrate that these moderating effects also apply to the immediate consequences of emotional dissonance and deviance and that, in addition to "person specific" resources, "situation specific" resources such as interaction control can also play a moderating role on the relationship between emotional dissonance and deviance and the immediate evaluation of the interactions.

5.1.2.2. Long-term effects of emotion work

With regard to the long-term effects of emotion work requirements and regulation problems, almost all our hypotheses were infirmed by our data. As a matter of fact, 3 of the 8 hypotheses received partial support and five were unsupported.

As expected, positive emotion work requirements were not related to psychological well-being. These findings are consistent with previous studies where no relationships were found between the requirement to display positive emotions and irritability and psychosomatic complaints (Zapf et al., 1999), psychological distress (Pugliesi & Shook, 1997), or emotional exhaustion (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, 2001). Contrarily to our expectations, however, positive emotion work requirements and emotional deviance were not associated with job-related attitudes. Concerning negative and neutral emotion work requirements, only two of the postulated relationships were supported by our results. Employees who were required to display neutral emotions more frequently reported more psychosomatic complaints, whereas those who were frequently required to display negative emotions reported a lower job satisfaction. All the other postulated relationships were not significant. Finally, another extremely surprising result was the complete absence of relationship between emotional dissonance and psychological well-being and job-related attitudes. One possible explanation for these findings might lie in the relative rarity of emotional dissonance and negative and neutral emotion work requirements. If employees are very

rarely required to display negative and neutral emotions and experience emotion work regulation problems relatively infrequently (as was demonstrated in our sample), there is no logical reason why such episodes should have a long-term impact. As demonstrated in this study, being required to display negative or neutral emotions or experiencing emotional dissonance does indeed have an impact, but limited to the short term, since it significantly decreases the perceived quality and satisfaction of the interactions in which it takes place. However, if such episodes are rare, employees might have enough time to recover before the next episode happens, thus preventing an accumulation effect. Again, this leads us to wonder whether questionnaire surveys might actually overestimate the frequency of outstanding types of emotion work such as negative and neutral emotion work requirements. In addition, our results might be an indication of the existence of method variance problems (e.g., Campbell & Fiske, 1959) when measuring outcomes *and* emotion work by means of questionnaires. Morris and Feldman (1997) suggested that method variance problems might indeed plague research on the effects of emotion work that relies on questionnaire studies. Finally, the global absence of relationships between emotion work and psychological well-being and job-related attitudes in our sample might be another exemplification of the overemphasis on the negative aspects of emotion work (e.g., Morris & Feldman, 1997; Steinberg & Figart, 1999b). In particular, it might well be the case that emotion work has few direct effects, but that it mainly affects psychological well-being and job-related attitudes via interaction effects, that is, when coupled with a low control over one's job or a low level of social support (e.g., Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Wharton, 1999). The fact that several interaction effects were significant or marginally significant in our sample lends support to this interpretation. Indeed, a high level of social support prevented the adverse impact of being required to display positive emotion in a lot of interactions on irritability and psychosomatic complaints, and of experiencing a lot of emotionally dissonant interactions on irritability. In addition, a high level of job autonomy increased job satisfaction for employees who had many interactions with a positive emotion work requirement, and prevented the adverse impact of neutral emotion work requirements on affective commitment to the organization.

A final comment on the relationships between the outcomes variables that were examined in this study seems in order. Because some of these variables correlate rather highly (as is for instance the case of perceived quality of the interaction, satisfaction with the interaction, and situational well-being, on the one hand, or of job satisfaction and affective commitment, on the other hand) one might wonder whether it would have made sense to create indexes out of them. The fact that the patterns of results differ for each outcome variable is a post hoc indication that, although they

correlate very highly, these variables still remain distinct concepts. In addition, since this dissertation was aimed at revealing a fine-grained picture of emotion work, providing a detailed examination of the outcomes that are affected by emotion work is coherent with our approach.

5.1.3. Convergence / divergence of event-sampling and questionnaires measures of emotion work

By using an event-sampling approach, this study attempts to provide more detailed insights into the concept of emotion work than has been provided until now by means of questionnaires. With regard to validity issues, however, it was important to assess the degree of convergence of our instrument with another measure of emotion work. We therefore investigated the pattern of relationships between our event-sampling measure of emotion work and the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales (FEWS, Zapf et al., 1999). Because both instruments assess the same construct, we expected a positive relationship between the two measures. However, since diary measures have been shown to provide supplementary information as compared to questionnaire measures (e.g., Grebner et al, in press), or even to be more accurate in certain respects (e.g., Conrath et al., 1983), we expected only moderate correlations. In order to get a detailed picture of the relationships between the event-sampling and the questionnaire measures of emotion work, we not only examined the correspondence between similar dimensions as measured by the two instruments, but we assessed their convergent validity by means of the multitrait-multimethod matrix (Campbell & Fiske, 1959).

Our results indicated that the extent to which employees generally had the requirement to display positive, negative, and neutral emotions and experienced emotional dissonance (as measured with the questionnaire) was mirrored by the percentage of interactions in which they were required to display positive, negative, and neutral emotions and experienced emotional dissonance during the sampling period (as measured with the interaction records). As a matter of fact, there were significant positive correlations of moderate amplitude between similar dimensions in both instruments. In addition, these values were similar to other values obtained in research comparing questionnaire and diary data (see for instance Reis & Wheeler, 1991).

Moreover, the patterns of intercorrelations between dimensions of emotion work was very similar among both instruments. However, the last two conditions specified by Campbell and Fiske (1959) were only partially supported by our data. As a matter of fact, both within the interaction records and the FEWS, emotional dissonance was more strongly correlated with positive and neutral

emotion work as measured with the same instrument than with emotional dissonance as measured with the other instrument. In addition, emotional dissonance as measured with the FEWS and the percentage of interactions with neutral emotion work as measured with the interaction records correlated more strongly with each other than with their corresponding dimension as measured with the other instrument. An interesting aspect of these findings is the fact that the problem repeatedly occurs with the dimension of emotional dissonance. Now, "from a methodological perspective, it has to be taken into consideration that the frequencies of emotion display and emotional dissonance both depend on the frequency of social interaction" (Zapf, 2000, p. 258). As also suggested by Morris and Feldman (1996), the more one is required to display emotions, the more emotional dissonance is likely to happen. The fact that emotional dissonance is the problematic dimension in both instrument lends support to this line of reasoning.

5.2. Implications of findings

5.2.1. Theoretical implications

Several implications can be drawn from this study with regard to the conceptualization of emotion work.

First and foremost, our study demonstrates that, as suggested by several authors (e.g., Briner, 1999; Härtel & Zerbe, 2000; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a; Mann, 1999), emotion work is indeed a situation specific construct. Our findings provided evidence that emotion work requirements and emotion work regulation problems do not only characterize employees or occupational categories in general, but that they can accurately describe the interactions established by employees in the course of their job. As an illustration, findings concerning the immediate consequences of emotion work show that emotion work might have different consequences for the same employee depending on the type of emotion that is required in a given situation and depending on the type of emotion work regulation problem experienced in the situation. Findings concerning the frequency and antecedents of emotion work events also provide evidence of the relevance of studying emotion work events. For instance, our results demonstrate that depending on the specific emotion that is required in a given interaction employees will experience emotional dissonance rather than emotional deviance. Another indication of the situational specificity of emotion work is provided by the fact that positive emotion work requirements, although they are more frequent for

service workers, also occur in non-service roles, thus indicating that all workers might be required to display positive emotions in some of their interactions.

Thus, and this is the second point, our study provides support to the contention made by several authors (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugliesi, 1999) that emotion work potentially characterizes, although to a varying extent, all organizational roles:

Given that roles are essentially bundles of social expectations and that emotions are inevitably experienced in the performance of roles, it is difficult to imagine an organizational role to which display rules would *not* apply at various points. (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, pp. 109-110, original emphasis)

To our knowledge, this study is one of the first that was able to empirically demonstrate this contention. We do not know of any other study where emotion work has been examined in different occupations by means of an event-sampling approach.

Third, our research demonstrates the relevance of considering the immediate impact of emotion work. As a matter of fact, our findings provided evidence that emotion work requirements and regulation problems have short-term consequences with regard to employees' evaluation of their interactions, and that specific types of emotion work requirements and regulation problems have differing consequences on these evaluations.

Fourth, our findings indicate the relevance of considering emotional deviance as a concept in its own right. Until now, most approaches interested in emotion work regulation focused on how employees elicit the organizationally required emotions (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000a, 2000b). By doing so, however, they neglected the fact the regulation of one's emotional display in order to comply with emotional norms might sometimes fail. In contrast, our findings indicate that the emotions expressed by employees are not necessarily in accordance with emotional norms, and therefore that emotional dissonance and emotional deviance are distinct constructs. As a matter of fact, they occur in reaction to different requirements (emotional dissonance being more frequent when positive emotions are required, emotional deviance when negative or neutral emotions are required) and have differing consequences in the short run (emotional dissonance being negatively related to satisfaction with the interaction, whereas emotional deviance is positively related to perceived conflict in the interaction). The fact that previous research mostly focused on the requirement to display positive emotions (e.g., Adelman, 1995; Leidner, 1991; Rafaeli, 1989b) might account for the fact that emotional deviance is an understudied topic.

5.2.2. Research implications

The main implication of our study with regard to research concerns the use an event-sampling approach to study emotion work. The instrument we developed provides a relevant answer to the suggestion made by several scholars (e.g., Briner, 1999; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Zapf, 2002) that emotion work should be studied using longitudinal designs in order to track the ebb and flow of transactions over time. However, one might wonder whether the costs associated with such a burdensome and time-consuming methodology (for participants but also for the researcher!) are worth the trouble. To answer this questions, Reis and Wheeler (1991) suggested the following guidelines:

Because gathering data with the RIR is obviously more tedious and labor intensive than with global questionnaires, it must pass muster on three criteria: (1) It must in fact provide different information than global questionnaires do; (2) the data must be more accurate, in the sense of faithfully characterizing ongoing social activity; and (3) this information must repay the researcher by supporting unique findings and theoretical insights. (Reis & Wheeler, 1991, pp. 291-292)

With regard to the first criterion, Reis and Wheeler (1991) rely on correlations between general scales about social activity and the Rochester Interaction Record indices to which they were expected to pertain. According to them, the fact that most of these correlations are significant (with figures comprised between .08 and .48) is an indication that different information is provided by each kind of measure. We obtained comparable values (between .22 and .42) when correlating questionnaire and diary data about emotion work requirements and regulation problems. Thus, our event-sampling method for measuring emotion work can be considered to provide different, complementary information as compared to the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales.

The criterion of accuracy is more contentious since it cannot be assessed without an independent, objective evaluation. However, besides the costs (in time and money) and the material and ethical problems implied, having observers surreptitiously keeping track of respondents' emotion work requirements and regulation problems is simply impossible since felt emotions are not a visible behavior³⁰. We can only rely on the contentions made by several scholars (e.g., Reis & Gable, 2000; Reis & Wheeler, 1991; Stone & Shiffman, 2002; Tschann et al., in press) that diary methods imply less biases and distortions in the recall of the phenomena under study. In support of this view,

³⁰ Ekman and Friesen (1982) were able to demonstrate that different facial muscles are involved in felt vs. false smiles. However, their technique relies on millimetric measures taken on photographs and is not applicable to a distant observation of interacting employees.

several studies demonstrated the greater reliability of diary data over other techniques (e.g., Conrath et al., 1983).

The third criterion, uniqueness of findings, is probably the most interesting and decisive one. As already discussed, the use of an event-sampling method allows an examination of emotion work requirements and regulation problems as they happen concretely in daily interactions at work. In particular, we assessed the relative frequency, and above all the *intraindividual* differences in frequency of different types of emotion work requirements and regulation problems. In addition, we were able to document the immediate effect of emotion work requirements and regulation problems on the evaluation of the interactions in which they took place. Despite the contention that emotion work refers to the quality of interactions (Zapf, 2002), these outcomes had never been studied before.

Thus, according to Reis and Wheeler's (1991) criteria, studying emotions work by means of an event-sampling is relevant despite its costs. We do not reckon, however, that only diary methods should be used. Our event-sampling method is intended to yield detailed, objective accounts of emotion work as it happens in daily interactions, whereas questionnaires assess such activity as filtered through cognitive and motivational processes. In accordance with Reis and Wheeler (1991), we think that both types of information are needed.

5.2.3. Applied implications

Our findings also have practical implications for organizations and employees. One very interesting result of this study is the fact that employees who experience emotional harmony in their interactions (i.e., a perfect correspondence between required, displayed and felt emotions) suffer less immediate consequences than employees who experience emotional dissonance or emotional deviance. In particular, when employees feel and display the required emotions, they (a) experience their interactions as being of higher quality, (b) are more satisfied with their interactions, and (c) report a higher situational well-being. Organizations may thus consider several strategies in order to help employees experiencing their interactions in a state of emotional harmony. A first strategy consists of hiring people who are likely to convey the required emotions (e.g., Leidner, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). For instance, people who are high in extraversion have been demonstrated to be more aware of organizational demands to display positive emotions, whereas people who are high in neuroticism have been demonstrated to be less likely to display organizationally required emotions (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). Training is

another often suggested strategy. For instance, Kruml and Geddes (2000b) were able to demonstrate that employees who received display training (e.g., guidance from supervisors, classroom training, handbooks, scripts, bulletin boards) were more likely to exert emotive effort, that is, to actively try to change their inner feelings such that they correspond to the emotional requirements. However, since emotional deviance is more frequent in interactions where negative or neutral emotions are required, organizations should consider focusing the training they provide on these specific emotional displays. As suggested by Kruml and Geddes (2000a), in situations where positive emotions are required, a third strategy consisting of providing employees with resources such as social support or job autonomy might actually be more relevant. In support of this view, our results indicated that employees who were required to display positive emotions and had a low level of job autonomy reported a lower interaction quality as compared to employees who had a high level of autonomy. Thus, when positive emotions are required, providing more latitude might help employees express the required emotions and might attenuate the adverse impact associated with the existence of an emotional norm. In addition, our results demonstrated that the negative impact of emotional dissonance and deviance on the immediate evaluation of interactions was moderated by social support, job autonomy and interaction control. Moreover, the beneficial effect of social support and job autonomy also unfolded in the long run.

Thus, as several scholars before us (e.g., Abraham, 1998b; Adelman, 1995; Hochschild, 1983; Zapf, 2002), we enjoin organizations to provide social support, job autonomy, and interaction control to their employees who perform emotion work.

5.3. Limitations and future directions

A first weakness of this study concerns the size of the sample, especially with regard to the number of interactions reported by employees. As a matter of fact, participants reported an average of 10 professional interactions during the sampling period. Although no specific guidelines have been provided regarding sample size requirements for multilevel analysis, a common rule of thumb is the "30/30 rule," whereby samples should include at least 30 individuals (or level-2 units) with at least 30 observations (or level-1 units) per individual (e.g., Hox, 2002). Smaller samples might lower the accuracy of estimates and standard errors. However, there does seem to be a tradeoff among between and within unit observations (e.g., Stone et al., 1991), and it has been suggested that the larger number of level-2 units, the more the number of level-1 observations per level-2 unit might be reduced (e.g., Hofmann, 1997). Since the multilevel analyses we performed included between

50 and 70 participants, the accuracy of the estimates and their standard errors should not be affected too much by the relatively low number of interactions per person. Future research, however, might consider extending the sampling period in order to gather a greater number of interactions per participant.

It might be argued that a sampling period of one week (i.e., five working days) was too short to get reliable and representative data. According to Reis and Wheeler (1991), however, the optimal record-keeping duration is one to two weeks, and longer intervals probably overtax participants too greatly. As a matter of fact, one much discussed limitation of event-sampling methods is the burden they place on respondents (e.g., Reis & Gable, 2000). Because filling out diaries is time-consuming and requires participation over several days, weeks, or sometimes even months, compliance might be hard to maintain. In particular, data quality has been demonstrated to decline after two weeks of sampling (e.g., Stone et al., 1991). Here also, there does seem to be a tradeoff between representativeness and quality of the data. In order to enhance participants' compliance in filling out the diaries, we chose a short sampling period (along with several of the suggested methods such as simplicity of the record, personalized contact, and incentives). This choice, however, might have resulted in the low frequency of rare events such as interactions requiring negative or neutral emotion work. Again, future research might consider extending the sampling period to two weeks in order to collect more data about the "rarer types" of emotion work.

The rarity of negative and neutral emotion work might also be associated with the professions that were sampled in this study. Contrarily to the majority of studies on emotion work, efforts were made to sample individuals from different occupations across many organizations, and to our knowledge, this study is one of the first to document the occurrence of emotion work in non-service jobs. However, if the majority of the employees we sampled were expected, in some of their interactions at least, to display positive emotions, the requirement to display negative or neutral emotions was much rarer, and we argued that these emotional norms might in fact be limited to outstanding circumstances such as an interaction with an aggressive customer. Research that considers occupations with different emotional demands is needed. In particular, it might be fruitful to compare professions in which negative and neutral emotion work are intrinsic demands of the job (for instance, police work) and professions in which negative and neutral emotion work requirements are limited to very specific situations. The frequency and above all the consequences of such requirements are likely to vary as a function of whether they are an integral or an uncommon part of one's job demands.

Another limitation is related to the fact that we sampled young workers. Remember that the mean age in our sample was 25 years, and that the older participants were 36 years old. This focus on young people might limit the generalizability of our results to older workers. In particular, since age has been shown to be positively related to emotional dissonance (Kruml & Geddes, 2000b), emotion work regulation problems might be particularly pervasive among young workers but might concern older or more experienced workers to a lesser extent. More research is needed on this topic.

A further limitation relates to our assumption that an interaction is a homogenous event with regard to emotion work. Rafaeli and Sutton (1989), however, suggested that required, displayed, and felt emotions are likely to fluctuate as the interaction unfolds. In particular, "feedback from a target person may determine whether the emotions expressed initially are abandoned, revised, or maintained" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989, p. 16). These variations might be particularly pervasive among interactions of longer duration (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Thus, in some situations, participants might have provided selective reports that represent only one moment in the interaction. If this is the case, we do not know which criterion they used to do so (e.g., duration, salience of the episode). However, if providing one record per interaction of 10 minutes or more is already a burdensome task, we cannot imagine to ask participants to provide several reports during each interaction! Here, we touch to the limits of self-report methods, and such an investigation seems possible only if using behavioral observation³¹. In doing so, however, no information could be collected on employees' inner feelings. Thus, despite the limitations it implies, we reckon that our method, in asking respondents to report the required, displayed and felt emotions for each interaction, constitutes an acceptable compromise between the gathering of momentary accounts and the gathering of self-report data concerning employees' interpretation of the emotional norms that lay on them, the emotions they actually displayed, and the emotions they really felt.

Finally, inferences of causality cannot be made with certainty. This is especially the case with regard to the relationships between emotion work and the evaluation of interactions. For instance, it could be that negative emotion work is needed *because* there is a conflict between the interaction partners or that feeling ill-at-ease in an interaction leads to experiencing emotional dissonance and deviance. With regard to the relationships between diary and questionnaire data, however, a reversed causality seems rather unlikely. Although alternative*directions of causality

³¹ Note that Rafaeli and Sutton mostly relied on observational techniques in their studies (e.g., Rafaeli, 1989a; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990; Sutton, 1991).

cannot be ruled out, prior theory and empirical findings suggest that our interpretations are justified.

Despite these limitations, we are convinced that the theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions made by this dissertation demonstrate that studying emotion work as it occurs in employees' interactions is a relevant approach and, thus, that "daily process research offers fresh opportunities to link psychological theory, research, and practice" (Tennen et al., 2000, p. 626) in the study of emotion work as well.

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APPENDIX

French translation of the Frankfurt Emotion Work Scales, Version 4.0 developed by Zapf, Mertini, Seifert, Vogt, Isic, and Fischbach (2000)

***Dans de nombreux postes où l'on est en contact avec la clientèle, il est nécessaire de gérer de manière précise ses propres émotions et les émotions des autres afin d'accomplir ses tâches avec succès.
La manière dont ceci est régulé est cependant différente d'une place de travail à l'autre. Comment les choses se déroulent-elles sur votre place de travail ?***

	ne convient pas (1)	convient peu (2)	convient moyenne- ment (3)	convient assez (4)	convient tout à fait (5)
EN1 Les règles à ce propos m'ont été transmises par mon supérieur.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN2 Les règles à ce propos m'ont été transmises dans des cours de formation continue organisés par l'entreprise.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN3 Les règles à ce propos m'ont été transmises dans le cadre de ma formation professionnelle.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN4 Les règles à ce propos font partie intégrante de la culture d'entreprise dans mon organisation ("on se comporte comme ça").	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN5 La mise en œuvre de telles règles est indispensable pour atteindre le succès professionnel.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN6 De telles règles découlent de l'image de la profession ou de l'éthique de la profession.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN7 Les règles à ce propos découlent des attentes sociales à l'égard de ma profession.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EN8 Je me suis forgé mes propres règles à ce propos.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Les postes où l'on est en contact avec la clientèle se distinguent par l'intensité avec laquelle la gestion de ses propres émotions et de celles des clients est prescrite par l'organisation.

Dans les questions suivantes, veuillez SVP cocher les propositions correspondant le plus à votre situation, respectivement, à la fréquence à laquelle de telles exigences vous sont imposées dans votre travail.

EK1 A reçoit des **consignes précises** de son organisation concernant si et quand il/elle doit montrer des émotions spécifiques à l'égard des clients.

B peut **décider par lui-même** si et quand il/elle montre des émotions spécifiques à l'égard des clients.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

EK2 A quelle fréquence pouvez-vous déterminer **par vous-même** les émotions que vous montrez à l'égard de vos clients ?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| très rarement / jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| parfois (env. 1 x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| souvent (plusieurs x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

EK3 A quelle fréquence arrive-t-il que, dans le contact avec les clients, vous deviez montrer des émotions d'une **manière très précise** afin de remplir les consignes prescrites par l'organisation ?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| très rarement / jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| parfois (env. 1 x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| souvent (plusieurs x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

EK4 La manière dont A doit gérer ses émotions et celles de ses clients est **fortement prescrite par l'organisation**.

La manière dont B doit gérer ses émotions et celles de ses clients est **faiblement prescrite par l'organisation**.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
-

Il arrive que des émotions bien spécifiques doivent être montrées aux clients afin de remplir les exigences et attentes liées au contact avec la clientèle. Dans le tableau ci-dessous, indiquez à quelle fréquence vous devez montrer à vos clients les émotions énumérées.

		très rarement / jamais (1)	rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) (2)	parfois (env. 1 x par jour) (3)	souvent (plusieurs x par jour) (4)	très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) (5)
E1	Sympathie	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E2	Joie	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E3	Reconnaissance	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E4	Amabilité	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E5	Enthousiasme	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E6	Empathie	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E7	Colère	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E8	Déception	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E9	Espoir	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E10	Compassion	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E11	Aggressivité	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
E12	Neutralité	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Les questions qui suivent portent sur la qualité des émotions (positives, négatives, neutres) que vous exprimez dans le contact avec les clients.

EP1	Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous montrer des émotions positives à l'égard des clients (p. ex., de l'amabilité ou de la sympathie) ?	très rarement / jamais	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
		rarement (env. 1 x par semaine)	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
		parfois (env. 1 x par jour)	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
		souvent (plusieurs x par jour)	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
		très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
EW1	Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous montrer des émotions ni positives ni négatives à l'égard des clients (p. ex., devoir se montrer neutre) ?	très rarement / jamais	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
		rarement (env. 1 x par semaine)	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
		parfois (env. 1 x par jour)	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
		souvent (plusieurs x par jour)	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
		très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

EV1	<p>Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous montrer des émotions négatives à l'égard des clients (p. ex., de la sévérité ou de la colère lorsque des règles ne sont pas respectées) ?</p>	<p>très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5</p>
EP2	<p>Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous faire en sorte que les clients soient de bonne humeur (p. ex., faire plaisir) ?</p>	<p>très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5</p>
EW2	<p>Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous faire en sorte que les clients soient d'humeur neutre ?</p>	<p>très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5</p>
EV2	<p>Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous faire en sorte que les clients soient de mauvaise humeur (p. ex., inquiéter/effrayer) ?</p>	<p>très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5</p>
EP3	<p>Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous montrer aux clients diverses émotions positives en fonction de la situation (p. ex., de l'amabilité <i>et</i> de l'enthousiasme <i>et</i> de l'espoir, etc.) ?</p>	<p>très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5</p>
EV3	<p>Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence devez-vous montrer aux clients diverses émotions négatives en fonction de la situation (p. ex., de la colère <i>et</i> de la déception <i>et</i> de la sévérité, etc.) ?</p>	<p>très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5</p>

EP4 A doit montrer essentiellement des **émotions positives superficielles** à l'égard des clients (p. ex., une amabilité de surface).

B doit aussi montrer des **émotions positives intenses** à l'égard des clients (p. ex., une profonde sympathie), en fonction de la situation.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

EW3 Dans le travail de A, en règle générale il est important d'**éviter de montrer des émotions intenses, négatives ou positives**, à l'égard des clients.

Dans le travail de B, en règle générale, l'expression d'émotions intenses à l'égard des clients **n'a pas besoin d'être évitée**.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

EV4 A doit montrer essentiellement des **émotions négatives superficielles** à l'égard des clients (p. ex., une sévérité de surface).

B doit aussi montrer des **émotions négatives intenses** à l'égard des clients (p. ex., une colère intense), en fonction de la situation.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

EP5 A quelle fréquence devez-vous **donner l'impression d'être de bonne humeur** dans le contact avec les clients (p. ex., joyeux) ?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| très rarement / jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| parfois (env. 1 x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| souvent (plusieurs x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
-

EW4	A quelle fréquence devez-vous donner l'impression d'être d'humeur neutre dans le contact avec les clients ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EV5	A quelle fréquence devez-vous donner l'impression d'être de mauvaise humeur dans le contact avec les clients (p. ex., en colère) ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EV6	A exprime essentiellement des émotions positives ou neutres à l'égard des clients. B exprime des émotions positives et négatives à l'égard des clients. Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?		<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EV7	A quelle fréquence cela fait-il partie de vos tâches de devoir adopter une attitude très décidée et sévère à l'égard des clients (p. ex., lors d'un débordement grave de certaines règles) ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5

Les postes où l'on est en contact avec la clientèle se distinguent par l'intensité avec laquelle on doit se montrer sensible aux émotions des clients ainsi que par l'intensité avec laquelle on doit contrôler ses propres émotions afin de remplir les exigences de la tâche.

Dans les questions suivantes, veuillez SVP cocher les propositions correspondant le plus à votre situation, respectivement, à la fréquence à laquelle de telles exigences vous sont imposées dans votre travail.

EA1	A quelle fréquence cela fait-il partie de vos tâches de devoir vous montrer compréhensif à l'égard des clients ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
-----	---	--	--

EA2 A quelle fréquence cela fait-il partie de vos tâches de devoir montrer **de la compassion** à l'égard des clients ?

très rarement / jamais 1
 rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) 2
 parfois (env. 1 x par jour) 3
 souvent (plusieurs x par jour) 4
 très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) 5

EA3 Afin d'accomplir ses tâches avec succès, il est important pour A de **prendre part** aux émotions actuelles des clients (p. ex., se réjouir ou s'énerver en même temps que les clients).
 B peut accomplir ses tâches avec succès **indépendamment** de sa participation aux émotions des clients.
 Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

la situation exacte de A 1
 une situation semblable à A 2
 une situation entre A et B 3
 une situation semblable à B 4
 la situation exacte de B 5

EA4 Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence doit-on **adapter** ses **propres émotions** aux émotions actuelles des clients ?

très rarement / jamais 1
 rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) 2
 parfois (env. 1 x par jour) 3
 souvent (plusieurs x par jour) 4
 très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) 5

ES1 Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence est-il indispensable de **se mettre au diapason des émotions des clients** ?

très rarement / jamais 1
 rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) 2
 parfois (env. 1 x par jour) 3
 souvent (plusieurs x par jour) 4
 très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) 5

ES2 A quelle fréquence est-il important pour votre travail de **savoir comment les clients se sentent sur le moment** ?

très rarement / jamais 1
 rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) 2
 parfois (env. 1 x par jour) 3
 souvent (plusieurs x par jour) 4
 très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) 5

ES3 A quelle fréquence cela fait-il partie de votre travail de vous **mettre à la place** des clients ?

très rarement / jamais 1
 rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) 2
 parfois (env. 1 x par jour) 3
 souvent (plusieurs x par jour) 4
 très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) 5

ES4 Afin d'accomplir ses tâches avec succès, il est important pour A de **connaître** les émotions que les clients ressentent sur le moment.

B peut accomplir ses tâches avec succès **indépendamment** du fait de connaître les émotions que les clients ressentent sur le moment.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

ED1 Dans votre poste, à quelle fréquence arrive-t-il que l'on doive **réprimer ses émotions** de telle manière à avoir l'air "neutre" ?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| très rarement / jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| parfois (env. 1 x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| souvent (plusieurs x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

ED2 Dans le travail de A, il est **très important** de **ne pas dévoiler** aux clients **les émotions que la situation éveille en lui/elle**.

Dans le travail de B, il est **peu important** de ne pas dévoiler aux clients les émotions que la situation éveille en lui/elle.

Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| la situation exacte de A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| une situation semblable à A | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| une situation entre A et B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| une situation semblable à B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| la situation exacte de B | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

ED3 Dans votre poste, à quelle fréquence arrive-t-il que l'on doive montrer des émotions **qui ne correspondent pas à ce que l'on ressent momentanément à l'égard des clients** ?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| très rarement / jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| parfois (env. 1 x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| souvent (plusieurs x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

ED4 Dans votre poste, à quelle fréquence arrive-t-il que l'on doive montrer des émotions positives (p. ex., de l'amabilité) ou des émotions négatives (p. ex., de la colère) **alors qu'intérieurement on se sent indifférent** ?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| très rarement / jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| parfois (env. 1 x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| souvent (plusieurs x par jour) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| très souvent (plusieurs x par heure) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

ED5	Dans votre activité professionnelle, à quelle fréquence arrive-t-il que vous deviez montrer des émotions qui ne correspondent pas à vos véritables émotions ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EH1	Dans votre travail, à quelle fréquence êtes-vous autorisé à mettre un terme aux conversations avec les clients quand vous en jugez bon ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EH2	<p>A ne peut mettre un terme aux conversations avec les clients que lorsque cela correspond également au désir des clients.</p> <p>B peut mettre un terme aux conversations avec les clients à son gré.</p> <p>Laquelle de ces deux situations ressemble le plus à la vôtre ?</p>		
		la situation exacte de A une situation semblable à A une situation entre A et B une situation semblable à B la situation exacte de B	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EH3	A quelle fréquence pouvez-vous déterminer vous-même le temps que vous consacrez aux clients, indépendamment des besoins de ces derniers ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5
EH4	Dans votre poste, à quelle fréquence arrive-t-il que la durée des contacts avec les clients soit prédéterminée par l'organisation ?	très rarement / jamais rarement (env. 1 x par semaine) parfois (env. 1 x par jour) souvent (plusieurs x par jour) très souvent (plusieurs x par heure)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5