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Applying appraisal theories of emotion to the concept of emotional labor

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ABSTRACT

Interest in the role of emotions in the workplace has increased in recent years (e.g., Arvey, Renz, & Watson, 1998; Ashkanasy, Hartel, & Daus, 2002; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Muchinsky, 2000). One particular area of workplace emotions research deals with emotional labor, or the regulation of emotions as part of the work role (Hochschild, 1983). Although emotional labor research has examined the ways that individuals can regulate their emotions, this research typically is not grounded in theories of the emotion generation process (Ashton-James and Ashkanasy, 2004) and does not examine the causal effects of emotion regulation strategies on outcomes.   The present study applies appraisal theories of emotion (Lazarus, 2001; Scherer, 2001; Smith & Pope, 1992; Smith, Haynes, Lazarus, & Pope, 1993) to the literature on emotional labor by designing a training intervention that teaches employees to change their felt emotions to match organizationally-desired emotions by reappraising work situations in a more positive light. Appraisal theories of emotion state that emotions are generated by evaluations of situations or events. The purpose of the present study was to increase positive emotions and decrease negative emotions in customer service employees by teaching them to appraise workplace events differently. Measures of dependent variables were taken for one week (five shifts) before the training and one week (five shifts) after the training. Additionally, a control group was included who received only general customer service training. The reappraisal training produced an increase in high pleasure, low arousal emotions compared to the control training. The reappraisal training also decreased feelings of inauthenticity and depersonalization compared to the control training in one subsample.

INTRODUCTION

The role of emotions at work has recently been the focus of much research (e.g., Arvey, Renz, & Watson, 1998; Ashkanasy, Hartel, & Daus, 2002; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Muchinsky, 2000). A great deal of this research has focused on emotions in customer service work (e.g., Gosserand, 2003; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002; Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, in press; Totterdell & Holman, 2003; Zapf, Isic, & Bechtoldt, 2003). Customer service jobs represent a major proportion of jobs in the United States. It has been estimated that services account for three-fourths of the gross national product (Spencer, 1991) and represent 64.7% of job growth (Ryan & Ployhart, 2003). According to Ryan and Ployhart (2003), poor service represents the main reason customers switch their business from one competitor to another. Because of such growth in the service economy and increased competition among service providers, organizations are placing renewed emphasis on providing "service with a smile." In response to this greater focus on customer service and the quality of interpersonal interactions, researchers have begun to study the phenomenon of emotional labor, or the management of feelings or emotions as part of the work role (e.g., Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Gosserand & Diefendorff, in press; Grandey, 2000; Grandey 2003; Hochschild, 1983).

According to most theories of emotional labor, employees must conform to organizationally sanctioned display rules which specify the emotions that are appropriate in work situations and how those emotions should be expressed to others (Hochschild, 1983). Researchers have attempted to identify the strategies by which

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employees regulate their emotions and emotional displays in order to conform to such display rules (e.g., Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005). Many emotional labor researchers suggest that employees engage in two different types of strategies for following display rules, surface acting (SA) and deep acting (DA; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). SA involves simply "faking" the required emotional displays (e.g., pasting on a smile when one is actually feeling anger), whereas DA involves attempts to actually feel the required emotion (e.g., thinking about a situation in a way that causes one to actually experience the required emotion). However, research suggests that "faking" an emotion (through SA) may lead to negative outcomes such as increased burnout and decreased job satisfaction, whereas displaying genuine emotions, through deep acting, has been associated with a greater sense of personal accomplishment (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Additionally, research has shown that customers can distinguish faked smiles from authentic smiles and that these perceptions influence customer satisfaction (Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005).

Customer satisfaction has been shown to impact the bottom line of organizations; for example, Athanassopoulos, Gounaris, and Stathakopoulos (2001) found that customer satisfaction was related to decisions to stay with a particular service provider, engagement in word-of-mouth recommendations of the provider, and intentions to stay with the provider in the future. Additionally, using a longitudinal design, Bolton and Lemon (1999) found that customers' satisfaction with service at Time 1 was directly related to their usage of the service at Time 2. Because of the

bottom-line importance of customer satisfaction, improving the effectiveness of customer and employee interactions has great practical importance. To this end, the primary purpose of the present study was to train employees to regulate their emotions so as to exhibit authentically positive emotional displays through deep acting. Such training may have positive implications for employees, customers, and organizations.

The idea of regulating ones emotions via DA can be linked to appraisal theories of emotion (e.g., Arnold, 1960; Ellsworth, 1991; Lazarus, 1991; 2001; Frijda, 1986; 1988; 1992; Ortony, Clore, and Collins, 1988; Roseman, 2001; Scherer, 2001; Smith, 1991). Appraisal theories state that emotions arise out of a person's evaluation (or appraisal) of an event or situation. For example, in response to an angry or rude customer, two customer service employees may have completely different emotional responses, depending on their appraisals of that situation. If Employee A appraises the customers' behavior as a personal attack that hinders his own goals, he will feel angry. On the other hand, if Employee B appraises the customers' behavior as merely the result of a bad day and does not evaluate the customer's behavior as affecting her own goals, she may experience neutral affect or even sympathy.

Several researchers have used appraisal theory to design workplace interventions aimed at reducing stress reactions in employees by teaching them to think about situations in alternative ways (For reviews see van der Klink, Blonk, Schene, & van Dijk, 2001; Murphy, 1996; Saunders, Driskell, Johnston, & Salas, 1996). These interventions are often called cognitive-behavioral interventions. They have mostly been applied to occupations such as manufacturing workers, police officers, teachers,

nurses, highway maintenance workers, and the military and have usually examined outcomes that are internal to the employee, such as self-reported stress, burnout, or physical symptoms (See Murphy, 1996). Although performance has been examined as an outcome in some studies, it has tended to involve laboratory tasks such as problem solving, computer use, and test performance (See Saunders et al., 1996). To the author's knowledge, cognitive-behavioral interventions have not yet been used in customer service settings or in any research on emotional labor. Therefore, an additional purpose of the present study was to use an appraisal theory-based training to teach customer service employees to appraise situations in ways that cause them to actually feel, rather than fake, the organizationally-desired emotions. Because service employees are expected to display positive emotions and hide negative emotions (Grandey & Brauburger, 2002), teaching them to actually feel positive emotions (and avoid negative emotions) is expected to lead to a variety of beneficial outcomes. For instance, if employees feel positive, they should be more likely to display positive emotions and be less likely to experience dissatisfaction, emotional exhaustion, or burnout. Additionally, customer perceptions of the employee's service performance should improve, given that the positive displays that an employee exhibits should be perceived as more authentic.

To test the effectiveness of this appraisal training in customer service employees, service industry employees were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: (a) a control condition that received a standard customer service training only, or (b) an experimental condition that received the customer service training plus

the cognitive-behavioral training. In addition, both pre-test and post-test measures were taken for all dependent variables. Specifically, measures of emotions, feelings of inauthenticity, burnout, and job satisfaction were collected from employees at the end of each work shift. In addition, measures of authenticity and service satisfaction were gathered from customers. Such a research design has the following advantages: First, the inclusion of pre-test measures allows for the control of individual differences in the dependent variables. Second, the addition of a control group addresses threats to internal validity such as history, maturation, and the effects of pretesting because these phenomena are expected to equally affect both the experimental and control group (Goldstein, 1993). Third, the decision to give another training (rather than no training) to the control group alleviates the concern that differences between the two groups are due to reactive effects of being given any training or participating in an experiment (Goldstein, 1993).

The present study contributes to knowledge about emotion regulation in the workplace and the use of cognitive-behavioral interventions. To the literature on emotion regulation in the workplace, it adds an applied field test of (1) whether DA can be taught with a short-duration training intervention, and (2) the causal influence of DA on both employee and customer outcomes. Most of the past research on deep acting has relied on correlational data, measuring the level of DA that people report using, and assessing the relationship of DA with outcome variables. However, by manipulating the level of DA used in an experimental context, this study focused on the causal effects of DA on outcomes. It also was meant to provide some insight into how well these

strategies can be learned and transferred to real-world settings. Finally, this study

contributes to the stress intervention literature by examining the effects of a cognitive-

behavioral intervention in a new occupation (customer service) and by measuring the

effects of such an intervention on more bottom-line outcomes (customer satisfaction).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Emotions in Organizations

Emotions in the workplace represent a relatively new focus in organizational research (Arvey et al., 1998; Lord, Kanfer & Klimoski, 2002). For a long time, organizational researchers ignored the topic of emotions in the workplace, perhaps because emotions were viewed as the antithesis of the orderliness and rationality of organizations. Emotions were thought of as irrational, unstable, and biased influences on workplace decision making; they were therefore unwanted in business persons who are expected to be objective and stable (Arvey et al., 1998; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Muchinsky, 2000).

Recently, however, researchers have begun to realize that emotions should not be excluded from theories of organizational phenomena and that, if acknowledged, they can be used in ways that contribute beneficially to organizations (Arvey et al., 1998). As a result, researchers found new merit in the study of emotions in organizations. For example, research on job satisfaction has adopted a more affective focus. Dispositional affect has been found to be an important predictor of a person's job satisfaction over time and across jobs (e.g., Staw, Bell, & Clausen, 1986). Additionally, new interest in the effects of mood on work behavior has been influential in turning attention to the more emotional side of workplace experiences (e.g., Brief, Butcher, & Roberson, 1995; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; George, 1990). Fisher and Ashkanasy (2000) also point out the popularity of emotional intelligence as a catalyst for new research in workplace emotions. Although initial interest in emotional intelligence at work began in the

popular press (e.g., Goleman, 1995), the idea of emotional intelligence as an individual difference variable that influences workplace behavior has gained support in recent scholarly research (e.g., Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2003; 2004).

Affective Events Theory

One model of emotions at work receiving attention in recent years is Affective Events Theory (AET; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). AET states that characteristics of the job make the occurrence of certain types of work events more likely than others. These discrete events, called affective events, are then thought to lead to particular affective reactions (i.e., emotions) at work. Affective reactions, in turn, are proposed to lead to both immediate, affect-driven behaviors (e.g., smiling, frowning, yelling, leaving the work floor) and also to contribute to work attitudes over time (such as job satisfaction). For example, in a customer service job, a snide remark or reprimand from a customer could be considered an affective event. Such an event might produce an affective reaction or emotion (e.g., anger, embarrassment) in the employee, which results in affect-driven behaviors, such as frowning, yelling back at the customer, or leaving the work floor. The theory suggests that over time and repeated occurrences of this type of event, the customer service employee's job satisfaction might be expected to decrease, as a function of the increased negative emotions experienced at work.

Emotional Labor

A different line of research on emotions in the workplace originated in Hochschild's (1983) book, *The Managed Heart*. In this book, Hochschild introduced the idea that individuals often get paid for controlling their own emotions, emotional

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expressions, and the emotions of others. She named this phenomenon emotional labor and defined it as the regulation of emotions as part of the work role. Since her early work, several models of emotional labor have emerged (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). According to all of these theories, employees regulate their emotions and/or emotional expressions in response to display rules (e.g., Ekman, 1973) that specify which emotions are appropriate in work situations and how those emotions should be expressed to others (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000).

According to Hochschild (1983), there are two main strategies by which individuals can go about managing their emotions to follow display rules: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting refers to regulating expressions, or "faking" the emotion. In other words, the individual simply "puts on a mask" and displays the correct emotion, regardless of what that person may actually be feeling (Grandey, 2000). Deep acting, on the other hand, takes place when the individual consciously tries to modify his or her feelings so that they are consistent with the desired emotional expression (Grandey, 2000). The result is a natural emotional display that matches one's feelings and the requirements of the job.

Grandey's (2000) model of emotional labor suggested that Hochschild's (1983) concepts of surface acting and deep acting might be analogous to emotion regulation strategies described by Gross (1998) in his model of emotion regulation. Gross (1998) stated that emotion regulation strategies can occur at two main points in the emotion

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generation process. Specifically, he proposed that it is possible to regulate emotions either by (1) altering the stimulus, or the perceptions of the stimulus (antecedent-focused regulation), or (2) altering the response to the stimulus (response-focused regulation). (Grandey (2000) suggested that deep acting is equivalent to antecedent-focused emotion regulation and surface acting is equivalent to response-focused emotion regulation.) Gross (1998) divided these two general ways of regulating emotions into five categories, four of which are antecedent-focused and one of which is response-focused.   Antecedent-focused regulation includes situation selection, situation modification, attentional deployment, and cognitive change, while response-focused regulation refers to response modulation.

During situation selection, an individual may choose to approach or avoid certain stimuli (people, places, or objects) in order to regulate emotions. For example, individuals may choose to avoid certain people who tell offensive jokes that always upset them, or they may choose to be around people who make them feel good (Gross, 1998).

Situation modification refers to efforts on the part of the individual to directly change a situation so that its emotional impact is different. For example, one may ask a neighbor to turn down his loud music before getting upset or turn a meeting into a phone conference upon getting a flat tire (Gross, 1998).

Attentional deployment refers to strategies such as distraction, concentration, and rumination. Distraction focuses attention on nonemotional aspects of the situation or turns attention away from the situation altogether. Concentration refers to turning

one's attention to stimuli other than the one eliciting emotion, in order to absorb cognitive resources.   Rumination refers to actually concentrating on current feelings (i.e., not trying to change these feelings), such as when a person focuses on his/her negative emotions or concentrates on future threats (Gross, 1998b).

Cognitive change is Gross's final antecedent-focused strategy of emotion regulation. In cognitive change, the meaning of the situation is evaluated in a way so as to prevent an emotional response. For example, individuals may use downward social comparison to compare their situations to those of others who may be even less fortunate. Another example of a cognitive change strategy is cognitive reframing, where one frames a failure to obtain one goal in terms of a success (or at least a nonevent) with respect to another goal. Closely related to this is cognitive reappraisal, where the individual thinks about the situation in a different way in order to change its emotional impact (Gross, 1998b).

If none of these antecedent-focused regulation processes occur (or none succeed), an individual may still attempt to alter the emotional output with response-focused regulation, or response modulation. Response modulation includes anything that alters the physiological, experiential, or behavioral response (e.g., drugs, exercise, cigarettes, food, or simply "faking" other emotions).

According to Grandey (2000), Gross's first two types of antecedent-focused emotion regulation, situation selection and situation modification, may be of limited utility in a work setting. Apart from employees choosing their jobs, there is little chance to pick and choose between situations that may or may not produce the desired

emotions. For example, an employee choosing to avoid a certain customer who upsets him or her may be successful in avoiding the undesired emotion; however, leaving the work floor may result in other negative consequences, such as poor customer service when customers are left unattended (Grandey, 2000). Additionally, modifying a situation (or problem solving) may be difficult in situations where the employee is expected to operate under the assumption that "the customer is always right" (Grandey & Brauburger, 2002). Attentional deployment might also be a poor strategy for an employee to use because focusing on something else would take cognitive resources away from the job which may result in poor job performance. (Note that certain forms of attentional deployment (calling up thoughts of events that produce positive emotions) are proposed by Grandey (2000) to be effective forms of "deep acting;" however, cognitive theories of mood-dependent memory would argue that it is very difficult to call up positive memories while in a negative mood (Reed, 2000)).

As a result of the limited utility of situation selection, situation modification, and attentional deployment, Grandey (2000) states that Gross's final two forms of affect regulation, cognitive change and response modulation, are most relevant for use in work situations. Cognitive change, especially reappraisal, has long been advocated as an effective strategy against stress (e.g., Lazarus, 1966; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lazarus, 1999; Gross, 1998a). Grandey (2000) classifies this type of strategy as a form of "deep acting" which is hypothesized to have more positive long-term effects than surface acting because it removes the dissonance between what is expressed and what is actually felt. In other words, because individuals are actually changing their thoughts

and feelings into what is desired, there is no dissonance between what they feel and what they are expressing. In addition, their emotional displays should be more authentic. Response modulation, on the other hand, may be considered "surface acting" (Grandey, 2000). For example, customer service employees may smile even though they are depressed, or they may try to appear polite even though they are very angry with certain customers. Response modulation, therefore, does not reduce the dissonance between what the employee feels and expresses. Further, the emotional displays are not as authentic.

Linking Strategies of Emotional Labor to Affective Events Theory

Although research on AET generally has supported its central ideas—namely, that certain affective events are associated with emotional reactions and that emotional reactions then influence attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Fisher, 2002; Grandey et al., 2002)--one criticism of this theory is that it has failed to address the processes by which these relationships occur (Ashton-James and Ashkanasy, 2004). Grandey and Brauburger (2002) indirectly addressed this issue by proposing a model of emotion regulation, based on AET, in which Gross's (1998) attention deployment and cognitive change strategies of emotion regulation (i.e., "deep acting") are placed between affective events and emotional reactions in the model. That is, although employees respond to affective events with emotional reactions, these reactions are dependent upon the individual employee's attention to and appraisal of the situation. Additionally, affective reactions are still expected to influence affect-driven behaviors; however, these reactions can be modified by the employee in order to conform to the emotional

display rules of the job (e.g., "faking" a smile, or "surface acting"). A reproduction of

the relevant aspects of Grandey and Brauburger's (2002) model is presented in Figure 1.
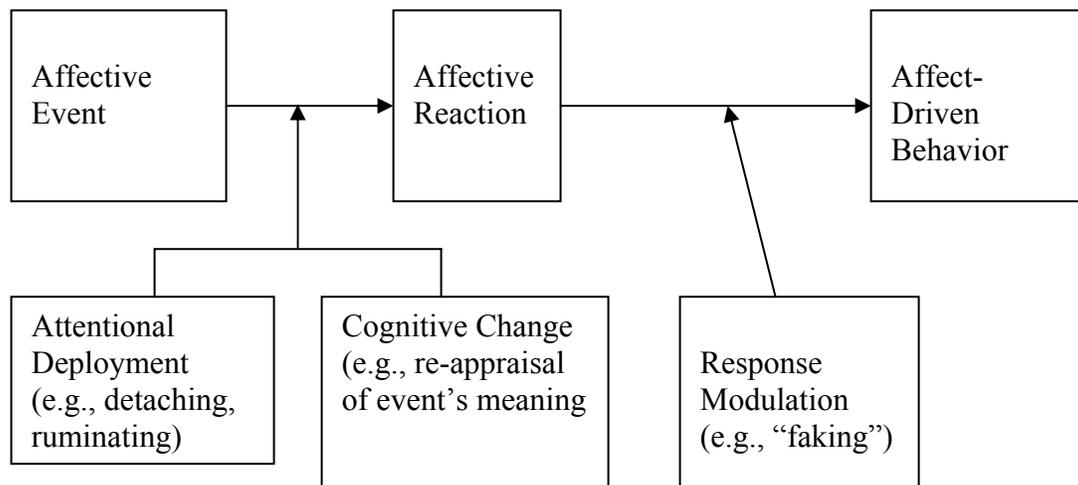
Figure 1. Grandey and Brauburger's (2002) integration of emotional labor strategies
with affective events theory.

The link between affective events and affective reactions represents the focus of

the present research. Specifically, this study examined the effectiveness of a training

program designed to teach cognitive change strategies of emotion regulation aimed at

producing desired emotional reactions (i.e., ones that match the display rules of the job).

In essence, this research links appraisal theory (discussed in a later section) with AET

by teaching employees to change their appraisals of affective events in order to produce

appropriate emotional reactions in themselves. These affective reactions were expected

to result in more appropriate affect-driven behaviors and attitudes. The decision to

target this particular part of the process was based on research suggesting that cognitive

change, or deep acting strategies of emotional labor have a number of benefits (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). This research is discussed below.

Strategies of Emotion Regulation and Employee Outcomes

A great deal of work on emotional labor has explored the strategies by which individuals regulate their emotions (or emotional expressions) in order to follow display rules (e.g., Brotheridge & Lee, 2002 Diefendorff et al., 2005; Grandey, 2000; Grandey & Brauburger, 2002). The majority of this research suggests that cognitive change (deep acting) may be more beneficial to both the employee and the organization than response modulation (surface acting; e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). For example, studies have shown that deep acting and surface acting are differentially related to the dimensions of burnout (emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal accomplishment). Specifically, surface acting has been found to be positively related to emotional exhaustion (the extent to which employees feel emotionally "spent"; Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001) and depersonalization (the extent to which employees display a detached attitude toward others; Maslach et al., 2001) (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Finally, surface acting has been shown to be related to a diminished sense of personal accomplishment (a low sense of efficacy at work; Maslach et al., 2001) (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002). Deep acting, on the other hand, while showing non-significant relationships with emotional exhaustion and

depersonalization, has shown positive relationships with personal accomplishment (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002). This finding is consistent with Hochschild's (1983) belief that changing one's emotions in response to work demands may actually increase an employee's sense of personal accomplishment.

Surface acting and deep acting have also been examined as correlates of job satisfaction with less consistent results. Gosserand (2003) found a negative relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction but a positive relationship between deep acting and job satisfaction. On the other hand, Grandey (2003) found that both surface acting and deep acting were negatively related to job satisfaction; however, surface acting had a stronger negative relationship with job satisfaction ($\beta = -.37$) than did deep acting ($\beta = -.21$). Richard, Bourgeois, and Diefendorff (2005, April) found very similar results with measures of emotive dissonance (the extent to which one's true emotions differ from those expressed at work--a construct similar to SA). That is, emotive dissonance exhibited a greater negative relationship with job satisfaction ($r = -.38$) than did effort toward changing one's feelings (a construct similar to deep acting; $r = -.18$).

Strategies of Emotion Regulation and Service Outcomes

In addition to pointing to the benefits of cognitive change for employee well-being, emotional labor research suggests that cognitive change could lead to better service-related outcomes as well. For example, Totterdell and Holman (2003) found that deep acting was positively related to self-rated quality of performance in call center employees, whereas surface acting was not. Additionally, Grandey (2003) found that deep acting was positively related to coworker ratings of affective delivery (the extent

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to which service delivery is perceived as friendly and warm); surface acting, however, was negatively related to ratings of affective delivery. These relationships are important because affective delivery has been found to influence the perceived friendliness of the service provider and customers' in-store positive moods, which, in turn, influence customers' intentions to return and pass along positive comments about the business to friends (Tsai & Huang, 2002).

There also is evidence that customers can perceive differences between authentic expressions of positive affect and faked positive expressions, and that these perceptions are related to perceptions of employee friendliness (a key dimension of service quality) and overall customer satisfaction ratings (Grandey et al., 2005). Because customer satisfaction is so closely related to the bottom line (e.g., Athanassopoulos et al., 2001; Bolton & Lemon, 1999; Ryan & Ployhart, 2003), employees' expressions of genuine positive emotions are assumed to be better for the organization than expressions of faked positive emotions. In light of these findings, Grandey et al. suggested that employees could be trained in the emotion regulation skills necessary for the job as a way to improve customer service. The authors point to available techniques of cognitive reappraisal as a potentially useful tool for such employees.

<center>Emotion as a Mediator of the Relationship between
Emotional Labor Strategies and Outcomes</center>

Many tests of emotional labor imply that emotion regulation strategies lead to the outcomes described above. However, some recent research suggest that it is felt

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emotions, rather than emotional labor strategies themselves, that lead to outcomes (e.g., Fisher, 2000; Glomb, Miner, & Tews, 2002; Ilies and Judge, 2002; Weiss, 2002; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999; Zerbe, 2000). This work is consistent with AET, in that affective reactions are believed to be the direct antecedents of work attitudes and affect-driven behaviors. In a study supporting this notion, Zerbe (2000) found that "faking" (operationalized as the algebraic difference between displayed emotions and felt emotions) was related to the dimensions of burnout. However, when he regressed the burnout dimensions onto the separate components of faking (i.e., felt emotions and displayed emotions), he found that felt emotions (not displayed emotions) were responsible for the relationships (i.e., only felt emotion was a significant predictor of the burnout dimensions). Zerbe's (2000) study shows that the relationship between SA and burnout might be explained solely by felt emotions. Glomb, Miner, and Tews (2002) replicated these results using experience-sampling measures of felt and expressed emotions, perceived emotive dissonance, and end-of-the-day emotional exhaustion. Within-person analyses showed that felt affect, rather than expressed emotions or dissonance, predicted emotional exhaustion. These results suggest that felt emotions seem to be the most proximal influences on burnout. Thus, if emotional labor strategies do affect the dimensions of burnout, it is likely that the effect occurs through their influence on felt emotions; that is, emotions likely mediate the effect of regulation strategies on employee outcomes.

Recent research also suggests that job satisfaction is directly influenced by felt emotions (state affect) at work. For example, Weiss, Nicholas, and Daus (1999) found

that average levels of pleasant mood at work over 16 days predicted ratings of overall job satisfaction above and beyond dispositional happiness. Fisher (2000) used alarm watches to sample real-time emotions five times a day for two weeks and found that emotions predicted overall job satisfaction. Finally, Ilies and Judge (2002) collected daily measures of both affect and job satisfaction and found that job satisfaction changed as a function of average levels of affect, lending support for the idea that a large portion of the job satisfaction judgment is based on felt emotions at work (Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999; Weiss, 2002).

Although no empirical work has tested whether emotions mediate the relationship between emotional labor strategies and customer service outcomes (i.e., customer satisfaction), theory suggests that this would be the case. For instance, Grandey and Brauburger (2002) suggested that affective reactions (e.g., felt emotions) have a direct influence on customer-focused affective behavior (e.g., expressions of emotions to the customer). These authors (and others; e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, in press; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983) suggest that DA impacts felt emotions. Thus, cognitive change strategies of emotion regulation (e.g., DA) should have their effects on service behavior through felt emotions.

The present investigation therefore tested the effects of training employees to feel organizationally-desired emotions (and avoid negative emotions) through cognitive change, a form of deep acting. In addition to its potential for improving work-related outcomes suggested by emotional labor theorists, cognitive reappraisal training is based

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on substantial theory (i.e., appraisal theories of emotion) and extensive empirical support. Appraisal theory therefore serves as an excellent foundation for teaching employees to regulate their emotions at work.

Appraisal Theory

Arguably one of the most influential theories of emotion, appraisal theory is based on the premise that emotions are elicited by appraisals, or evaluations, of events and situations. Previous theories of emotion have claimed that emotions can be elicited by events themselves (e.g., stimulus-response theories), by physiological processes (e.g, patterns of neural activity in the brain; facial expressions or other behaviors), or by motivational processes (e.g., hunger leading to an infant's distress). According to Roseman and Smith (2001), appraisal theory was developed to explain phenomena that were not adequately explained by previous models of emotion. First, several previous theories do not account for the many distinct emotions that are experienced by human beings. For example, early behavioral theories viewed emotion as an undifferentiated, unidimensional concept (i.e., emotionality), ranging from low arousal to high arousal. Roseman and Smith (2001) note that these theories fail to account for the growing body of evidence for various distinct emotions (such as joy, sadness, fear, and anger) that are observable across cultures, and they leave us with questions regarding what produces these distinctive patterns of emotional responses. Second, previous theories do not adequately account for the fact that the same event or situation often elicits very different emotional responses both across people and within the same person over time. Third, a problem with theories claiming that emotions are unconditioned responses to

certain events, or that they are learned via associations or generalizations, is the fact that these theories make it virtually impossible to account for all possible elicitors of a specific emotion. Roseman and Smith (2001) give the example of the emotion of sadness, explaining how it can be elicited by an endless number of events, even those never before experienced nor paired with existing elicitors. Fourth, a limitation of theories claiming that emotions are elicited by specific physiological events, expressions, or behaviors is that these theories fail to explain what starts the emotion process. For example, what triggers the physiological response (such as neural activity), facial expression, or behavior (such as weeping, attack, or flight)? Roseman and Smith (2001) state that these things are generally reactions to events, rather than endogenous processes, "so physiological, expressive, and behavioral theories ultimately lead us back to stimulus events and the aforementioned difficulties of accounting for individual and temporal differences and cross-situational similarities in emotional responses to those events (p. 5)". Fifth, previous theories of emotions do not speak to the situational appropriateness of certain emotions. For example, emotions are now believed to have adaptive value if they are appropriate for the situation (e.g., sadness at the death of a loved one; angry protests in response to harm inflicted by another person), but they can be maladaptive if they are not appropriate to the situation (e.g., angry protests at the death of a loved one; passive acceptance of harm inflicted by another person). Roseman and Smith (2001) explain that physiological, expressive, and behavioral theories focus solely on internal processes as elicitors of emotion, thus preventing explanation of the situational appropriateness of emotional responses. Sixth, many previous theories of

emotion are unable to account for the irrational aspects of emotions (e.g., disabling fear or anxiety, depression, panic attacks, unreasonable guilt). Roseman and Smith (2001) note that these "irrational" aspects of emotion cause problems for motivational theories that assume emotions serve a person's goals and are under volitional control. A seventh and final limitation listed by Roseman and Smith (2001) is that developmental and clinically induced changes in emotion cannot fully be explained by theories that claim emotions are elicited by events. For example, emotions such as anger, fear, love, and shame are not present at birth yet come to be experienced as a child ages. Also, certain events produce emotions at certain points in the lifespan but not others (e.g., anticipated separation from a primary caregiver begins to elicit fear at around 12 months, but this event usually is no longer a cause of fear in adulthood).

Roseman and Smith (2001) go on to explain how the assumptions of appraisal theory address the limitations of previous theories of emotion. First, appraisal theory assumes that emotions are differentiated by specific patterns of appraisal. That is, each distinct emotion is elicited by a distinctive appraisal pattern. Second, individuals who appraise a situation in different ways will feel different emotions, and the same individual who appraises a situation in different ways over time will feel different emotions over time in response to the same event. Third, a common pattern of appraisal is used to explain the many different situations that evoke the same emotion. That is, all situations to which a specific pattern of appraisal is assigned should evoke the same emotion. Fourth, appraisal theories assume that the emotion process is started when an appraisal is made; that is, appraisals precede and elicit the physiological, expressive,

and behavioral states that make up the emotion episode. Roseman and Smith (2001) emphasize that emotions are generated by current appraisals. This assumption explains how an individual can feel an emotion upon remembering a past event, and it also explains how a person can feel a different emotion than what was originally experienced in response to an event. Additionally, most appraisal theories assume that these appraisal usually occur automatically (with little or no conscious effort), but they can also be consciously controlled like other cognitive processes (e.g., when a person attempts to "look on the bright side" to change their emotions). Fifth, Roseman and Smith (2001) note that "the appraisal process makes it likely that emotions will be appropriate responses to the situations in which they occur (p. 7)." They note that several appraisal theorists believe that the appraisal system has evolved to help individuals cope with their environment by selecting appraisals that produce responses that are adaptive to the situation. Essentially, these theorists believe that the system automatically compares the requirements of the situation to the capabilities/resources of the person, in order to determine whether something can be done to make things better. In this way, appraisals adapt emotional responses to the requirements of the situation, unlike the rigid one-to-one relationships assumed by stimulus-response theories. Sixth, appraisal theorists have stated that appraisal can involve both high level, conscious processing (Roseman and Smith give the example of a person told that a lion has escaped from the zoo, infers that he may be in danger, and feels fear), and/or simpler, nonconscious processing (an uninformed person simply feels fear in response to the loudness of a nearby roar). Roseman and Smith (2001) explain that when these types of

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appraisal conflict, one feels emotions that one might consider irrational or unreasonable (such as when a person feels fear upon hearing a roar even though he/she knows that the lion is in its cage, making fear seem irrational). They also note that "irrational" or maladaptive emotions can result from inaccurate or inappropriate appraisal (e.g., hyperaggressive children often interpret benign behaviors by others as hostile and respond with inappropriate anger). Finally, Roseman and Smith (2001) note that developmental or clinically induced changes in emotions occur because of appraisal change. For example changes in experiences may produce changes in appraisal, such as when a child comes to learn that separation from a primary caregiver does not in fact signal danger. Also, psychotherapy often works by altering faulty appraisals.

Empirical Evidence for Appraisal Theories of Emotion

Empirical studies performed to examine the validity of appraisal theory have found encouraging results using various methodologies. One of the first studies designed to test appraisal theory was performed by Smith and Ellsworth (1985). Using a within-subjects design, Smith and Ellsworth (1985) asked participants to recall events that lead to 15 different emotions (one event for each emotion). For each event/emotion, participants responded to questions designed to tap eight appraisal dimensions suggested by previous theory and empirical findings. Principle component analyses (PCA) and Symmetric Individual Differences Multidimensional Scaling (SINDSCAL) revealed six dimensions of appraisal which closely corresponded to the hypothesized dimensions (pleasantness, anticipated effort, certainty, attentional activity, self-other responsibility/control, and situational control). Smith and Ellsworth's (1985)

study was the first to examine several dimensions of appraisal simultaneously. (Studies

before this one had only examined two to three dimensions). It therefore provided some

of the first evidence that emotions are produced by complex patterns of appraisal

(offering evidence against simple activation models or pleasantness/activation models).

Other research using similar methodologies confirmed these findings that

appraisals are predictive of specific emotions (although specific lists of appraisal

dimensions tend to vary from researcher to researcher; e.g., Roseman, Spindel, & Jose,

1990; Roseman, Antoniou, and Jose, 1996; Scherer, 1997; Smith et al., 1993).

Some researchers have taken advantage of naturally occurring events as an

opportunity to confirm that different appraisals of the same situation lead individuals to

feel different emotions in response to that event. Smith and Ellsworth (1987) asked

college students to report their appraisals and emotions just before taking a mid-term

exam, then again immediately after receiving their grades on that exam. Results

showed that emotions could be reliably predicted by at least one appraisal dimension

(e.g., appraisals of unfairness predicted anger, appraisals of other-agency predicted

apathy). These findings were quite similar to those found in the researchers' earlier

study (Smith & Ellsworth, 1985).

Another field study was conducted by Scherer and Ceschi (1997), who

examined the reactions of airline passengers whose luggage was missing from baggage

claim. A structured interview was conducted to gather data about the traveler's

appraisal of the situation and subjective feeling states. Appraisals of goal

conduciveness were found to be by far the most useful predictor (i.e., explained the

most variance in felt emotion), with high goal obstructiveness leading to anger and worry and low goal obstructiveness leading to indifference and good humor. Additionally, appraisals of incompatibility with norms positively predicted the intensity of anger.

Other researchers have experimentally tested appraisal theory by manipulating appraisals and measuring resulting emotions. For example, Roseman (1991) presented participants with scenarios in which he manipulated 5 different theory-relevant appraisal dimensions (motivational state, situational state, probability, legitimacy, and causal agency). Participants were asked to read the scenarios and rate the extent to which the character in the story felt 18 different emotions. Results showed that each dimension of appraisal had a significant effect on emotions, and that particular combinations of appraisal predicted emotions in a manner consistent with previous theory.

In a more recent experiment, Roseman and Evdokas (2004), manipulated appraisals, then measured actual (rather than hypothetical) emotional reactions. The researchers manipulated motivational state (appetitive versus aversive) by telling one group of participants that they would receive either a pleasant taste or no taste (to evoke an approach response) and telling another group that they would receive either an aversive taste or no taste (to evoke an avoidance response). They also manipulated an outcome probability (whether the group they would be assigned to was certain versus uncertain). Then, they measured the extent to which participants felt joy, relief, and hope. Findings supported several of the hypotheses put forth by appraisal theorists

(e.g., Roseman, 1984, 2001; Roseman et al., 1996). For example, participants who were lead to believe that the situation affected an appetitive rather than an aversive motivational state reported high levels of joy. Additionally, participants who were lead to believe that an aversive motivational state had definitely been avoided felt high relief. Finally, participants who perceived that an appetitive motivational state would probably be attained reported relatively high levels of hope.

In addition to supporting the basic ideas put forth by appraisal theorists (that appraisals of events lead to emotions), researchers have also attempted to defend appraisal theory against criticisms of utility and generalizability. For example, Smith, Haynes, Lazarus, and Pope (1993; Study 1) examined the relative contributions of attributions (a type of knowledge about cause) versus appraisals (subjective evaluations) as antecedents to emotions. Results of this study provided evidence that, although both antecedents contribute substantial variance, emotions are more directly related to appraisals than attributions, providing support for the incremental validity of appraisals in the emotion elicitation process. Finally, Scherer (1997) used the retrospective method to examine appraisal patterns in 37 different countries. Examining appraisal profiles for each emotion, Scherer found a great deal of generalizability across cultures.

In general, these studies show that emotions are closely related to a person's cognitive appraisal of an event or situation. Although the appraisal dimensions studied by researchers vary from researcher to researcher (mostly in terminology), these findings as a whole provide support for the basic tenet that discreet emotions are caused by specific patterns of appraisal.

Lazarus's Cognitive-Motivational-Relational Theory

One of the most influential versions of appraisal theory is Lazarus' (1991; 1999) Cognitive-Motivational-Relational Theory of Emotions. Because of its widespread influence, and because of its succinctness (it proposes only six dimensions of appraisal), it was chosen as the basis for the reappraisal training. Thus, it is important at this point to review his ideas is a bit more detail.

Lazarus' theory breaks appraisal into primary appraisal, an evaluation of the personal relevance of a situation, and secondary appraisal, which involves judgments about options for coping. Within primary and secondary appraisal, Lazarus identifies the six appraisal components defined below.

Primary Appraisal Components

According to Lazarus (2001), primary appraisal consists of goal relevance, goal congruence, and type of ego-involvement. Perhaps the most important aspect of appraisal for producing emotion is goal relevance. Goal relevance is the extent to which a situation or event is viewed as relevant to one's well-being. According to Lazarus (and implicit in all appraisal theories), if there is no goal at stake, there is no emotion. For example, an employee who experiences a rude customer is theorized to react with emotion only if she feels the situation is actually relevant to her own well-being (or goals). Goal congruence or incongruence refers to whether a situation or event helps or hinders a person's goals. If a condition is appraised as goal-congruent, a positively-toned emotion is likely, whereas a negatively-toned emotion is likely when conditions are appraised as goal-incongruent. Thus, the same employee may react with negative

emotion if she appraises the situation as not only relevant to her goals/well-being, but harmful to these. Finally, ego-involvements refer to commitments or goals that are relevant to one's ego-identity. That is, goals that center on the self or on one's core beliefs are believed to play a large role in shaping the emotional experience. According to Lazarus' theory, the type of ego-involvement goal elicited by a situation or event (e.g., self-esteem, social esteem, moral values, ego-ideals, meanings and ideas, other persons and their well-being, life goals) will determine the specific type of emotion felt. To quote Lazarus (2001), "Shame, pride, and anger are consequences of the desire to preserve or enhance self- or social esteem. Guilt is about moral issues. Anxiety is, in the main, an existential emotion…" (p. 57). Thus, the employee who appraises the angry customer as both goal-relevant and goal-incongruent might feel anger or shame if those goals involve her self- or social-esteem. On the other hand, she may feel anxiety if she believes that her goals for existence are at stake (for example, if the customer takes out a weapon). To further distinguish emotions (anger from shame, for instance), Lazarus appeals to what he calls secondary appraisal components.

Secondary Appraisal Components

According to Lazarus (2001), secondary appraisal consists of blame/credit, coping potential, and future expectations. Blame and credit are appraisals that require a judgment about who or what is responsible for a harm, threat, challenge, or benefit. Lazarus (2001) is careful to point out that blame and credit are not mere attributions, such as the concept of responsibility, but instead are evaluations based on whether one judges the situation as intentional and/or capable of being avoided. For example, the

employee dealing with an angry customer might attribute blame to the customer if she appraises his intent as malevolent. On the other hand, if she does not evaluate the customer's intent as malevolent (e.g., if the customer's children are misbehaving and he happens to yell at her simply out of frustration), it is less likely that the employee will feel anger. Coping potential refers to a person's belief that he/she can successfully improve a situation, eliminate a harm or threat, or bring to fruition a challenge or benefit. For example, rather than feeling anger, the same employee might feel anxiety in the face of the angry customer if she feels that she might not have the ability to cope with the situation. Similarly, future expectations refer to a person's belief in whether conditions will change for the better or for the worse, after the event is complete. For example, the employee might feel sadness if she believes that the situation will never improve (perhaps she evaluates the situation as indicative of human beings' lack of respect for one another).

Thus far, the emotional labor literature has yet to directly apply Lazarus's ideas (or appraisal theory in general) to the regulation of emotions in the workplace. However, appraisal theory has been applied to interventions designed to reduce workplace stress. This research is discussed below.

Cognitive-Behavioral Interventions at Work: Reducing Employee Stress

According Sonnentag and Frese's (2003) review of the organizational stress literature, stressors can be defined as conditions and events that evoke psychological strain on individuals. Strain, in turn, is defined by physiological, affective, and behavioral reactions to these stressors (Sonnentag & Frese, 2003). Appraisal theories of

emotion have been applied to a great extent in the stress literature. This is not surprising, given that several theories of organizational stress are derived from and closely mirror theories of emotion. For example, Sonnentag and Frese (2003) state that one of the most prominent models of stress, the transactional model, was developed by Lazarus (1966; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Lazarus's views on stress approximate his appraisal views of the emotion generation process. That is, stress is caused not only by aspects of the environment (stressors) but also by a person's appraisal of those stressors and his/her resources to cope with them.

Because in many occupations and job situations, the stressors/events that occur cannot be changed, the most frequently used workplace programs are those associated with strain reduction; that is, programs designed to teach coping strategies to reduce strain. The two most common of these are relaxation techniques and cognitive-behavioral techniques (Sonnentag & Frese, 2003; van der Klink, Blonk, Schene, & van Dijk, 2001). van der Klink et al. (2001) define relaxation techniques as those that "focus on physical or mental relaxation as a method to cope with the consequences of stress (p. 270)". Cognitive-behavioral approaches, on the other hand, focus on "changing cognitions and subsequently reinforcing active coping skills (p. 270)."

van der Klink et al. (2001) conducted a meta-analysis of 48 studies examining the effectiveness of work-related stress interventions. They concluded that the cognitive-behavioral interventions were most effective, showing an overall moderate effect size of .68 (n = 18). However, relaxation techniques also exhibited a small, yet significant overall effect of .35 (n = 17). Type of intervention also interacted with type

of outcome variable measured. Specifically, cognitive-behavioral interventions were more effective than relaxation techniques for improving psychological outcomes, such as anxiety and self-esteem. Relaxation interventions were more effective than cognitive-behavioral interventions for reducing psychophysiologic outcomes, such as adrenaline and cholesterol levels. These findings are consistent with conclusions drawn by Murphy (1996) in his review of stress management interventions in work settings and their effects on health outcomes. Finally, cognitive-behavioral interventions appeared to be the most effective single intervention for improving quality of work life, with an effect size of .48 (surpassed only by multimodal interventions, whose effect size was .59).

Further support for the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioral strategies comes from evidence regarding the effectiveness of stress inoculation training (Saunders, Driskell, Johnston, & Salas, 1996; van der Klink et al., 2001). Stress inoculation is a specific form of cognitive-behavioral intervention which consists of three phases: (1) an educational phase, designed to help the trainee better understand the origin and effects of stress, (2) skills training and rehearsal, where the trainee is taught a variety of coping skills to reduce stress reactions, and (3) application, where the trainee is exposed to conditions that simulate a stressful situation, either by guided imagery or role-play, and he/she must apply the coping skills learned. This final phase is designed to increase transfer of training (Meichenbaum, 1977; Saunders et al., 1996).

Saunders et al. (1996) conducted a meta-analysis on the effectiveness of stress inoculation interventions and found that they were in fact quite effective for reducing

performance anxiety (k = 19; $r = .51, p < .001$) and state anxiety (k = 40; $r = .37, p < .001$) and for increasing performance under stress (k = 11; $r = .30; p < .001$) compared to control groups that did not receive the treatment. These positive effects occurred regardless of the experience of the trainer, type of setting (field or lab), and type of trainee population (high anxiety versus normal). Type of application (imagery versus role-play/practice) was also examined as a possible moderator. Results showed that imagery was more helpful for performance anxiety outcomes, whereas practice was more helpful for improving performance. There were no differences between the two types of practice for state anxiety variables.

As can be concluded from the above, there is strong support for the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioral interventions for reducing certain types of stress outcomes. Most of these studies were conducted on populations such as teachers and nurses; however, based on the parallels between antecedents of stress outcomes and antecedents of emotions (i.e., appraisal), it is likely that such interventions can also be used to reduce emotional labor outcomes such as inauthenticity and burnout in service occupations. In these jobs, the effects on performance are likely to be even greater than previous studies because emotional displays are such a large part of performance in service jobs. In other words, when service employees experience stress/emotions, their performance is affected, not only indirectly, through reduced cognitive resources, but also directly through negative emotional displays or inauthentic positive displays.

PRESENT INVESTIGATION

The primary purpose of the present study was to test the practical utility of a training program based on appraisal theory for improving the emotions and well-being of service employees and the satisfaction of customers. More specifically, this research examined the extent to which reappraisal training (a) increased positive emotions and decreased negative emotions, (b) increased employee well-being, and (c) increased customer service effectiveness. In the following sections, appraisal theory concepts will be integrated with concepts from Affective Events Theory and emotional labor theory. This integration was used to develop specific hypotheses about the effects of cognitive reappraisal training on a variety of outcome variables. Specifically, the reappraisal training was expected to target the link between affective events and affective reactions by influencing appraisals of events (See Figure 2). Thus, first and foremost, the training was expected to influence the target emotions by changing appraisals. In addition, AET predicts that affective reactions have a direct influence on work attitudes and behaviors. The training was therefore expected to improve job satisfaction and decrease burnout, through its influence on the targeted emotions. In addition, the training was expected to result in more effective emotional displays, which were expected to influence customer ratings of employee authenticity, and overall ratings of customer satisfaction (once again, through its effect on felt emotions). These links are explained in more detail below and are presented in the Figure 2.
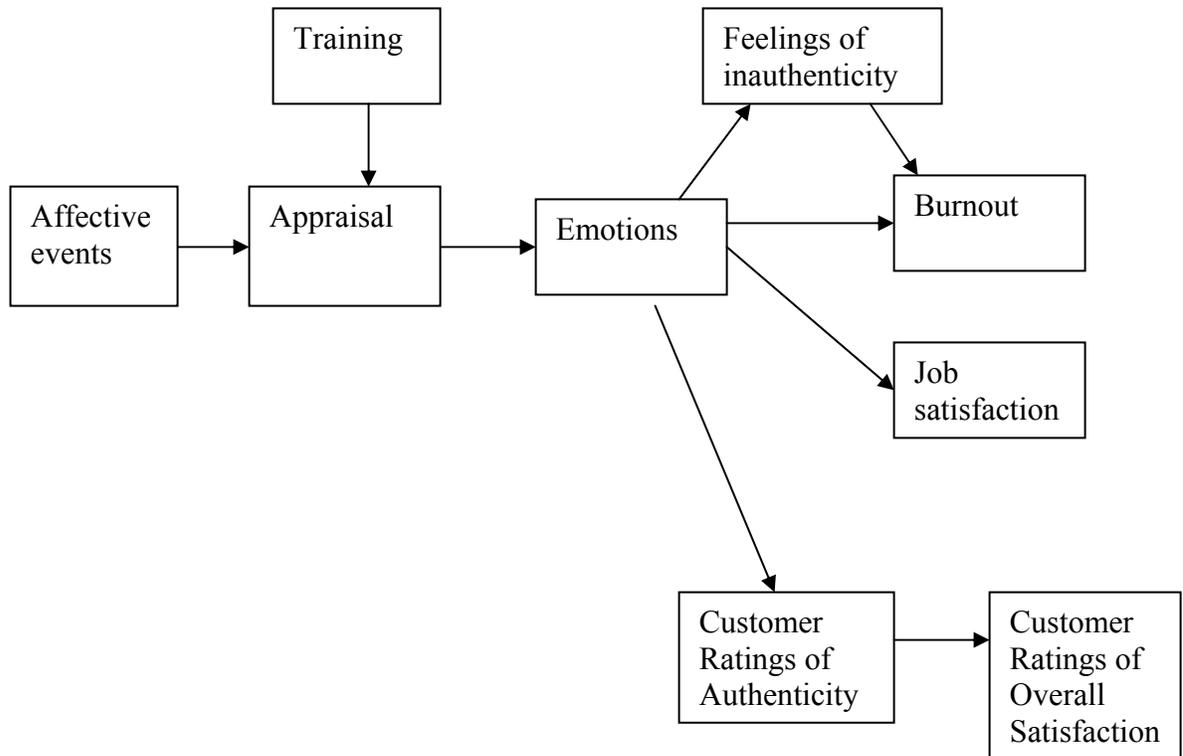
Figure 2. Hypothesized causal model.

Emotions Hypotheses

Research has shown that the degree to which individuals are required to interact

with others on the job is positively related to pressure to express positive emotions and

suppress negative emotions (e.g., Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Diefendorff, Richard, &

Croyle, in press; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Service employees, in particular, are

expected to display integrative emotions such as friendliness and sympathy (Grandey &

Brauburger, 2002; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1985). There is evidence that customers can "catch" the emotions of the service employee during the interaction, in a process commonly referred to as "emotional contagion" (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994; Pugh, 2001). Therefore, the goal behind employee positive displays is to create positive emotions in the customer so that the customer will form a positive view of the organization (Grandey & Brauburger, 2002). As a result, service employees report feeling pressure to express positive emotions and suppress negative emotions in order to provide "service with a smile" (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). In order to tap both aspects of service employee emotional display requirements, the training was developed to target the reduction of negative emotions and the increase of positive emotions. This change in emotions was expected to occur by increasing employees' use of reappraisal strategies—that is, teaching employees to reinterpret situations in ways that promote positive emotions and neutralize negative emotions. Thus, the general expectation was that employees who received the training would experience an increase in positive emotions and a decrease in negative emotions, compared to employees in the control condition.

> H1: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training experience a greater increase in positive emotions than those who receive the control condition training.

> H2: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training experience a greater decline in negative emotions than those who receive the control condition training.

Job Satisfaction Hypotheses

Definitions of job satisfaction were once characterized solely by cognitive elements referring to beliefs about features of the job (e.g., evaluations of pay, coworkers). Recently, however, theorists have begun to recognize job satisfaction as an "evaluation" about one's job, which is influenced both by beliefs about the features of one's job and by affective experiences at work (e.g., Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999; Weiss, 2002). For example, in AET, Weiss & Cropanzano (1996) predicted that both features of the work environment and affective experiences in the workplace influence work attitudes. In fact, they specifically stated that "affective experiences have a direct influence on job satisfaction" (p. 12). Weiss et al. (1996) empirically examined this notion and found that average levels of pleasant mood and cognitive beliefs about the job both contributed independently to the prediction of job satisfaction.

Because job satisfaction is believed to have a substantial affective component, it stands to reason that when employees are trained in an emotion regulation strategy that helps them to improve their affective experiences at work (i.e., helps them to increase positive and/or decrease negative emotions), their job satisfaction should improve. Recall that Gosserand (2003) found a positive relationship between job satisfaction and DA. Although some research on the relationship between deep acting and job satisfaction has shown a negative correlation (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Richard et al., 2005, April), this may be primarily due to a negative effect of satisfaction on deep acting (i.e., less satisfied individuals may not put forth much effort to actively experience the

organizationally-desired emotions), rather than a negative effect of deep acting on satisfaction (i.e., people who deep act have lower job satisfaction). However, in an experimental design where deep acting is manipulated, it was anticipated that the greater positive emotions experienced by individuals who deep act would result in greater satisfaction with the job. By manipulating deep acting, this study sought to isolate the causal path of deep acting to satisfaction.

In sum, based on affective events theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) and on new, affective conceptualizations of job satisfaction (e.g., Ilies & Judge, 2002; Weiss, 2002; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999), the present investigation attempted to manipulate appraisals of situations in order to increase positive experiences on the job. As a result, individuals trained in reappraisal strategies were expected to experience more positive emotions and less negative emotions. Because average levels of affective experiences are believed to influence job satisfaction (e.g., Ilies & Judge, 2002; Weiss, 2002; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996; Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999), individuals who received the reappraisal training were expected to exhibit improved job satisfaction. Thus, the present investigation proposed a positive effect of training on job satisfaction that is mediated by felt affect.

> H3: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training exhibit a greater increase in job satisfaction than those who receive only the control condition training.
> H4: Daily positive and negative emotions mediate the effects of the training manipulation on job satisfaction.

Inauthenticity Hypotheses

Ashforth and Tomiuk (2000) recently stressed the importance of examining feelings of inauthenticity in service professionals. According to these authors, authenticity is the extent to which one is behaving according to what one considers to be one's true or genuine self. Thus, inauthenticity is defined as the discrepancy between displayed emotions and a valued personal identity. Feelings of inauthenticity are believed to lead to serious consequences and have been found to be strong predictors of depressed mood in service employees (Erickson & Wharton, 1997). The reappraisal training was therefore designed to decrease customer service employees' feelings of inauthenticity.

By teaching employees to feel the emotions that their work requires of them, the training was expected to reduce feelings of inauthenticity. That is, the reappraisal training was expected to help employees learn to make themselves feel the "correct emotions" so that their displays could be authentic representations of their inner feelings—thus leading to reduced feelings of inauthenticity. This reasoning implies, of course, that felt emotions act as mediators of the effect of the training on feelings of inauthenticity.

> H5: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training experience a greater decline in felt inauthenticity than those who receive only the control condition training.
>
> H6: Average levels of positive and negative emotions mediate the effect of training condition on feelings of inauthenticity.

Burnout Hypotheses

Another important outcome variable hypothesized to be affected by cognitive reappraisal training was employee burnout. Burnout is an important outcome variable in this line of research because it has been linked to important variables such as absenteeism, intention to leave the job, and actual turnover (Maslach et al., 2001). Regarding the affective events model, burnout might be thought of as a reaction to the job that comes about in response to affective experiences (See Figure 2). The most predominant conceptualization of burnout is Maslach's three-dimensional framework, consisting of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal accomplishment (e.g., Maslach, 1982; 1998; Maslach et al., 2001).

Similar to its effect on job satisfaction, cognitive reappraisal training was expected to influence emotional exhaustion in the present study through its effect on felt emotions. Maslach et al. (2001) explain the construct of emotional exhaustion as "feelings of being overextended and depleted of one's emotional and physical resources" (p. 399). Maslach (1982) proposed that frequent interactions with customers that are intense or emotionally charged are associated with higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Additionally, recent research suggests that experiencing a high level of negatively valenced emotions and a low level of positively valenced emotions on the job seems to be associated with higher levels of emotional exhaustion (e.g., Glomb et al., 2002; Zerbe, 2000). The purpose of the reappraisal training was to increase levels of positive emotions and decrease levels of negative emotions. Thus, one would expect that individuals who experience the training should experience reduced emotional

exhaustion compared to those who do not get the training. This effect, of course, was expected to occur because of the reduced negative emotions and increased positive emotions expected to result from the training.

H7: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training experience a greater decline in emotional exhaustion than those who receive only the control condition training.

H8: Average levels of positive and negative emotions mediate the effect of training condition on emotional exhaustion.

Maslach, Jackson, & Leither (1996) define depersonalization as "unfeeling and impersonal responses toward recipients of one's service, care, treatment, or instruction" (p. 4). Depersonalization is believed to be a coping mechanism that employees use when they become emotionally exhausted (Maslach, 2001). The idea is that "by actively ignoring the qualities that make [customers] unique and engaging people," employees put a psychological distance between themselves and the sources of their stress, reducing the emotional demands of the job. This suggests that emotional exhaustion comes first, and depersonalization follows. It was therefore expected that, by introducing a technique of controlling emotions that reduces emotional exhaustion, depersonalization would be reduced. Thus, the reappraisal training was expected to reduce depersonalization through reducing emotional exhaustion.

Kruml and Geddes (2000) suggest that another cause of depersonalization is when workers express feelings that are inconsistent with their true feelings. The idea is that employees become alienated from their customers when they put on a "mask" or

"fake" their emotions around those customers. It stands to reason, then, that if employees truly feel the emotions that they express to customers, they should feel less alienated from these customers and therefore experience lower levels of depersonalization. A strategy that teaches employees to change their feelings to match those they express to customers should therefore reduce depersonalization. This reasoning, of course, implies that the effects of the reappraisal training will be at least partially mediated through decreased feelings of inauthenticity.

H9: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training experience a greater decline in depersonalization than those who receive only the control condition training.

H10: Emotional exhaustion mediates the effect of training condition on depersonalization.

H11: Employee feelings of inauthenticity mediate the effect of training condition on depersonalization.

The last dimension of burnout is personal accomplishment. Research has shown that deep acting is positively related to a sense of personal accomplishment; however, because these studies have been correlational, we do not know (a) whether DA does in fact have a causal effect on personal accomplishment, or (b) what processes might account for such an effect. This study proposed two ways in which a deep acting training might exert influence on feelings of personal accomplishment: First, because a service employee's job requires displays of positive emotions, successful use of a strategy that increases the desired emotions (and decreases undesired emotions) should lead an employee to feel he/she has accomplished what he/she set out to accomplish on

the job. Thus, one would expect DA to have its effects through changes in the emotions felt at work. Second, Hochschild (1983) suggested that attempting to alter ones' emotions in response to job demands may increase feelings of authenticity and actually lead to a sense of personal accomplishment if the strategy is successful. One would therefore expect DA to have additional effects on personal accomplishment by decreasing feelings of inauthenticity.

H12: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training experience a greater increase in personal accomplishment than those who receive only the control condition training.

H13: Average levels of positive and negative emotions mediate the effect of training condition on feelings of personal accomplishment.

H14: Employee feelings of inauthenticity mediate the effect of training condition on feelings of personal accomplishment.

Service-related Outcomes Hypotheses

Grandey et al. (2005) found that customers are able to perceive the difference between faked and authentic displays of positive emotion. An important expected outcome of the reappraisal training was that service employees would be able to actually feel the positive emotions they are required to express, leading to authentic (rather than faked) displays of positive emotions. Thus, employees who received the reappraisal training were expected to receive higher customer ratings of authenticity. These effects, of course, were expected to be mediated by employees' felt emotions.

H15: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training exhibit greater increases in customer-rated authenticity than those who receive only the control condition training.

H16: Average levels of positive and negative emotions mediate the effect of training condition on customer ratings of authenticity.

Grandey et al. (Study 2; 2005) also found that customer perceptions of authenticity predicted customer ratings of overall satisfaction above and beyond employee experience, perceived attractiveness, task performance, and perceived friendliness. These findings are consistent with Hochschild's (1983) idea that, because customers have become so accustomed to "service with a smile," they now recognize inauthenticity in such smiles and value authentic smiles to a higher degree than in the past. Grandey et al. (2005) theorize that authentic displays of positive emotions are viewed by customers as "extra-role" behaviors that go above and beyond requirements and therefore increase satisfaction with the service encounter. As a result, because employees who received the reappraisal training were expected to be perceived as more authentic by customers, they also were expected to receive higher overall customer satisfaction ratings than those who did not receive the training.

H17: Individuals who receive the reappraisal training exhibit greater increases in customer-rated overall satisfaction with the service encounter than those who receive only the control condition training.

H18: Customer ratings of authenticity mediate the effect of training condition on overall customer satisfaction.

Method

Participants

Participants were 120 undergraduate students (68% female; 77% Caucasian)

who participated in exchange for extra credit in their psychology courses. Seventy-six

came from a large, southern university, 4 came from a small, private southeastern

university, and 44 came from two large, southeastern community colleges. Participants

all were service industry employees who worked at least 20 hours per week (mean

hours worked per week = 26.30, SD = 6.34) and ranged in age from 18 to 43 (mean age

= 21.27, SD = 3.30).   Twelve participants had to be removed from the analyses due to

large amounts of missing data, reducing the sample size to 108 (N=55 in the reappraisal

condition; N=53 in the control condition).

Customer service employees are an ideal sample in emotional labor research

because their jobs (1) require high levels of customer contact (in terms of frequency,

intensity, and duration of interactions; Morris & Feldman, 1996), (2) require the

employee to attempt to produce positive emotions in customers, and (3) are

characterized by high levels of organizational control over emotions (e.g., as indicated

by signs posted in the workplace to "smile"). These three job requirements are all part

of Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor.

Training Interventions

Service employees signed up for training sessions that were later randomly

assigned to one of two conditions: reappraisal training group or control group. The

reappraisal training focused on teaching employees to change their emotions by

changing their appraisals of the situation. The control training consisted of general

customer service training. Individuals were presented with the dimensions of service

and the training centered on how they could improve upon these dimensions, along with

exercises. A customer service training was chosen over a "no training" control group to

rule out the alternative interpretation that improvements occurred because participants

in the experimental group received any treatment. Thus, this design helps eliminate

threats to internal validity, enabling greater confidence in causal inferences that can be

made (Goldstein, 1993).

<u>Customer Service Training</u>

Individuals in the control condition received training in effective customer

service. The training utilized a Microsoft PowerPoint presentation. Appendix A presents

the slides from the training. The training was a straightforward customer service

training, based on the five dimensions of service quality identified by Parasuraman and

colleagues (Parasuraman, Berry, & Zeithaml, 1991; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry,

1985; 1988) and outlined by Ford, McNair, and Perry (2001) in their book *Exceptional*

Customer Service: Going Beyond Your Good Service to Exceed the Customer's

Expectation. Care was taken to ensure that emotional displays, emotion regulation

techniques, and related information were not discussed in this training. Doing so helped

ensure that the experimental group training was maximally distinct from the control

group training. The training lasted approximately 40 minutes.

<u>Reappraisal Training</u>

The experimental group received training in cognitive reappraisal. This training also utilized a Microsoft PowerPoint presentation. Appendix B presents the slides that were used. Like the control training, this training included a brief discussion of the topics covered in the customer service training. Including a discussion of customer service in the experimental training was intended to better isolate the effects of the key manipulation. By including discussion of the dimensions of customer service (the control training) within the experimental training, the only difference between the material included in the two trainings was the reappraisal material. This training also lasted approximately 40 minutes.

The specific dimensions of appraisal chosen for manipulation within the training originate in Lazarus' (1991; 1999) cognitive-motivational-relational theory of emotions. These particular appraisal dimensions were chosen because Lazarus's theory is arguably the most influential appraisal theory and also the most succinct, consisting of only six dimensions of appraisal.

The experimental training centered on teaching employees to appraise situations in ways that increase positive emotions and decrease negative emotions. Note that it may be unreasonable (and maybe even undesirable or inappropriate) to expect an employee to go from an intense negative emotion to a positive emotion during a service interaction. (For example, even if it were possible, it could be considered inappropriate to call up happiness in response to an angry customer because the customer would likely feel as if the employee is failing to take the situation seriously.) Therefore, the

training focused on moving from neutral states (e.g., boredom) to more positive states (e.g., happiness) and on moving from negative states (e.g., anger) to more neutral states (e.g., calm).

Because the main goals were to change the valence of emotions (from neutral emotions to positive emotions and from negative emotions to neutral emotions), the training focused primarily on manipulating primary appraisal components. For example, Lazarus states that happiness results from the evaluation that one is making reasonable progress toward the realization of a goal (appraisals of high goal relevance and congruence; e.g., Lazarus, 1991; 2001). Thus, the training encouraged employees to try to evaluate circumstances as goal relevant and conducive when they are having trouble producing happiness in themselves (when they are bored, tired, or otherwise neutral, for instance). Employees were asked to come up with "self-statements" during the training that could help in these appraisals, such as, "This job is really helping me to meet my goal of getting my own apartment and/or living on my own," or "this job is really helping me improve my social skills; I'm becoming more of a 'people person.'" The creation of these self-statements was part of the training. First, employees were instructed to list their most important work and life goals, such "making money" or "being a good partner or parent" or "making good grades/graduating from college." Then participants used these goals to come up with self-statements in which they related common, neutral work situations to their goals, in order to produce a positive emotion. Again, participants came up with these self-statements on their own (to ensure the statements' relevance for each person). Employees were encouraged to use the self-

statements they came up with on the job when they wanted to create positive emotions in themselves. Examples were given, as was the opportunity to ask questions, in order to ensure that employees understood the types of self-statements that they should create.

This training also asked employees to learn to reduce their appraisals of goal relevance in some circumstances in order to inoculate themselves against negative emotions. Lazarus (1991; 1999) reasoned that if there is no appraisal of goal relevance, there is no emotion. Therefore, employees were instructed during the training to come up with self-statements meant to reduce appraisals of goal relevance, such as "This customer is being rude; however, that doesn't hinder my major life goals in any way." Again, examples were given, and employees were given the opportunity to ask questions during the creation of these self-statements. Employees were then encouraged to keep these higher, more important goals in mind and "reframe" the negative situation as a "nonevent" in terms of these more important goals (Gross, 1998).

The steps of the reappraisal training were based on Meichenbaum's (1977) model of stress inoculation training, a cognitive-behavioral approach to teaching coping skills. Although Meichenbaum's (1977) original model was developed as a clinical treatment program (Meichenbaum, 1985; 1993; Meichenbaum & Deffenbacher, 1988), researchers have since adapted these ideas to create stress interventions for purposes of reducing strain in high-stress occupations such as nurses, care workers, school psychologists, teachers, police and probation officers, military personnel, and disaster workers, with encouraging results (Meichenbaum, 1993). Also, as reviewed above, a meta-analysis by Saunders et al. (1996) found that stress inoculation interventions were

an effective means of reducing anxiety and increasing performance and that these results did not vary by population (clinical/high anxiety versus "normal"). According to this model, training should consist of the following components: (a) education (teaching individuals about how stress/emotional reactions occur), (b) rehearsal (training individuals to use cognitive restructuring and self-statements), and (c) application (having individuals practice their new skills, using activities such as visualization or role-playing). Homework is also sometimes assigned to reinforce and have employees practice what was learned and also have employees report stress/emotion levels each day (e.g., Cecil & Forman, 1990). However, the daily surveys used in this particular study were expected to serve the purpose of reminding employees to "practice" what they had learned and report on the emotions they were experiencing; therefore, no additional "homework" was deemed necessary.

Procedure

Participants were asked to complete an online survey assessing their reappraisal strategy use, experienced emotions, felt inauthenticity, burnout symptoms and job satisfaction at the end of each work shift for (a) five shifts before their scheduled training session and (b) five shifts following the training. During these same ten days of data collection, participants also handed out surveys to 3 customers per shift. These surveys included ratings of the customer service employee's authenticity and the customer's overall satisfaction with the service encounter. They were printed on self-addressed, stamped postcards that the customer mailed directly back to the researcher.

Before beginning data collection, an experimenter or research assistant met with participants to explain the procedures for handing out their surveys to customers and filling out their own employee surveys online. Participants also completed a demographic survey and emotional display rule measures during this meeting.

Employee Measures

During each day of the study, an email reminder was sent to all participants containing a link to the online survey. Participants were instructed to open the email as soon as they returned from work, click on the link in the email, and fill out the online survey. The entire survey took approximately 5 minutes per day to complete. The online survey assessed use of reappraisal strategies (baseline assessment and manipulation check), experienced emotions, feelings of authenticity, burnout symptoms and experience sampled job satisfaction. These measures are explained in more detail below and are listed in Appendix C.

Reappraisal Strategy Use: Baseline Assessment and Manipulation Check

The extent to which employees actually attempted to use reappraisal strategies of emotion regulation was assessed with three questions listed in Appendix C (e.g., "During the workday today, how often did you try to change your interpretation of a situation so as to make it more positive?"; average $\alpha_{\text{pre-test}} = .87$; average $\alpha_{\text{post-test}} = .93$). Responses were on a 5-point scale (1 = 0 times; 2 = 1-2 times; 3 = 3-4 times; 4 = 5-6 times, 5 = 7 or more times). Answers to the three questions were averaged to achieve one "reappraisal" score per day.

Experienced Emotions

Positive and negative emotions were assessed with 15 items taken from the Job Affective Well-Being Scale (Van Katwyk, Fox, Spector, & Kelloway, 2000; See Appendix C). The scale is divided into 4 dimensions, (1) high pleasure, high arousal emotions (HPHA; e.g., energetic, excited; average $\alpha_{\text{pre-test}}$ = .93; average $\alpha_{\text{post-test}}$ = .95), (2) high pleasure, low arousal emotions (HPLA; e.g., calm, relaxed; average $\alpha_{\text{pre-test}}$ = .93; average $\alpha_{\text{post-test}}$ = .95), (3) low pleasure, high arousal emotions (LPHA; e.g., angry, anxious; average $\alpha_{\text{pre-test}}$ = .75; average $\alpha_{\text{post-test}}$ = .74), and (4) low pleasure, low arousal emotions (LPLA; e.g., bored, gloomy; average $\alpha_{\text{pre-test}}$ = .77; average $\alpha_{\text{post-test}}$ = .78). Following each work shift, employees reported the extent to which they felt each emotion "during the workday today" on a 5-point scale (1=never; 5=extremely often).

Felt Inauthenticity

Feelings of inauthenticity during the service encounter were assessed with two items listed in Appendix C. These items are similar to those used by Erickson and Wharton (1997) to assess job-related inauthenticity in the service industry but were reworded and adapted for the experience sampling methodology (e.g., "During the workday today, how often did you feel inauthentic or "fake"?"; average $\alpha_{\text{pre-test}}$ = .89; average $\alpha_{\text{post-test}}$ = .95).

End-of-Day Burnout

Experienced emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and personal accomplishment at the end of each workday/shift were measured with an adaptation of

the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). Four items each were used to assess the 3 dimensions of burnout: emotional exhaustion (e.g., "I feel like I'm at the end of my rope"; average $\alpha_{pre-test}$ = .92; average $\alpha_{post-test}$ = .94), depersonalization (e.g., **"**I feel like I treated some customers as if they were impersonal "objects" today"; average $\alpha_{pre-test}$ = .87; average $\alpha_{post-test}$ = .89), and personal accomplishment (e.g., "I feel that I positively influenced people's lives through my work today"; average $\alpha_{pre-test}$ = .80; average $\alpha_{post-test}$ = .86).

<u>Experience Sampled Job Satisfaction</u>

Job satisfaction at the end of each day was measured with three items from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire Job Satisfaction Subscale (Cammann, Fichman, Henkins, & Klesh, 1979), adapted to include momentary time instructions as in Ilies and Judge (2002; e.g., "At this very moment (as of the end of this shift), I am satisfied with my job"; average $\alpha_{pre-test}$ = .93; average $\alpha_{post-test}$ = .91) All items are listed in Appendix C. Responses were on a 7-point Likert Scale (1 = Disagree very much; 7 = Agree very much).

<div align="center">Customer Measures</div>

During the 10 days of the study, each service employee gave out three survey postcards per work shift to customers. Items on this survey assessed perceptions of employee authenticity and overall satisfaction with the encounter. The items are listed in Appendix D. The customer was asked to fill out the voluntary survey and drop it in any mailbox. The postcards were self-addressed and stamped.

<u>Perceptions of Employee Authenticity</u>

Customer perceptions of the service employee's authenticity were assessed with 2 items listed in Appendix D. Responses were on a 7-point Likert Scale (1 = Disagree very much; 7 = Agree very much; average $\alpha_{pre-test}$ = .83; average $\alpha_{post-test}$ = .70).

<u>Satisfaction with the Encounter</u>

The customer's overall satisfaction with the encounter was assessed with two items. One of these items was adapted from Grandey et al. (2005). The other was written for the present study in order to increase the reliability of Grandey et al.'s (2005) one-item measure. Responses were on a 7-point Likert scale, anchored to fit the item (See Appendix D; average $\alpha_{pre-test}$ = .91; average $\alpha_{post-test}$ = .92).

Aggregation of Data

Daily levels of the employee-rated dependent variables were averaged over the pre-test period and again over the post-test period. The average number of pre-test surveys per participant was 3.75 (SD = 1.39), and the average number of post-test surveys per participant was 4.50 (SD = 1.59). For the pre-test period, 95.6% of participants completed 2 or more daily surveys, and 79.8% of participants completed 3 or more daily surveys. For the post-test period, 99.1% of participants completed 2 or more daily surveys and 92.9% of participants completed 3 or more daily surveys.

Similarly, customer ratings (of authenticity and satisfaction) were averaged for each day and then aggregated over the pre-test period (i.e., average daily customer satisfaction for the week before the training) and again over the post-test period (i.e., average daily customer satisfaction for the week after the training). The average number

of customer surveys per day was 2.15 (SD = 1.01) for the pre-test period and 1.79 (SD = .81) for the post-test period. The average number of separate days (or work shifts) represented by the surveys was 3.25 (SD = 1.50) for the pre-test period and 3.30 (SD = 1.84) for the post-test period. For the pre-test period, 86.4% of participants were represented by 2 or more separate days of customer surveys, and 66.9% of participants were represented by 3 or more separate days of customer surveys. For the post-test period, 80.2% of participants were represented by 2 or more separate days of customer surveys, and 56.9% of participants were represented by 3 or more separate days of customer surveys.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Table 1 reports the pre-training and post-training means and standard deviations of the dependent variables. Table 2 reports correlations between the average study variables (across condition) and average internal consistency reliabilities.

Examination of Table 2 shows that relationships found between study variables were quite consistent with past research on emotional labor, affective events theory, and burnout theory. For example, all four emotion variables were significantly related to job satisfaction at both time periods. These emotions also significantly correlated with customer ratings of authenticity and overall satisfaction with the service at pre-test and post-test (with the exception of high pleasure, low arousal emotions at post-test). Additionally, emotions were significantly related to the three dimensions of burnout at both time periods. Finally, consistent with the recent findings of Grandey et al. (2005), customer ratings of authenticity were strongly related to customer ratings of satisfaction with the service at pre-test and post-test.

The following demographic and job-centered variables were included in the preliminary analyses as control variables: age, sex, hours per week, tenure, positive and negative display rules. It was thought that the extent to which individuals had experience with emotion regulation (both in life and on the job) may impact the dependent variables. Specifically, those who were older and had more experience in the service industry might have developed better strategies for dealing with emotional labor over time. To control for this possibility, age and service industry tenure were included

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Variables

| | Reappraisal Training Condition | | | | Control Training Condition | | | |
| | Pre-test | | Post-test | | Pre-test | | Post-test | |
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
HPHA Emotions	3.14	.86	3.27	.87	3.18	.69	3.24	.75
HPLA Emotions	3.31	.73	3.48	.72	3.41	.79	3.35	.87
LPHA Emotions	1.71	.73	1.48	.54	1.84	.68	1.61	.65
LPLA Emotions	1.92	.73	1.67	.58	1.99	.59	1.81	.64
Job Satisfaction	4.32	.50	4.45	.50	4.35	.43	4.41	.50
Felt Inauthenticity	1.72	.80	1.55	.60	1.87	.82	1.76	.78
Emotional Exhaustion	3.02	1.38	2.55	1.13	3.20	1.41	2.82	1.32
Depersonalization	2.42	1.15	2.16	1.02	2.61	1.29	2.49	1.22
Personal Accomplishment	4.65	1.00	4.78	1.09	4.66	.90	4.78	1.03
Customer-Rated Authen.	5.92	.67	6.13	.67	5.84	.78	6.11	.69
Customer Satisfaction	6.10	.63	6.23	.56	6.10	.65	6.14	.65

Table 2

Correlations between Study Variables and Inter-item Reliabilities

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Condition															
2. Type School	-.02														
3. Age	.02	.12													
4. Sex	.21*	.09	.13												
5. Hr per week	-.13	.30**	.08	-.04											
6. Service Tenure	-.05	.12	.79**	.16	.10										
7. Pos DR	-.12	-.01	.05	.07	.24*	.07	(.70)								
8. Neg DR	.11	.08	-.01	.11	.13	-.02	.29**	(.92)							
9. Pre-test HPHA	-.03	.31**	.21*	.00	.35**	.26**	.13	-.01	(.93)						
10. Pre-test HPLA	-.07	.08	.24*	-.12	.07	.19	-.02	-.20*	.51**	(.93)					
11. Pre-test LPHA	-.09	.03	-.18	-.03	-.02	-.10	.02	.10	-.39**	-.58**	(.75)				
12. Pre-test LPLA	-.05	-.12	-.27**	-.05	-.08	-.14	.02	.13	-.42**	-.54**	.61**	(.77)			
13. Pre-test JS	-.03	.11	.15	.06	.05	.21*	.16	-.07	.54**	.44**	-.43**	-.44**	(.93)		
14. Pre-test Inauth.	-.10	-.03	-.21*	-.00	-.05	-.09	.11	.12	-.38**	-.44**	.44**	.51**	-.39**	(.89)	
15. Pre-test EE	-.07	-.28**	-.19	-.14	-.11	-.14	-.05	.12	-.55**	-.60**	.58**	.61**	-.59**	.50**	(.92)
16. Pre-test DP	-.08	-.21*	-.27**	-.06	-.12	-.09	-.11	.01	-.51**	-.54**	.52**	.54**	-.39**	.64**	.60**
17. Pre-test PA	-.01	.21*	.17	.03	.24*	.12	.18	-.02	.70**	.51**	-.44**	-.56**	.59**	-.43**	-.54**
18. Pre-test Auth.	.04	.25*	.15	.13	.15	.09	.09	.05	.30**	.25*	-.26*	-.40**	.18	-.18	-.27**
19. Pre-test CS	.03	.16	.16	.08	.19	.12	.16	.03	.27**	.28**	-.22*	-.31**	.10	-.08	-.19
20. Post-test HPHA	.02	.26**	.17	.11	.22*	.21*	.16	-.11	.76**	.42**	-.24*	-.38**	.54**	-.30**	-.41**
21. Post-test HPLA	.08	.17	.29**	.07	.11	.21*	-.03	-.17	.43**	.77**	-.46**	-.54**	.38**	-.41**	.53**
22. Post-test LPHA	-.11	-.02	-.23*	-.09	-.09	-.16	.10	.09	-.33**	-.43**	-.61**	.50**	-.28**	.42**	.43**
23. Post-test LPLA	-.11	-.12	-.25**	-.24*	-.06	-.18	.00	.10	-.20*	-.28**	.32**	.65**	-.27**	.32**	.40**

(Table 2 continued)

24. Post-test JS	.04	.19	.30**	.15	.05	.28*	.17	-.08	.42**	.24*	-.28**	-.39**	.66**	-.31**	-.42**
25. Post-test Inauth.	-.15	-.11	-.17	.05	-.08	-.05	.16	.17	-.26**	-.33**	.33**	.40**	-.14	.70**	.39**
26. Post-test EE	-.11	-.22*	-.21*	-.20*	-.07	-.21*	-.04	.21*	-.48**	-.54**	.53**	.60**	-.48**	.41**	.76**
27. Post-test DP	-.15	-.19	-.26*	-.14	-.05	-.15	-.00	.07	-.47**	-.49**	.44**	.52**	-.31**	.54**	.50**
28. Post-test PA	.00	.26**	.24*	.09	.16	.21*	.11	-.04	-.59**	.41**	-.32**	-.48**	.52**	-.37**	-.43**
29. Post-test Auth.	.01	.27*	.16	.17	.14	.05	.12	.13	.32**	.27*	-.18	-.36**	.29**	-.29**	-.30**
30. Post-test CS	.10	.25*	.16	.05	.24*	.07	.08	.18	.28*	.17	-.13	-.23*	.20	-.25**	-.14

Note. Inter-item reliabilities are shown in parentheses; DR = Display Rules; HPHA = High Pleasure, High Arousal Emotions; HPLA = High Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions; LPHA = Low Pleasure, High Arousal Emotions; LPLA = Low Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions; JS = Job Satisfaction; EE = Emotional Exhaustion; DP = Depersonalization; PA = Personal Accomplishment; CS = Customer Satisfaction.
*p < .05. **p < .01.

(Table 2 continued)

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1. Condition															
2. Type School															
3. Age															
4. Sex															
5. Hr per week															
6. Service Tenure															
7. Pos DR															
8. Neg DR															
9. Pre-test HPHA															
10. Pre-test HPLA															
11. Pre-test LPHA															
12. Pre-test LPLA															
13. Pre-test JS															
14. Pre-test Inauth.															
15. Pre-test EE															
16. Pre-test DP	(.87)														
17. Pre-test PA	-.57**	(.80)													
18. Pre-test Auth.	-.28**	.26**	(.83)												
19. Pre-test CS	-.26*	.26**	.77**	(.92)											
20. Post-test HPHA	-.42**	.59**	.18	.22*	(.95)										
21. Post-test HPLA	-.43**	.44**	.18	.24*	.54**	(.95)									
22. Post-test LPHA	.49**	-.42**	-.28**	-.31**	-.31**	-.50**	(.74)								
23. Post-test LPLA	.37**	-.30**	-.31**	-.25*	-.38**	-.54**	.64**	(.78)							

(Table 2 continued)

24. Post-test JS	-.35**	.46**	.23*	.17	.60**	.41**	-.37**	-.44**	(.91)						
25. Post-test Inauth.	.49**	-.22**	-.15	-.01	-.27**	-.43**	.46**	.51**	-.19	(.95)					
26. Post-test EE	.55**	-.49**	-.18	-.16	-.55**	-.64**	.53**	.62**	-.52**	.46**	(.94)				
27. Post-test DP	.81**	-.48**	-.19	-.18	-.54**	-.55**	.60**	.55**	-.40**	.59**	.68**	(.89)			
28. Post-test PA	-.46**	.76**	.24*	.19	-.67**	.56**	-.48**	-.47**	.64**	-.36**	-.55**	-.55**	(.86)		
29. Post-test Auth.	-.30**	.32**	.61**	.40**	.26**	.21	-.35**	-.40**	.39**	-.29**	-.31**	-.30**	.38**	(.70)	
30. Post-test CS	-.24*	.18	.47**	.47**	.25**	.12	-.30**	-.31**	.40**	-.24*	-.19	-.18	.39**	.76**	(.92)

Note. Inter-item reliabilities are shown in parentheses; DR = Display Rules; HPHA = High Pleasure, High Arousal Emotions; HPLA = High Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions; LPHA = Low Pleasure, High Arousal Emotions; LPLA = Low Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions; JS = Job Satisfaction; EE = Emotional Exhaustion; DP = Depersonalization; PA = Personal Accomplishment; CS = Customer Satisfaction.
*p < .05. **p < .01.

as covariates in the analyses. Similarly, the number of hours worked per week was included as a covariate. Finally, gender (Davis, LaRosa, & Foshee, 1992; Simpson & Stroh, 2004) and emotional display rule perceptions (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000) were included as covariates because both have been found to relate to emotional labor variables. Examination of Table 1 shows that these variables were, in some cases, significantly related to the variables of interest; however, analyses run with and without the covariates demonstrated that inclusion of these covariates did not change the pattern of results (i.e., they did not significantly reduce the effect of any of the factors on the dependent variables). Thus, for reasons of parsimony, the hypotheses tests reported below are based on analyses without the covariates.

Differences between Subsamples

Because the data was collected from both community college students and university students, the effect of school type was examined. Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations for the community college and university subsamples on the control variables and pre-test levels of the dependent variables. Independent samples t-tests showed that the community college sample worked significantly more hours per week (M_{univ}=25.04, M_{cc}=28.83; stats) and initially reported more high pleasure, low arousal emotions (M_{univ}=3.35, M_{cc}=3.38) and lower levels of emotional exhaustion (M_{univ}=3.28, M_{cc}=2.77). Based on these differences, a concern was that the two samples differed in the need for training (Goldstein & Ford, 2002); that is, because the community college sample had less initial emotional exhaustion, more positive emotions and higher job satisfaction, they might not have benefited as much from the

Table 3

Differences between Subsamples on Control Variables and Pre-test Levels of the Dependent Variables

	Community College Subsample		University Subsample	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	21.71	4.93	21.05	2.07
Sex	1.77	.42	1.65	.48
Hours per Week	28.83	7.96	25.04	4.96
Service Tenure (months)	53.55	47.12	46.08	26.15
Positive Display Rules	4.65	.46	4.64	.49
Negative Display Rules	4.17	.93	4.06	.92
Pre-test HPHA Emotions	3.45	.70	3.02	.78
Pre-test HPLA Emotions	3.38	.67	3.35	.81
Pre-test LPHA Emotions	1.89	.80	1.71	.65
Pre-test LPLA Emotions	1.92	.73	1.97	.63
Pre-test Job Satisfaction	4.38	.51	4.31	.45
Pre-test Felt Inauthenticity	1.85	.94	1.77	.74
Pre-test Emotional Exhaustion	2.77	1.27	3.28	1.43
Pre-test Depersonalization	2.33	1.34	2.60	1.16
Pre-test Personal Accomplishment	4.82	1.06	4.57	.89
Pre-test Customer-Rated Authenticity	6.11	.62	5.77	.75
Pre-test Customer Satisfaction	6.26	.61	6.03	.64

emotion regulation training as the university sample. Because of this possibility, school type was included as a between-subjects factor in the model to test for main effects on the dependent variables as well as interactions with training type and the within-subjects, pre-post factor.

Reappraisal Manipulation Check

To the extent that the manipulation worked for a participant: (1) those in the reappraisal group should experience an increase in the use of these strategies following training, and (2) those in the control training should <u>not</u> experience an increase in the use of these strategies. Therefore, (1) those in the reappraisal group who experienced an increase in reappraisal and (2) those in the control group who did <u>not</u> experience an increase (i.e., those who remained the same or decreased in reappraisal levels) were considered to have passed the manipulation check. Just over half of the participants met these criteria (52.1%; See Table 4). As a result, hypothesis tests were run both with and without those who "failed" the manipulation check. Because the pattern of results in the analyses excluding these individuals did not differ greatly from those in the analysis including all individuals, the analyses including all participants are reported. However, a discussion of possible reasons for the weak manipulation effect is included in a later section.

Hypotheses Tests

Hypotheses were tested using 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVA, with one within-subjects factor (pre-test vs. post-test) and two between-subjects factors

representing training condition (control vs. experimental) and school type (university vs. community college).

Table 4

Reappraisal Pre-test and Post-test Values (Manipulation Check)

	Pre-test		Post-test		% of Group Passing Manipulation Check
	M	SD	M	SD	
Reappraisal Group	2.08	.74	2.05	.77	37.9%
Control Group	2.24	.71	2.03	.75	66.1%
Across Groups	2.16	.73	2.04	.76	52.1%

Hypothesis 1 pertained to the effect of training condition on improvement in positive emotions. This hypothesis was tested by examining two different dependent variables—high pleasure, high arousal emotions (Table 5) and high pleasure, low arousal emotions (Table 6). In the high pleasure, high arousal emotions analysis, only the between-person school type factor was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 8.19$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .073$), such that the community college subsample reported overall higher levels of these emotions (M = 3.49) than the university subsample (M = 3.07).

In the high pleasure, low arousal emotions analysis, the within-subjects pre-post factor showed a significant interaction with training type ($F_{(1, 104)} = 5.15$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 =$

.047). Those in the reappraisal group exhibited a post-training increase in high pleasure, low arousal emotions ($M_{pre-test} = 3.31$, $M_{post-test} = 3.51$), whereas those in the control

Table 5

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of High Pleasure, High Arousal Emotions (HPHA) as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.02	.02	.000
School Type	1	8.65	8.19*	.073
Training x School Type	1	.20	.19	.002
Error	104	1.06		
Within subjects				
HPHA Pre-Post (HPHAPP)	1	.42	2.73	.026
HPHAPP x training	1	.11	.73	.007
HPHAPP x school type	1	.00	.03	.000
HPHAPP x training x school type	1	.07	.47	.005
Error	104	.15		

$^+p < .10$. $^*p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$.

Table 6

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of High Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions (HPLA) as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.00	.00	.000
School Type	1	.68	.62	.006
Training x School Type	1	.09	.08	.001
Error	104	1.09		
Within subjects				
HPLA Pre-Post (HPLAPP)	1	.37	2.75	.026
HPLAPP x training	1	.70	5.15*	.047
HPLAPP x school type	1	.43	3.16[+]	.030
HPLAPP x training x school type	1	.01	.04	.000
Error	104	.14		

[+]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

group exhibited a slight decline in high pleasure, low arousal emotions ($M_{\text{pre-test}} = 3.42$, $M_{\text{post-test}} = 3.39$; See Figure 3).
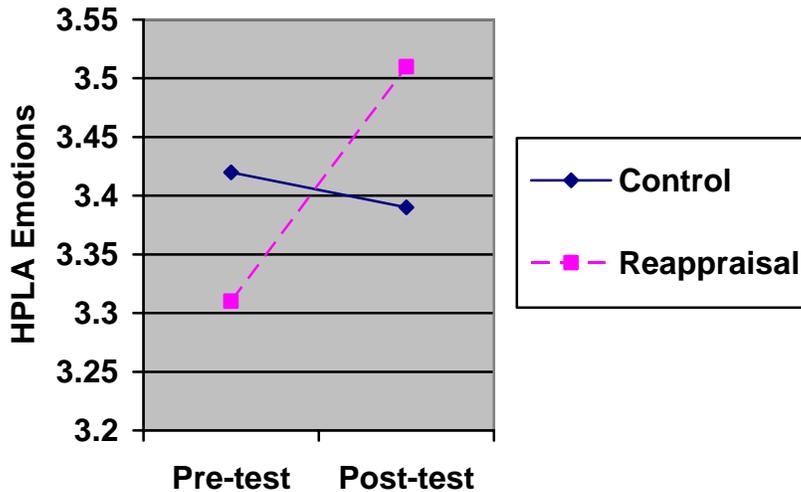
Figure 3. Interaction of training type and high pleasure, low arousal emotions.

Additionally, the within-subjects pre-post factor x school type interaction approached significance ($F_{(1, 104)} = 3.16$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .030$). Because this interaction did not quite reach the traditional .05 level of significance, it should be interpreted with extreme caution. On the other hand, it was thought that graphing this interaction would be beneficial toward understanding whether the subsamples differed (see Figure 4). Separate 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVAs were run on each subsample in order to better understand the nature of the possible interaction. In the community college subsample (Table 7), the within-subjects pre-post factor was significant ($F_{(1, 34)} = 5.39$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .137$), indicating a general increase in overall levels of high pleasure, low arousal

a. University subsample.
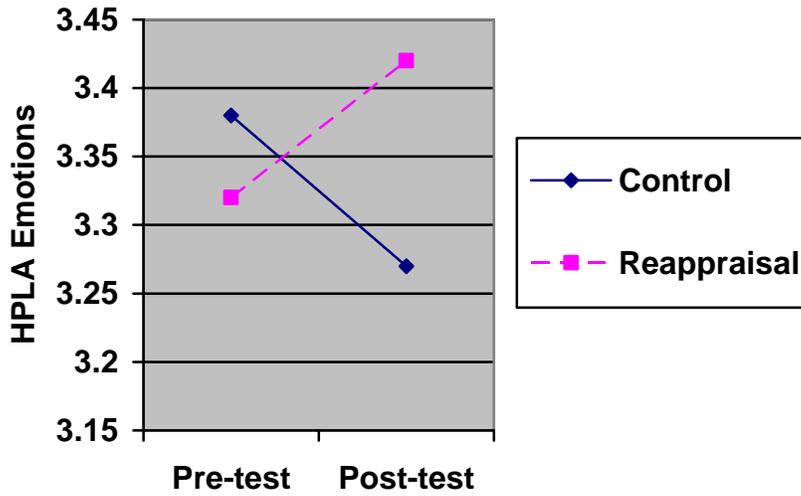
b. Community college subsample.
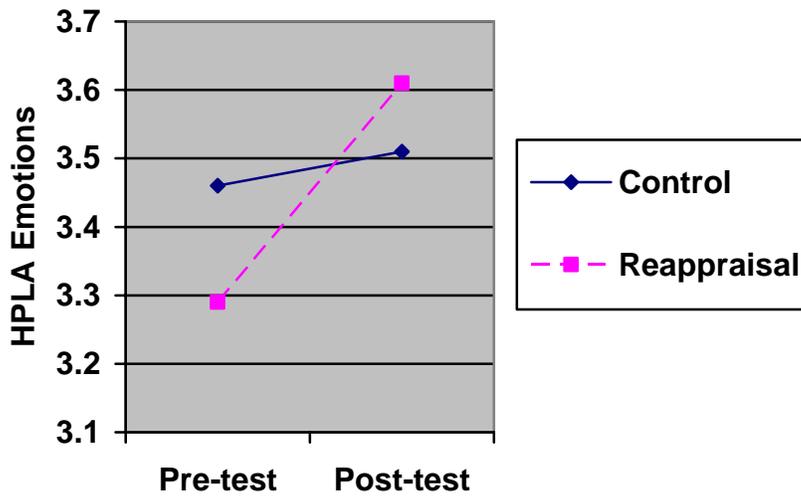
Figure 4. Three-way interaction between high pleasure, low arousal emotions, training type, and school subsample

Table 7

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of High Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions (HPLA) as a Within-Subjects Factor—Community College Subsample Only

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.03	.03	.001
Error	34	.92		
Within subjects				
HPLA Pre-Post (HPLAPP)	1	.60	5.39*	.137
HPLAPP x training	1	.31	2.78[a]	.075
Error	34	.11		

[a] $p = .105$. [+] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

emotions across conditions ($M_{pre-test} = 3.38$, $M_{post-test} = 3.56$). Additionally, the interaction of the within-subjects pre-post factor and the training condition factor approached significance ($F_{(1, 34)} = 2.78$, $p = .105$, $\eta^2 = .075$), such that the reappraisal group exhibited a greater increase in high pleasure, low arousal emotions ($M_{pre-test} = 3.29$, $M_{post-test} = 3.61$) than that exhibited by the control group ($M_{pre-test} = 3.46$, $M_{post-test} = 3.51$). In the university subsample (Table 8), the interaction between the within-subjects pre-post factor and training condition also approached significance ($F_{(1, 70)} = 2.97$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .041$), such that high pleasure, low arousal emotions increased in the reappraisal condition ($M_{pre-test} = 3.32$, $M_{post-test} = 3.42$) and decreased in the control

Table 8

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of High Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions (HPLA) as a Within-Subjects Factor—University Subsample Only

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.08	.06	.001
Error	70	1.18		
Within subjects				
HPLA Pre-Post (HPLAPP)	1	.00	.01	.000
HPLAPP x training	1	.44	2.97[+]	.041
Error	70	.15		

[+]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

condition ($M_{pre-test}$ = 3.38, $M_{post-test}$ = 3.27). Although these effects did not reach

conventional levels of significance, the effect sizes indicate that the lack of statistical

significance is likely due to the reduced sample size (N = 36 in the community college

subsample and N = 72 in the university subsample). Additionally, the effects in both

subsamples (coupled with the significant pre-post factor x training interaction across

subsamples) support Hypothesis 1 (that positive emotions would increase to a greater

extent in the reappraisal condition compared to the control condition). Thus, Hypothesis

1 received support for high pleasure, low arousal emotions but not for high pleasure,

high arousal emotions.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that those in the reappraisal condition would exhibit a greater reduction in negative emotions than those in the control condition. This hypothesis also was tested with two different dependent variables—low pleasure, high arousal emotions (Table 9) and low pleasure, low arousal emotions (Table 10). In the low pleasure, high arousal analysis, the within-subjects pre-post variable was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 16.60$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .138$), indicating an overall decrease in these emotions across conditions ($M_{pre-test} = 1.80$, $M_{post-test} = 1.56$). However, the pre-post factor did not interact with training condition. Similarly, in the low pleasure, low arousal analysis, the within-subjects pre-post variable was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 17.14$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .141$), indicating an overall decrease in these emotions ($M_{pre-test} = 1.95$, $M_{post-test} = 1.72$), but the interaction between this factor and training condition was not significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 failed to receive support in either analysis.

Hypothesis 3 proposed a greater increase in job satisfaction for those receiving the reappraisal training, compared to those receiving the control training. Table 11 reports the results of this analysis. Similar to the effects found for Hypothesis 2, the within-subjects pre-post factor was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 10.60$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .092$), indicating a general increase in job satisfaction following the training ($M_{pre-test} = 5.16$, $M_{post-test} = 5.39$); however, this factor did not interact with training condition, failing to support Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that daily positive and negative emotions would mediate the effects of training condition on job satisfaction. However, the first requirement for testing mediation is a significant effect of the independent variable on the dependent

Table 9

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Low Pleasure, High Arousal Emotions (LPHA) as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.73	1.06	.010
School Type	1	.83	1.21	.012
Training x School Type	1	.01	.02	.000
Error	104	.69		
Within subjects				
LPHA Pre-Post (LPHAPP)	1	2.91	16.60**	.138
LPHAPP x training	1	.01	.06	.001
LPHAPP x school type	1	.12	.67	.006
LPHAPP x training x school type	1	.09	.53	.005
Error	104	.18		

$^+p < .10.$ $*p < .05.$ $**p < .01.$

Table 10

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Low Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions (LPLA) as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.68	1.00	.010
School Type	1	.28	.42	.004
Training x School Type	1	.11	.17	.002
Error	104	.68		
Within subjects				
LPLA Pre-Post (LPLAPP)	1	2.49	17.14**	.141
LPLAPP x training	1	.01	.04	.000
LPLAPP x school type	1	.04	.28	.003
LPLAPP x training x school type	1	.23	1.56	.015
Error	104	.15		

$^+p < .10.$ $*p < .05.$ $**p < .01.$

Table 11

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Job Satisfaction as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.19	.06	.001
School Type	1	3.45	1.12	.011
Training x School Type	1	2.00	.65	.006
Error	104	3.09		
Within subjects				
Job Satisfaction Pre-Post (JSPP)	1	2.67	10.60**	.092
JSPP x training	1	.23	.91	.009
JSPP x school type	1	.01	.04	.000
JSPP x training x school type	1	.17	.68	.007
Error	104	.25		

$^+p < .10.$ $^*p < .05.$ $^{**}p < .01.$

variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986), which would be represented as a significant interaction between the within-person pre-post factor and the training condition factor in the present context. Because this requirement was not met, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Hypothesis 5 stated that feelings of inauthenticity would decrease in the reappraisal condition to a greater extent than in the control condition. The results of this analysis are reported in Table 12. Again, the within-person pre-post factor was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 7.80$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .070$), indicating a general decrease in feelings of inauthenticity following the training ($M_{\text{pre-test}} = 1.81$, $M_{\text{post-test}} = 1.64$). Additionally, the three-way interaction between the within-subjects pre-post factor, training condition, and school type approached significance ($F_{(1, 104)} = 2.97$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .028$). Although this interaction did not reach the traditional .05 level of significance, as in the high pleasure, low arousal analyses, it was considered important to attempt to understand the nature of any possible subsample differences by graphing the interaction (see Figure 5) and by conducting separate 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVAs.

In the community college subsample (Table 13), the within-person pre-post factor was significant ($F_{(1, 34)} = 6.58$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .162$), indicating an overall decrease in feelings of inauthenticity across groups ($M_{\text{pre-test}} = 1.85$, $M_{\text{post-test}} = 1.62$). The within-person pre-post factor x training condition interaction also approached significance ($F_{(1, 34)} = 3.27$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .088$) and suggested that inauthenticity decreased to a greater extent in the reappraisal condition ($M_{\text{pre-test}} = 1.94$, $M_{\text{post-test}} = 1.54$) than in the control condition ($M_{\text{pre-test}} = 1.77$, $M_{\text{post-test}} = 1.94$). Once again, although these effects did not reach conventional levels of significance, the effect sizes indicate that the lack of statistical significance is likely due to the reduced sample size ($N = 36$).

Table 12

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Felt Inauthenticity as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.87	.90	.009
School Type	1	.01	.01	.000
Training x School Type	1	.93	.96	.009
Error	104	.97		
Within subjects				
Felt Inauthenticity Pre-Post (FIPP)	1	1.33	7.80**	.070
FIPP x training	1	.18	1.04	.010
FIPP x school type	1	.20	1.20	.011
FIPP x training x school type	1	.51	2.97[+]	.028
Error	104	.17		

[+]$p < .10.$ *$p < .05.$ **$p < .01.$

a. University subsample.

b. Community college subsample.

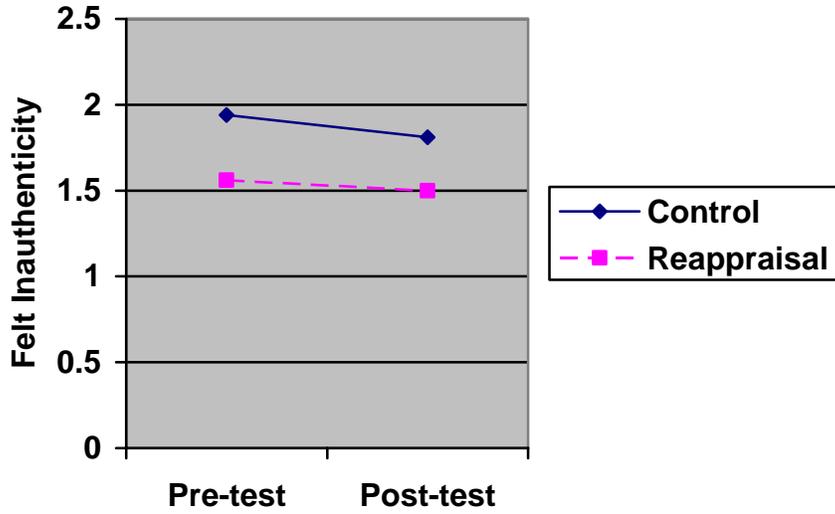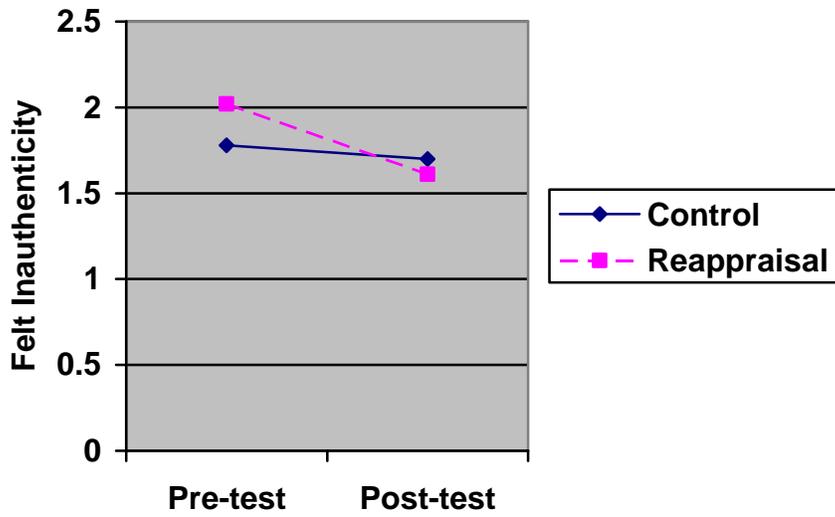Figure 5. Three-way interaction between felt inauthenticity, training type, and school subsample.

Table 13

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Felt Inauthenticity as a Within-Subjects Factor—Community College Subsample Only

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.00	.00	.000
Error	34	1.30		
Within subjects				
Felt Inauthenticity Pre-Post (FIPP)	1	.97	6.58*	.162
FIPP x training	1	.48	3.27[+]	.088
Error	34	.15		

[+]$p < .10.$ *$p < .05.$ **$p < .01.$

In the university subsample (Table 14), the between-subjects training condition factor approached significance ($F_{(1, 70)} = 3.35$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .046$), indicating that those in the reappraisal condition reported overall lower levels of inauthenticity feelings (M = 1.58) than those in the control condition (M = 1.86). However, none of the within-subjects factors were significant. Thus, Hypothesis 5 received some support in the community college subsample but not in the university subsample. Again, however, caution should be taken in interpreting the community college subsample effects, as they did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance.

Table 14

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Felt Inauthenticity as a Within-Subjects Factor—University Subsample Only

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	2.70	3.35[+]	.046
Error	70	.81		
Within subjects				
Felt Inauthenticity Pre-Post (FIPP)	1	.37	2.02	.028
FIPP x training	1	.06	.35	.005
Error	70	.18		

[+]$p < .10.$ *$p < .05.$ **$p < .01.$

Hypothesis 6 proposed positive and negative emotions as mediators of the effects of training condition on inauthenticity reduction. This hypothesis could only be tested in the community college subsample, as it requires a significant interaction between training type and the pre-test vs. post-test factor. Hierarchical regression was used to test mediation (Table 15), according to the recommendations of Kenny and Baron (1986). Pre-test inauthenticity was entered at Step 1, and dummy-coded training condition was entered at Step 2. The post-test emotion variables were then entered at step 3. Training condition was a near-significant predictor of post-test inauthenticity at Step 2 ($\beta = -.18$, $p < .10$), and when post-test emotions were entered at Step 3, the effect of training condition became non-significant. However, the addition of the emotion variables resulted in no significant change in R^2, as none of the emotion variables were

signficant predictors of post-test inauthenticity. Thus, a condition for mediation was not met (i.e.,

a significant effect of the mediator on the dependent variable), and Hypothesis 6 was not

supported.

Table 15

Hierarchical Regression Analysis to Test Emotions as a Mediator of the Effect of Training
Condition on Feelings of Inauthenticity

	β	t	ΔR^2
Step 1			
Pre-test Felt Inauthenticity	.80	7.87**	.645**
Step 2			
Pre-test Felt Inauthenticity	.82	8.28**	.034[+]
Training Condition	-.18	-1.86[+]	
Step 3			
Pre-test Felt Inauthenticity	.71	5.06**	.034
Training Condition	-.16	-1.59	
HPHA Emotions	.01	.05	
HPLA Emotions	.04	.22	
LPHA Emotions	.13	.59	
LPLA Emotions	.12	.64	

Note. β is the standardized regression weight for each of the variables.
Degrees of freedom for the *t*-tests in the first step = (1, 34), for the second
step = 1, 33), and for the third step = (4, 29).
[+]$p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Hypothesis 7 predicted that emotional exhaustion would decrease to a greater extent in the reappraisal condition than in the control condition. As shown in Table 16, the between-subjects school type factor approached significance ($F_{(1, 104)} = 3.00$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .028$), such that university students reported higher overall emotional exhaustion (M = 3.04), compared to the community college students (M = 2.61). Additionally, the within-person pre-post variable was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 17.68$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .145$), indicating an overall decrease in emotional exhaustion across conditions ($M_{pre-test} = 3.03$, $M_{post-test} = 2.63$). However, the within-subjects pre-post factor did not interact with training condition, failing to support Hypothesis 7. As a result, a pre-condition for testing mediation was not supported, preventing the test of mediation proposed by Hypothesis 8. Thus, Hypothesis 8 was not supported.

Hypothesis 9 stated that the reappraisal training would result in a greater decline in depersonalization than the control training. Table 17 reports the results of this analysis. The within-subjects pre-test vs. post-test factor was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 6.42$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .058$), indicating an overall decline in depersonalization across conditions. Additionally, however, the pre-post factor x training condition x school type interaction was also significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 4.00$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .037$). This interaction is depicted in Figure 6. In order to better understand the nature of this three-way interaction, separate 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVAs were conducted for each subsample.

In the community college subsample (Table 18), the within-subjects factor by training condition interaction was significant ($F_{(1, 34)} = 4.80$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .124$), such that those in the reappraisal condition experienced a decrease in depersonalization ($M_{pre-test} = 2.50$, $M_{post-test}$ =2.06), and those in the control condition experienced a slight increase in depersonalization ($M_{pre-test} = 2.17$, $M_{post-test} = 2.25$). This finding provides some support for Hypothesis 9.

Table 16

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Emotional Exhaustion as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	3.55	1.18	.011
School Type	1	9.01	3.00[+]	.028
Training x School Type	1	.63	.21	.002
Error	104	3.00		
Within subjects				
Emotional Exhaustion Pre-Post (EEPP)	1	7.61	17.68**	.145
EEPP x training	1	.08	.20	.002
EEPP x school type	1	.30	.69	.007
EEPP x training x school type	1	.00	.00	.000
Error	104	.43		

[+]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 17

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Depersonalization as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	1.58	.64	.006
School Type	1	3.33	1.34	.013
Training x School Type	1	3.18	1.28	.012
Error	104	2.48		
Within subjects				
Depersonalization Pre-Post (DPP)	1	1.68	6.42*	.058
DPP x training	1	.64	2.47	.023
DPP x school type	1	.00	.02	.000
DPP x training x school type	1	1.04	4.00*	.037
Error	104	.26		

[+]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

a. University subsample.

b. Community college subsample.

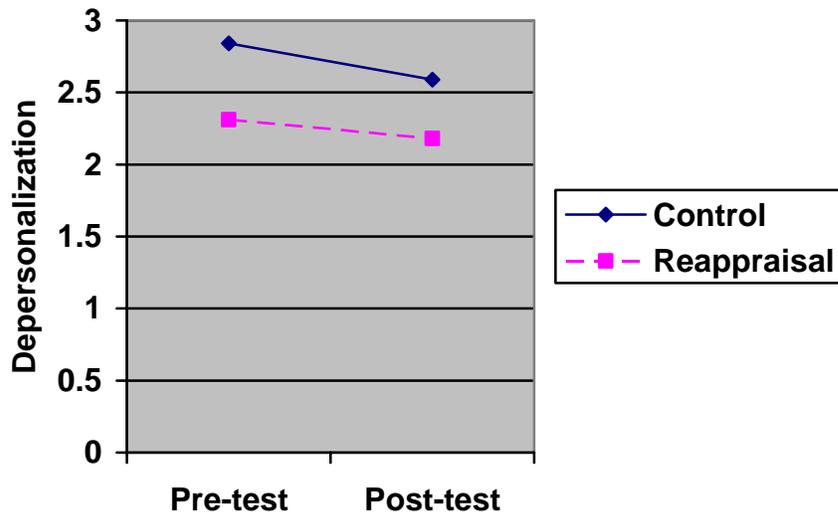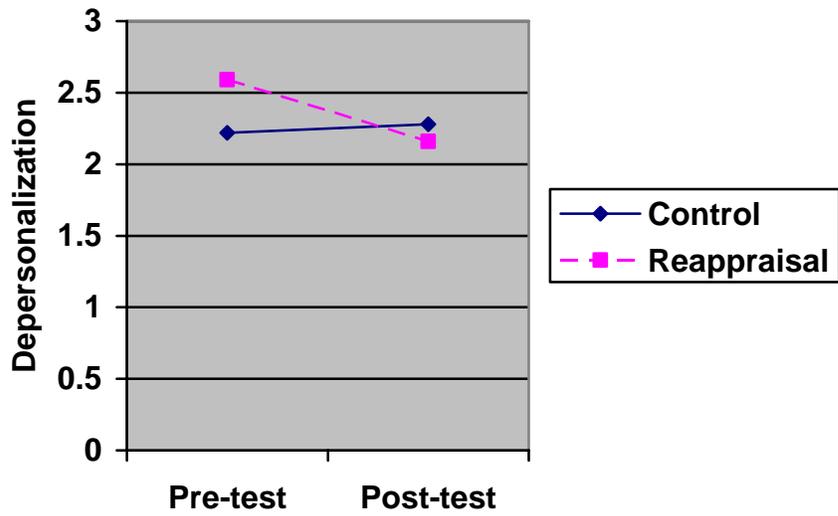Figure 6. Three-way interaction between depersonalization, training type, and school subsample.

Table 18

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Depersonalization as a Within-Subjects Factor—Community College Subsample Only

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.10	.03	.001
Error	34			
Within subjects				
Depersonalization Pre-Post (DPP)	1	.57	2.18	.060
DPP x training	1	1.25	4.80*	.124
Error	34	.26		

$^+p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01.$

In the university subsample (Table 19), the between-subjects factor of training condition approached significance ($F_{(1, 70)} = 3.18$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .043$), indicating that those in the control group (M = 2.73) exhibited slightly higher overall levels of depersonalization than those in the reappraisal group (M = 2.29). The within-subjects pre-post factor was also significant ($F_{(1, 70)} = 5.31$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .070$), indicating a general decrease in depersonalization following the training ($M_{pre-test} = 2.61$, $M_{post-test} = 2.41$). However, the within-subjects pre-post factor by training condition interaction was not significant in this subsample. Thus, Hypothesis 9 received support in the community college subsample but not in the university subsample.

Hypothesis 10 proposed emotional exhaustion as a mediator of the effect of training condition on depersonalization. However, because the training condition had no effects on

Table 19

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Depersonalization as a Within-Subjects Factor—University Subsample Only

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	6.94	3.18*	.043
Error	70	2.19		
Within subjects				
Depersonalization Pre-Post (DPP)	1	1.39	5.31*	.070
DPP x training	1	.04	.14	.002
Error	70	.26		

$^+p < .10.$ $*p < .05.$ $**p < .01.$

emotional exhaustion, a prerequisite for mediation was not met (i.e., the effect of the independent variable on the mediator; Baron & Kenny, 1986), and Hypothesis 10 was not supported.

Hypothesis 11 stated that feelings of inauthenticity would mediate the relationship between training condition and depersonalization. This hypothesis could only be tested in the community college subsample, as it requires a significant interaction between training type and the pre-test vs. post-test factor. Results of the hierarchical regression analysis used to test this hypothesis are presented in Table 20. Pre-test depersonalization was entered at Step 1, and dummy-coded training condition was entered at Step 2. Then, post-test inauthenticity was entered at Step 3. Training condition was a near-significant predictor of post-test depersonalization at Step 2 ($\beta = -.19$, p = .05). At Step 3, post-test authenticity was a significant predictor of post-test depersonalization ($\beta = .26$, p <.05), and the effect of training condition

Table 20

Hierarchical Regression Analysis to Test Felt Inauthenticity as a Mediator of the Effect of Training Condition on Depersonalization

	β	t	ΔR^2
Step 1			
Pre-test Depersonalization	.83	8.62**	.69**
Step 2			
Pre-test Depersonalization	.85	9.18**	.034[+]
Training Condition	-.19	-2.02[+]	
Step 3			
Pre-test Depersonalization	.67	5.52**	.043*
Training Condition	-.14	-1.49	
Felt Inauthenticity	.26	2.11*	

Note. β is the standardized regression weight for each of the variables.
Degrees of freedom for the *t*-tests in the first step = (1, 34), for the second step = 1, 33), and for the third step = (1, 32).
[+]$p < .10.$ * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

became non-significant, thus supporting complete mediation according to the recommendations of Kenny and Baron (1986). Hypothesis 11 was therefore supported in the community college subsample.

Hypothesis 12 predicted a greater elevation in feelings of personal accomplishment following the reappraisal training, compared to the control training. As shown in Table 21, the within-subjects pre-post variable was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 4.23$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .039$), indicating an overall increase in feelings of personal accomplishment across conditions ($M_{pre-test} = 4.69$, $M_{post-test} = 4.84$). However, no significant interaction was found between the within-subjects pre-post

Table 21

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Personal Accomplishment as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.45	.26	.002
School Type	1	4.69	2.70	.025
Training x School Type	1	3.88	2.23	.021
Error	104	1.74		
Within subjects				
Personal Accomplishment Pre-Post (PAPP)	1	1.05	4.23*	.039
PAPP x training	1	.04	.18	.002
PAPP x school type	1	.18	.74	.007
PAPP x training x school type	1	.13	.52	.005
Error	104	.25		

[+]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

factor and training condition. Thus, Hypothesis 12 was not supported. Additionally, Hypotheses 13 and 14, regarding mediation, were not supported because a pre-condition for testing mediation was not found.

Hypotheses 15 concerned the effect of training on the increase in customers' perceptions of employees' authenticity (Table 22). The between-subjects factor of school type was significant ($F_{(1, 104)} = 5.94$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .072$), indicating that the community college subsample

Table 22

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Customer-Rated Authenticity as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.07	.09	.001
School Type	1	4.54	5.94*	.072
Training x School Type	1	1.78	2.33	.030
Error	104	.76		
Within subjects				
Customer-rated Authenticity Pre-Post (CAPP)	1	.69	3.44*	.043
CAPP x training	1	.01	.06	.001
CAPP x school type	1	.00	.00	.000
CAPP x training x school type	1	.24	1.18	.015
Error	104	.20		

[+]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

(M = 6.24) was rated as more authentic across conditions and time periods compared to the

university subsample (M = 5.88). The within-person pre-post factor also approached significance

$(F_{(1, 104)} = 3.44, p < .10, \eta^2 = .043)$, such that there was a general increase in customer ratings of

inauthenticity across conditions ($M_{pre-test} = 5.99$, $M_{post-test} = 6.13$). However, no interactions were

found between this pre-post factor and training condition. Thus, Hypothesis 15 was not

supported, nor was Hypothesis 16 (regarding mediation of this effect).

Hypothesis 17 predicted that the reappraisal training would produce a greater increase in customer satisfaction compared to the control training. Table 23 reports the results of this analysis. The between-subjects school type factor was significant, such that, across conditions and time periods, customer satisfaction was higher in the community college subsample (M = 6.34) compared to the university subsample (M = 6.06). None of the within-subjects factors were significant. Thus, Hypothesis 17 was not supported. Hypothesis 18, regarding mediation, also was not supported as a pre-condition for testing mediation was not present.

Table 23

Repeated Measures ANOVA with the Pre-Test and Post-Test Measures of Customer Satisfaction as a Within-Subjects Factor

Source	DF	MS	F	η^2
Between subjects				
Training Condition	1	.01	.02	.000
School Type	1	2.81	5.14*	.063
Training x School Type	1	1.52	2.78	.035
Error	104	.55		
Within subjects				
Customer Satisfaction Pre-Post (CSPP)	1	.00	.02	.000
CSPP x training	1	.19	.88	.011
CSPP x school type	1	.00	.02	.000
CSPP x training x school type	1	.15	.72	.009
Error	104	.21		

$^+p < .10.$ $*p < .05.$ $**p < .01.$

DISCUSSION

The general purpose of this experiment was to manipulate deep acting (i.e., changing how one feels) in order to test a causal relationship between use of this strategy and important outcomes. This study also sought to incorporate research and theory on the emotion generation process (i.e., appraisal theory; e.g., Lazarus, 2001; Scherer, 2001; Smith & Pope, 1992; Smith, Haynes, Lazarus, & Pope, 1993) to emotional labor. Additionally, the study was intended to contribute to practice by demonstrating a way to improve individuals' emotion regulation strategies. By teaching employees to reappraise situations in ways that increase positive emotions and decrease negative emotions, the training was expected to increase job satisfaction, decrease feelings of inauthenticity and burnout, and improve customer service performance. However, results did not produce all the hypothesized effects. As a result, rather than discuss each hypothesis, the first part of this discussion focuses on the significant and near significant findings. The second part of the discussion focuses on possible reasons for the small number of significant results.

High Pleasure, Low Arousal Emotions

The reappraisal training was expected to increase positive emotions, compared to the control training. Consistent with this expectation, those in the reappraisal condition reported an increase in high pleasure, low arousal emotions following training, whereas those in the control group did not. Thus, teaching people to reinterpret negative situations increased feelings of calm and content, which can have far-reaching consequences for both service employee well-being and the success of the organization.

First, apart from the obvious immediate effects of feeling more calm and content, Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996) would predict that these emotions will

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eventually influence attitudes and behavior over time. Although an immediate increase in job satisfaction was not observed in this study, Weiss and Cropanzano (1996) explain that the emotions felt in the workplace, over time and repeated occurrences, affect job attitudes (e.g., job satisfaction, organizational commitment) and influence attitude-driven behaviors (e.g., absenteeism, turnover). Additionally, if employees can learn to be calmer and more at ease at work, their general stress levels should decline, possibly preventing burnout at a later time.

Apart from the employee-based consequences of an increase in positive, low arousal emotions, there also lies the fact that customers often "catch" the emotions of the service employee during service interactions (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994; Pugh, 2001). Therefore, employees who can learn to produce calmer emotions in themselves (through reappraisal of difficult situations) may also be able to produce calmer emotions in customers through the process of emotional contagion. Additionally, emotional contagion has been shown to occur in workgroups as well (Barsade, 2002; Bartel & Saavedra, 2000). That is, employees tend to "catch" the emotions of their coworkers, suggesting that if some employees in a work group learn to feel more calm and relaxed at work, this may influence the emotions of others and create a positive emotional atmosphere or climate.

Felt Inauthenticity

Another goal of the reappraisal training was to decrease feelings of inauthenticity in service employees. Although no main effect for training condition was observed, an unanticipated three-way interaction that <u>approached</u> significance was found (thus, caution should be taken in interpreting these findings). Because the study was not designed with three-way interactions in mind (i.e., no differences between subgroups were hypothesized), it is likely that the sample size limited the power to find statistically significant effects. Specifically, the pre-

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post inauthenticity factor x training condition x subsample interaction approached significance at $p = .106$. Although these effects do not reach typical levels of statistical significance, they are important to discuss for exploratory purposes.

A closer look at this interaction revealed an interesting difference in effects between the community college and university subsamples. The university subsample did not exhibit an effect of the training on changes in felt inauthenticity. However, within the community college subsample, the reappraisal group experienced a larger decrease in inauthenticity than the control group. It is unclear why the training appeared to work in one subsample but not the other. It could be that systematic differences were present between the two samples in training readiness. Goldstein and Ford (2002) state that, "before trainees can benefit from any form of training, they must be ready to learn, that is, they must have the particular background experiences necessary for being successful in the training program, and they must be motivated to learn (p. 110)". Goldstein and Ford (2002) go on to explain that aptitude-treatment interactions sometimes occur, where certain characteristics of the training (e.g., degree of structure) might benefit some individuals more than others.

Goldstein and Ford (2002) also argue that trainee motivation is an important factor influencing the effectiveness of training and that motivational variables such as self-efficacy, locus of control, and commitment to career often are related to training outcomes. It is possible, for example, that individuals in the university subsample were less committed to careers in the service industry. That is, a larger number of university students may have been working in the service industry solely to earn extra money for college and planned to exit the service industry after graduation to pursue different professions. Conversely, it could be that many of the participants in the community college subsample planned to remain in the service industry and

were pursuing college degrees in order to advance in that industry. This would suggest that the community college subsample might have been a more representative sample of the full-time service employee population than was the university subsample.

Unfortunately, no measures of training readiness were taken in the present study; thus, it is unclear whether these subsamples differed on any of these variables. The differences in training effects between subsamples, however, does point out the importance of examining individual differences that might influence the effectiveness of such reappraisal interventions. This idea is discussed in more detail in the section on future research.

It is nevertheless encouraging that at least one of the samples showed a decline in inauthenticity following the training (and that this decline only occurred in the reappraisal group). This finding lends some evidence to the idea that reappraisal strategies have the potential to help employees feel more authentic when they work in jobs where they have to display positive emotions. Feelings of inauthenticity are believed to lead to serious consequences such as depressed mood in service employees (Erickson & Wharton, 1997). These initial findings are therefore promising and may indicate that some help is on the way for those who report feeling "fake" during their interactions with customers. Once again, however, caution is urged, as these findings did not reach traditional levels of significance.

<div align="center">

Depersonalization

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The reappraisal training also was expected to reduce symptoms of burnout. Unfortunately, this was not the case for the emotional exhaustion and personal accomplishment dimensions. However, the three-way interaction between changes in depersonalization, training condition, and subsample type were significant, indicating that the results differed by school type. In the university subsample, there was no significant difference in changes in

depersonalization between the two training conditions. However, in the community college sample, a difference did exist. In the reappraisal condition, depersonalization decreased, whereas in the control condition it did not. Thus, individuals who were taught to reinterpret situations in a more positive light began to connect with their customers again, and were less likely to see them as inhuman objects. This effect was completely mediated by post-test feelings of inauthenticity, suggesting that the training reduced feelings of depersonalization in this sample by allowing employees to feel less "fake" when they interacted with their customers. It appears that feeling more authentic enabled these employees to connect with their customers on a more personal level.

Again, it is unclear why the two subsamples differed in their reactions to the training. As with inauthenticity, it could be that the two samples differed in training readiness (Goldstein & Ford, 2002). That is, individuals in the community college sample may have benefited more from the conditions of the training offered (i.e., an aptitude-treatment interaction), or, perhaps, the employees in the community colleges were more motivated to learn the strategies because of differences in career commitment or other unknown variables.

Although a decrease in depersonalization was found in only one of the two subsamples, the effect of the reappraisal training on the community college group is still promising--and theoretically interesting. One assumption that has been made about deep acting is that it will produce less burnout than surface acting (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Most of the evidence for this assumption, however, comes either from correlational research (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003) or from laboratory manipulations that might not be generalizable to customer service jobs (e.g., Gross & Levenson, 1993). The present study represents a first

attempt to manipulate deep acting in the service industry in order to isolate the causal arrow between strategy use and burnout.

<div align="center">**Bivariate Relationships Consistent with Previous Theory and Research**</div>

Although few of the hypothesized training effects were found, many of the bivariate correlations found in the present study are worth mentioning due to their consistency with past theory and research. First, all four emotion variables were significantly related to job satisfaction at both time periods. These findings are consistent with the idea that job satisfaction does, in fact, have a large affective component (Fisher, 2000; Ilies & Judge, 2002; Weiss, 2002; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996).

Second, employee emotions were significantly correlated with customer-rated authenticity and overall service satisfaction at both time periods (with the exception of high pleasure, low arousal emotions at post-test). These relationships are consistent with past research (e.g., Pugh, 2001; Tsai & Huang, 2003) and lend more support to the idea that emotions and emotional labor are directly related to an organization's bottom line.

Third, all four emotion variables were related to the each dimension of burnout at both time periods. This finding suggests that a service employee's sense of well-being is closely related to the emotions they experience on a daily basis at work. Thus, finding ways to help employees regulate their emotions at work is an important task for those concerned with improving occupational health.

Finally, consistent with the recent findings of Grandey et al. (2005), customer ratings of authenticity were strongly related to customer ratings of satisfaction with the service at both time periods. It is therefore not only important for employees to show positive emotions, but these emotions must also appear genuine in the eyes of the customer. Thus, although the intervention

presented in this study did not appear to have an effect on customer ratings of authenticity, it is important to continue to search for interventions that do. The correlation between authenticity and service satisfaction is further proof that simply telling service employees to "smile" may not be sufficient.

Possible Reasons for Lack of Effects

The effect of the training manipulation (or lack thereof) on many of the dependent variables was disappointing. Specifically, emotions (other than high pleasure, low arousal emotions), job satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, personal accomplishment, and customer ratings seemed to be unaffected by the training. Because there were so few significant effects, it is necessary to discuss possible reasons for the disappointing results. By doing so, the goal is to lay the ground work for future research that can improve upon this study.

One possible explanation for the low number of statistically significant results could be a lack of statistical power. A careful power analysis was conducted before the study to determine the number of participants needed to find effects. The analysis was based on effect sizes cited in a meta-analysis of the effects of stress inoculation training on anxiety and performance (Saunders et al., 1996). However, given that this type of training had never been given to customer service employees, it could be that the true effect size in this particular setting (the customer service industry) was much lower than in previous studies. With a much lower effect size, more people would have been required to find significant effects.

Another possible explanation for the lack of significant effects is that this particular reappraisal manipulation was not strong enough. That is, it could be that reappraisal training can have adequate effects in the customer service industry but that producing this effect would have required a more intense training. This is evidenced by the fact that only about half of the

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participants passed the manipulation check (although supplemental analyses on only those individuals who passed the manipulation check did not reveal better results). It could be that skills being taught in the deep acting training (reappraisal) are too complex to teach in one 40-minute training session. Anderson (1982) distinguished between three phases of learning. In the first phase, or declarative stage, the learner obtains general factual knowledge about a topic, such as instructions regarding "how to" complete a task. During this phase, the learner has to rely on "if-then" statements (e.g., "if I am feeling bored, then I should relate the situation to a goal). Performance during the declarative phase is said to be slow and choppy (rather than skilled) because it relies heavily on working memory and cognitive processes. According to Anderson (1982), "skilled" performance does not begin to occur until the second phase, or knowledge compilation phase. This phase is said to be the outcome of practice; performance becomes quicker and smoother as participants no longer have to rely on verbal rehearsal. The final phase, proceduralization, is when performance becomes somewhat automatic, and the load on working memory is greatly reduced.

The reappraisal training was based on the stress inoculation model (Meichenbaum, 1977; Saunders et al., 1996), which includes conditions that simulate a stressful situation (guided imagery, or visualization). This "visualization" exercise asks participants to mentally practice their new strategies (i.e., picture a common work situation where the strategy will be needed, imagine themselves using the strategy, and imagine how they will feel afterward). This exercise is designed to enhance transfer of training (Meichenbaum, 1977; Saunders et al., 1996), and it was included in the training to help participants move out of the declarative phase of learning and (at least) into the knowledge compilation phase. Participants were also highly encouraged to

use visualization on their own time in order to rehearse these strategies before use. The importance of practice for learning these skills was emphasized several times.

Although these "practice" aspects of the training were put into place, it is possible that participants left the training in the declarative stage of learning. (For example, it is possible that participants felt uncomfortable or distracted when using visualization during the training and also didn't follow instructions to use these practice strategies at home). Thus, data collected during the post-test period could have represented performance at a very early stage of learning – one where individuals had not yet begun to become skilled at the new technique - which could explain why the effects of the reappraisal training were not better than the effects of the customer service control training.

The particular type of practice chosen for the reappraisal training also could explain the lack of significant effects on performance outcomes (i.e., customer ratings). Saunders et al. (1996) found that imagery (the type of practice used in the reappraisal training) was more helpful for performance anxiety outcomes, whereas "applied" practice (e.g., role playing) was more helpful for improving performance outcomes. It could be that on-the-job training (where employees could immediately practice on customers) or even the addition of a role-playing exercise would have improved the training's effects on performance.

Lack of power and weak manipulations, of course, do not represent the only explanation for the null results. One might argue that deep acting is simply not the favorable strategy that researchers initially believed. That is, there still exists the possibility that deep acting is <u>not</u> effective for reducing negative emotions and burnout in the workplace, and it is possible that use of this particular strategy has no effects on job satisfaction or customer service performance. However, extreme caution should be used in interpreting the null results found in this study.

Although the hypotheses were not supported, they of course, were not disproved. Given the fact that these hypotheses were grounded in a solid theoretical background, researchers should not shy away from further attempts to manipulate the use deep acting strategies in order to demonstrate their causal effects.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that no training needs assessment was conducted to see if employees included in this sample had a need for the reappraisal training. Employees reported feeling positive emotions an average of "sometimes" during the workday (averages of 3.16 for high pleasure, high arousal emotions and 3.36 for high pleasure, low arousal emotions on a 5-point scale), and they reporting feeling negative emotions an average of "rarely" during the workday (averages of 1.77 for low pleasure, high arousal emotions and 1.96 for low pleasure, low arousal emotions on a 5-point scale).   They also reported feeling inauthentic an average of only "1-2 times per day" (1.79 on a 5-point scale). The employees exhibited relatively low pre-test emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and relatively high feelings of personal accomplishment, and their average pre-test job satisfaction was 4.34 on a scale of 1-7. Additionally, customer ratings showed that employees were already performing relatively well. Pre-test means were 5.89 and 6.10 (on a 7-point scale) for customer-rated authenticity and service satisfaction, respectively. These scores point to the fact that these employees may not have had the need to change their emotions through reappraisal, which could be a reason that few changes were observed in the reappraisal group. Additionally, prior to training, employees reported trying to change their interpretation of situations an average of "1-2 times per day". It could be that the training manipulation did not exhibit many significant effects because individuals were already using reappraisal strategies before the training.

A second limitation is that the performance of the trainer was not evaluated. That is, the training sessions were not videotaped; therefore, no attempt could be made to evaluate whether the trainer adequately covered the intended content. On the other hand, the same trainer was used for both training conditions; she was trained in the principles of industrial-organizational psychology, and she had several semesters of teaching experience. Additionally, the use of PowerPoint slides encouraged a large degree of standardization across training sessions within conditions. However, future research in this area could benefit from further standardization of the training sessions (e.g., creating training manuals). This is especially important if more than one person is to deliver the training sessions. "Train-the-trainer" initiatives could be implemented such that trainers are operating at a certain level of proficiency when delivering the reappraisal and control trainings.

A third limitation of this study is the student sample. Using younger, part-time workers limits the extent to which results can be generalized to the entire customer service workforce. However, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2004) reports that approximately 18% of the U.S. workforce (24.7 million workers) work part-time. Additionally, part-time workers make up a large portion of the customer service labor supply (Fallick, 1999; Tilly, 1991). The students used in this experiment were all current customer service employees working at least 20 hours per week and therefore had ample opportunity to put the emotion regulation strategies to use.

On the other hand, the limited number of significant results in this study might be an indication that the student sample was not the best choice. Although it was a voluntary sample, it did not necessarily consist of those who believed they had a need for emotional regulation training. Very different results might be found in a sample that volunteers for the training

because they believe it could be of use to them in their jobs. Although a field sample was not possible in this particular study, researchers should consider it an important future direction.

Future Research

One area for future research is the examination of individual difference factors that might influence employees' reaction to reappraisal training. It could be that individual difference factors not controlled for in this study (such as personality or cognitive ability) have a large effect on employees' ability and/or willingness to learn these strategies. Evidence for individual differences comes from the differences in training effects observed between the university and community college samples. Future research should work toward identifying possible motivational moderators, such as self-efficacy, locus of control, and commitment to career (Goldstein & Ford, 2002). Additionally, personality or ability variables, such as conscientiousness, openness to experience, and emotional intelligence might be expected to have some influence on individual tendencies to learn reappraisal strategies.

Another area for future research stems from the fact that the manipulation may not have been strong enough. One could use "booster" training techniques or sessions to get people to practice and incorporate the strategies into their daily behaviors. Schmidt and Bjork (1992) showed that, in general, spaced practice leads to better retention of learning than massed practice. That is, providing several opportunities for trainees to return to training (to "practice" what they covered) generally leads to better learning than trying to fit all the "practice" into one training session. Although it is most common for organizations to offer the latter type of training, it is highly possible that a complex skill such as emotion regulation may require multiple sessions of training in order for the strategy to "sink in" (Machin, 2002).

Along these same lines, it would helpful to follow individuals who undergo reappraisal training for longer periods of time. This would allow examination of the effects of reappraisal as participants move through the different phases of learning. It is likely that the most favorable effects will be found when participants reach the proceduralization phase and reappraisal strategies become automatic (Anderson, 1982).

A more specific idea for a future research study would to examine individuals in the service industry who undergo stress inoculation interventions in a clinical setting. An intervention that takes place over several sessions under the guidance of a trained clinician could provide a much stronger manipulation and therefore provide more power to find effects. These individuals could be followed over time, and changes in work variables like job satisfaction, inauthenticity and work-related burnout could be examined, as well as customer ratings of performance. This is not to say that reappraisal training should only work for those with emotional problems. However, the setting would simply represent a stronger manipulation, and it would also allow for a longitudinal test of the work-related effects of increasing reappraisal skills.

CONCLUSION

Although only a few of the hypotheses were supported, this training has contributed to both practice and theory. From a practical standpoint, it has demonstrated an example of how reappraisal (or deep acting) can improve at least one type of emotion (high pleasure, low arousal) and decrease at least one dimension of burnout (depersonalization) in certain populations. Results that approached significance also hinted that deep acting might reduce feelings of inauthenticity in certain populations. These finding have important implications for the emotional well-being of service employees, as well implications for the success of the service organization. Note that the reappraisal training delivered in this study was a very short, one-time intervention. Given that this relatively mild reappraisal intervention was able to produce an increase in positive, low arousal emotions in both subsamples and a decrease in inauthenticity and depersonalization in one subsample, the possibilities of what a more intense, longer term intervention could do are intriguing.

Additionally, the ideas behind the study contribute substantially to theory on emotional labor. Some criticism has been aimed at emotional labor researchers' failure to ground their work in theories of the emotion generation process (Ashton-James and Ashkanasy, 2004). By integrating past emotional labor work with appraisal theories of emotion, the current study has provided a basis for more theory-based research on emotional labor strategies.

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CUSTOMER SERVICE CONTROL TRAINING
POWERPOINT SLIDES

Creating Better Customer Service

Outline of Today's Training

- What do customers expect? The five dimensions of service quality
- Learning from your experiences as a customer
- Assessing your strengths and weaknesses
- Planning for improvement
- Instructions for the rest of the study

What do customers expect?
Five Dimensions of Customer Service

- Researchers at Texas A&M interviewed hundreds of customers about how they evaluate service organizations.

- Answers fall into 5 dimensions:
  - Tangibles
  - Reliability
  - Responsiveness
  - Assurance
  - Empathy

Dimension 1: Tangibles

- Tangibles—physical evidence of the service.
  - Does the product meet the basic requirements?
  - Physical facilities
  - Appearance of the personnel
  - Tools/equipment used to provide the service
  - Physical representations of the service
  - Other customers

Dimension 2: Reliability

- Reliability—ability to perform the required service dependably and accurately.
  - Consistency
  - Doing *what* you say you're going to do
  - Doing it *when* you say you're going to do it
  - Doing it *right* the first time or quickly fixing problems that arise.

Dimension 3: Responsiveness

- Responsiveness—willingness to help customers and provide prompt service.
  - Being "tuned in" to the needs/wants of your customers
  - Taking action to meet and exceed those needs
  - What are customers wants and needs?
    - Quality
    - Price
    - Speed

Dimension 4: Assurance

- Assurance—inspiring trust and confidence
  - Through competence
  - Through communication
  - Through courtesy
  - Through credibility

Dimension 5: Empathy

- Empathy—caring, individualized attention
  - Learning customers' specific requirements
  - Recognizing the regular customer
  - Showing customers that you're on their side
  - Going beyond the "script"

Review

1. **Tangibles**—physical aspects of service

2. **Reliability**—accuracy and consistency

3. **Responsiveness**—willingness to help; being "tuned in" to customer needs/ wants

4. **Assurance**—inspiring trust by showing competence, courtesy, etc.

5. **Empathy**—showing you care/giving individualized attention

Exercise I: Learning from Your Experiences **as a Customer**

- Think about the *best* experience you've had (as a customer) when dealing with someone in the service industry.

- How he/she exhibit the five dimensions of customer service?

Exercise I: Learning from Your Experiences **as a Customer**

- Now think about the *worst* experience you've had (as a customer) when dealing with someone in the service industry.

- How he/she *fail to* exhibit the five dimensions of customer service?

Exercise II

- Which of these customer care dimensions are you good at?

- Which of these customer care dimensions could you improve upon?

- Think about your specific job. If your customers were sitting across the table from you, what would they say you needed to do in order to:
  - Improve tangibles?
  - Show reliability?
  - Show responsiveness?
  - Give assurance?
  - Show empathy?

Planning for Improvement

- Think about one or more dimensions that you would like to improve upon.

- Come up with a *specific* plan for improving upon that dimension. Write down the steps of that plan.

Instructions for the Rest of the Study

1. Please fill out the Training Reactions survey now.
2. Don't leave without getting the rest of your customer surveys.
3. Continue to give out 3 customer surveys per workday for 5 more workdays.
4. Continue to fill out your online surveys for 5 more workdays.

REAPPRAISAL TRAINING
POWERPOINT SLIDES

Emotion Regulation in Customer Service

What Do Customers Expect?
5 Dimensions of Good Service

- **Tangibles**—physical appearance of place of business and service personnel.
- **Responsiveness**—being "tuned in" to the needs and wants of your customers.
- **Assurance**—instilling confidence in your customers by showing competence.
- **Reliability**
  - Doing *what* you say you're going to do
  - Doing it *when* you say you're going to do it
  - Doing it *right* the first time or quickly fixing problems that arise.
- **Empathy—showing customers you truly care and are on their side!**

Strategies of Emotion Regulation

- Customers want to see positive emotions!
- 2 ways you can do this:
  - Surface Acting = "faking it"
  - Deep Acting = actually *changing* your emotions!
- Customers can tell the difference!!!
- Deep Acting is better for you!!!

Emotions at Work

- What events cause you to feel **positive** emotions at work?
- What events cause you to feel **negative** emotions at work?
- What are the consequences of these emotions:
  - Effects on your performance?
  - Effects on your well-being?

What causes emotions?

Event + Thoughts = Emotion

Event + Thoughts = Emotion

- Research has consistently found that events *themselves* do not cause emotions.

- Rather, **evaluations** of the event/**thoughts** about the event cause the emotion.

Example

Event:		Employee A thinks:		Employee A feels:
Rude Customer	→	"This guy thinks he's better than me."	→	Anger

Event:		Employee B thinks:		Employee B feels:
Rude Customer	→	"This guy is really having a bad day. Has nothing to do with me."	→	Neutral or Sympathy
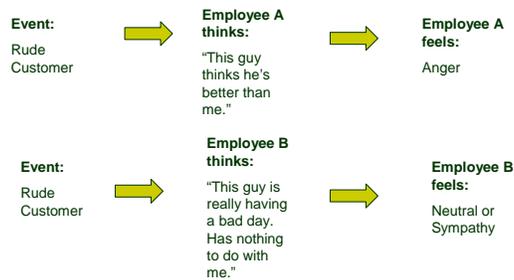
Goals of this training:

- **Increase** the thoughts that lead to **positive** emotions!

- **Decrease** the thoughts that lead to **negative** emotions!

Keep an Open Mind!

- Some of what I'm asking you to do might sound silly.

- **It is worth it** for you, because you will:
  - Enjoy your job more!
  - Feel better at the end of the day!

What types of thoughts lead to emotions?

- Thoughts of Relevance—this is relevant to me and my goals.

  - "This is helpful to me/my goals" => Positive Emotions

  - "This is harmful to me/my goals" => Negative Emotions

  - "This has nothing to do with me or my goals" => Neutral

What are your goals?

- For this job:
1.
2.
3.

- In life:
1.
2.
3.

Changing Boredom/Neutrality to Positive Emotions:

- Relate the situation to your goals!

- Example: Instead of *"This day is lasting forever!",* tell yourself, "*The more hours I'm here, the more money I make!"*

- Or: When a customer walks up, tell yourself, *"Here's another chance to become a better "people person."*

Come up with your own self-statements for turning neutrality/boredom into positive emotions (Remember: Try to relate the situation to your goals):

1.

2.

3.

Changing Negative Emotions to Neutral States:

- Tell yourself that the situation is ***irrelevant*** to your major goals!

- Example: A customer is rude to you. Instead of thinking, *"who does she think she is?",* tell yourself, ***"This customer must be having a bad day, but this makes no difference to my major goals."***

- You may even get more specific, ***"This situation does not effect my life goal of being a good spouse/parent/friend."***

- Tell yourself this ***as the situation is occurring and after.***

Come up with your own self-statements for turning negative emotions into neutrality (Remember: think about the situation as irrelevant to some of your goals):

1.

2.

3.

In what other situations do you most need help controlling your emotions?

- Plan some self-statements for those:

1.

2.

3.

Why should I do this?

- Why can't I just feel neutral rather than trying to feel happy?
- Why should I neutralize my anger when the customer deserves it?

Answer: for YOU!
- Job Satisfaction
- Burnout/Stress
- Spillover to your non-work life
  - Remember, you can use these strategies in your non-work life as well.

Practice, practice, practice!

- Visualization
  - Look at those positive statements again.
  - Image yourself in a common work situation that leads to a neutral state, such as boredom (or no emotion at all).
  - Imagine a customer walking up.
  - Think quickly—what self-statement will you use to put yourself in a positive mood? And think about the emotion that statement will lead you to feel.

  - Practice this when you're sitting at your desk with nothing to do! And use it in the coming week (and afterwards) with customers!

Practice, practice, practice!

- Now practice a negative emotion scenario:
  - Look at those neutralizing self-statements again (*this has nothing to do with me or my major goals*).
  - Image a common negative interaction (something specific that a customer usually says or does to make you angry).
  - Think fast! What will your self-statements be? Think about how you'll feel after the self-statement (imagine your anger neutralizing).

  - Practice this exercise whenever you get a chance! And use it this week (and afterwards) with customers!

  - The surveys in the next week will serve as "homework"-- a reminder to you to keep using these self-talk strategies! Answer them honestly!

For the next week:

- Use your new strategies of self-talk!!!!!!!!

- Keep filling out those surveys (they're important)!

- Questions?

APPENDIX C

EMPLOYEE END-OF-SHIFT QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for participating! Please take your time and think carefully before answering. Random responding can be detected and can result in loss of extra credit.

Manipulation Check (Reappraisal Use) Items

During the workday today, how often did you:

	0 times	1-2 times	3-4 times	5-6 times	7 or more times
…try to change your interpretation of a situation so as to make it more positive?					
…try to change your thoughts about a difficult situation so as to lessen its impact on your mood?					
…try to change how you thought about a situation so as not to get angry or upset?					

Emotions Items

Please use the following scale to indicate how often you've experienced each emotion DURING THE WORKDAY TODAY:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Quite Often	Extremely Often
Energetic					
Enthustiastic					
Excited					
At Ease					
Calm					
Content					
Relaxed					
Angry					
Anxious					
Furious					
Bored					
Depressed					
Discouraged					
Fatigued					
Gloomy					

Inauthenticity Items

During the workday today, how often did you:

	0 times	1-2 times	3-4 times	5-6 times	7 or more times
…feel that you were not being yourself?					
…feel inauthentic or "fake"?					

Example Burnout Items

At this very moment (as of the end of this shift):

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree
…I feel that I'm at the end of my rope (Emotional Exhaustion).*					
…I feel like I treated some customers as if they were impersonal "objects" today (Depersonalization).*					
…I feel that I positively influenced people's lives through my work today (Personal Accomplishment).*					

*Due to copyright restrictions on the Maslach Burnout Inventory, only one sample item per scale could be provided.

Job Satisfaction Items

At this very moment (as of the end of this shift):

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree
…I am satisfied with my job.					
…I don't like my job.					
…I like working here.					

APPENDIX D

CUSTOMER SURVEY

Authenticity

1. The employee's positive emotions appeared genuine.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

2. The employee expressed authentic (rather than "fake") positive emotions during our interaction.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Satisfaction with the Encounter

1. To what extent were you satisfied with the service?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Neutral	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	Extremely satisfied

2. Please rate the service provided on a scale of 1-7.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Poor	Very Poor	Somewhat Poor	Neutral	Somewhat Good	Very Good	Excellent

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APPENDIX F

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