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Following Display Rules in Good or Bad Faith?: Customer Orientation as a Moderator of the Display Rule-Emotional Labor Relationship

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Organizational display rules (e.g., "service with a smile") have had mixed relationships with employee emotional labor—either in the form of "bad faith" surface acting (suppressing or faking expressions) or "good faith" deep acting (modifying inner feelings). We draw on the motivational perspective of emotional labor to argue that individual differences in customer orientation will directly and indirectly relate to these acting strategies in response to display rules. With a survey of more than 500 working adults in customer contact positions, and controlling for affective disposition, we find that customer orientation directly increases "good faith" acting while it moderates the relationship of display rules with "bad faith" acting.

A cashier smiles and pleasantly greets a customer as he approaches checkout. This smile may reflect the cashier's true feelings or may have little to do with how he or she feels. That is because the smile may be a required part of the job. Managing emotions for pay is called emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) and involves faking, suppressing, and enhancing emotions to provide a particular emotional expression for organizational goals (Grandey, 2000). Employees are more likely to engage in emotional labor when there are organizational display rules that specify which emotions are appropriate to display to customers, such as "service with a smile" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugh, 2001). Display rules make it more likely that employees' observable displays will comply with the rules (Diefendorff & Croyle, 2008; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007); however, *how* employees regulate their emotions in response to these rules, and thus the quality of the display, is less clear.

In the more than two decades since Hochschild (1983) proposed the concept of emotional labor, much attention has been given to the distinction between surface acting (i.e., modifying ex-

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pressions) and deep acting (i.e., modifying feelings). In field and experimental research, surface acting is linked to lower authenticity and performance ratings, whereas deep acting has more positive effects (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Grandey, 2003; Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005; Hennig-Thurau & Groth, 2006). These findings are consistent with early references to surface acting as faking in "bad faith" or deep acting as "faking in good faith" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). So an important question is, *when* do display rules make employees respond by faking emotions, or with deeper-level regulation? Evidence has shown mixed relationships, suggesting we need to consider moderators of these relationships; in particular, we propose that individual differences in motivational tendencies with customers is a particularly fruitful direction.

Previous literature in emotional labor has not paid much attention to individual motivational tendencies. Recent work has argued that goal-driven motivational processes (e.g., control theory) and traits (e.g., the "Big 5") play an important role in how employees regulate emotions at work (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). We argue that a more specific type of trait—customer service orientation—may provide insight regarding who fakes or "brings forth" emotions with customers in response to display rules. Customer orientation (CO) represents an individual difference directly related to the job context (Brown, Mowen, Donavan, & Licata, 2002; Ones, Viswesvaran, & Dilchert, 2005) useful for selecting individuals for service-related positions. Thus, customer service orientation is an "actionable" type of motivational tendency that can be used for selection purposes if management determines that it is relevant to valued and job-specific outcomes.

We draw on the control theory concept of display rules as a goal and emotion regulation as a response to the goal (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003), integrating the well-established customer service orientation literature (Hogan, Hogan, & Busch, 1984) with these ideas. Thus, we contribute to theory building by more explicitly linking concepts from the emotional labor and customer service literatures. Empirically, we provide unique evidence to better understand the link of display rules and emotional labor with a large sample of employees in customer contact positions. Finally, we propose practical implications for selection by providing evidence for whether this individual difference contributes the relationships between display rules and "good faith" or "bad faith" acting with customers.

DISPLAY RULES AS GOALS OF EMOTIONAL LABOR

Service workers represent the organization and may be the only contact the customer has with the organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Ryan & Ployhart, 2003). These face-to-face encounters involve the exchange of intangibles such as courtesy, responsiveness, and friendliness (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1985). As such, employees' expressed emotions can leave a lasting impression upon the customer, resulting in perceptions of service quality and encounter attitudes (Barger & Grandey, 2005; Pugh, 2001), which are linked to the bottom-line profits (Schneider, Ehrhart, Mayer, Saltz, & Niles-Jolly, 2005). To systematically encourage and motivate these valuable behaviors in service encounters, organizations communicate display rules concerning the emotions that employees express to customers via their selection, training, and reward procedures (Leidner, 1999; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989).

Display rules, broadly speaking, are standards that indicate which emotional expressions are appropriate for the situation (Ekman, 1973). In organizational settings, display rules are more ex-

plicit than in other social settings, established through training and evaluation practices, and vary by the particular industry, occupation, organization, job or group context (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Geddes & Callister, 2007; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). Display rules may include requirements to show negative emotions (e.g., bill collectors; Sutton, 1991), but more commonly in service contexts they are about displaying positive emotions that communicate a desire for affiliation and show deference, known as "integrative display rules" (Wharton & Erickson, 1993). We focus on the impact of these integrative display rules.

Display Rules and Emotion Regulation

One of the few models that explains *why* display rules lead to emotion regulation is Diefendorff and Gosserand's (2003) model, which draws on control theory, a discrepancy monitoring and reduction process of self-regulation. This approach proposes that display rules are the "standard" that individuals compare with their actual emotional displays. If a discrepancy between their actual emotional displays and the display rules is detected, individuals make necessary adjustments through emotion regulation. The actual emotion regulation that occurs in response to display rules is most commonly classified as either *surface acting* or *deep acting*. Surface acting refers to modifying the outward expression of the emotion, through suppressing, faking or amplifying emotional displays, and has a parallel in Gross's (1998) concept of response-focused emotion regulation (Grandey, 2000). Deep acting is consciously changing how one feels in order to express the desired emotion, through reappraisal, positive refocusing, or physiological modification, and is associated with antecedent-focused emotion regulation (Grandey, 2000; Gross, 1998). Both result in meeting the display rules for positive expressions (Hochschild, 1983), but surface acting complies with the rules, whereas deep acting goes beyond mere compliance and attempts to make those displays authentic.

In the general emotion regulation literature (e.g., in social-cultural contexts), display rules are linked to emotion regulation (Matsumoto, Yoo, Hirayama, & Petrova, 2005). Similarly, Diefendorff and Gosserand's (2003) theory specifies that if standards for emotional expression are higher, there will be more effort expended to meet the goal; in other words, the display rules should be positively linked to either form of effortful regulation: surface or deep acting. Given that integrative display rules are viewed as "in role job requirements" (Diefendorff, Richard & Croyle, 2006), effortful regulation should generally be increased when the goal for positive displays is present compared to when it is not (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Though there has been mixed evidence, discussed further next, a substantial body of empirical research generally supports a connection between perceptions of display rules and both surface and deep acting (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Based on the idea of display rules motivating more effortful regulation (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003) and this evidence, we propose positive relationships between display rules and emotion regulation (surface and deep acting). Of importance, we propose this relationship exists *beyond* the affectivity of the employee, as dispositional tendencies toward positive or negative emotions may create spurious relationships between these two perceptual variables (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Diefendorff et al., 2005; Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005). Thus, we predict the following:

H1: Display rule perceptions are positively related to surface acting (1a) and deep acting (1b), beyond dispositional positive affectivity (PA) and negative affectivity (NA).

Customer Service Orientation as a Moderator

As stated previously, there is substantial evidence that display rules are associated with effortful emotion regulation in general. However, there are also inconsistencies, such that sometimes display rules are positively associated with deep acting only, and sometimes with surface acting only (e.g., Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005; Grandey, 2003), suggesting the presence of moderators. One known study of moderators (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005) found that individual's commitment to the organizational display rules strengthened the overall link between display rules and emotion regulation, consistent with goal theory (Klein, Wesson, Hollenbeck, & Alge, 1999), but does not differentiate between surface and deep acting as responses to display rules. When will "good faith" acting be a more likely response to display rules than "bad faith" acting?

The control theory approach acknowledges that there are both organizational and personal goals, arranged in a hierarchy (Diefendorff et al., 2005). People differ in the value they place on positive displays with customers, or their valence for the display goals. Goal commitment, and the valence for meeting the goal, can be enhanced by extrinsic rewards, such as financial incentives (e.g., tips; Wright, 1992) including the display goals (Diefendorff & Croyle, 2008). At the same time, expressing positive emotions to customers is likely to be a work behavior that is intrinsically enjoyable to some employees, suggesting personal goals and higher valence due to intrinsic motivation. In particular, we argue that employees' CO is a key individual difference that may explain when employees engage in good faith or bad faith acting with customers.

CO has developed as a construct over time (Donavan, Brown, & Mowen, 2004; Hogan et al., 1984; Saxe & Weitz, 1982) but generally refers to an individual difference that speaks to individual employees' value for customer service quality More specifically, Brown et al. (2002) defined CO as a predisposition to interact with customers due to both perceived ability and motivation: (a) *self-efficacy for satisfying customers* and (b) *intrinsic motivation for satisfying customers*. Those with higher levels of CO show more behavioral indicators of the motivation to serve customers well (Brown et al., 2002; Hurley, 1998; Saxe & Weitz, 1982) and even to go "above and beyond" the minimum job requirements (organizational citizenship behaviors; Donavan et al., 2004). We focus on the intrinsic motivation dimension of CO to build our case for the following predictions.

CO and Surface Acting

We argue that relationship of CO with surface acting depends on the interaction of these personal goals (CO) with organizational goals or display rules. The control theory perspective acknowledges that display rules are more likely to be followed when there is high value, or *valence,* for displaying the emotions specified (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Someone high in CO has the personal goal to engage pleasantly with customers, and thus may tend to avoid surface acting, because it leads to inauthentic and insincere expressions (Grandey, 2003; Grandey et al., 2005) and would conflict with the goals of high CO employees (Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006). Moreover, those high in CO are less likely to look to display rules to motivate their customer service behavior, as they are motivated by their personal goals.

On the other hand, someone low in CO may be unmotivated to engage in positive displays with customers, even faked ones, *unless* the organizational display rules are strong and clearly show that displays are required (Diefendorff et al., 2006). Those who are low in CO are more likely to use the display rules as a guide and to respond to the requirements with the lowest expenditure of

effort: surface acting. Thus, we predict a positive relationship between display rules and surface acting for those *lower* in CO, as they are more likely to respond to display rules with the bad faith approach that simply meets the expressive goal, or surface acting, whereas those higher in CO are less likely to use this approach, regardless of organizational goals. This leads us to a moderating hypothesis:

H2: CO moderates the relationship between positive display rules and surface acting, such that the relationship is stronger among those lower in CO than among those higher in CO.

CO and Deep Acting

Though positive displays are generally seen as an "in role" job requirements (Diefendorff et al., 2006), the authenticity and sincere warmth expressed would be going above and beyond these minimal requirements (Grandey, Tam, & Brauburger, 2002). Deep acting is effortful regulation with the purpose of more authentic interactions, predicts higher ratings of authentic and pleasant positive expressions (Côté, 2005; Grandey, 2003; Hennig-Thurau et al., 2006), and is associated with a sense of personal accomplishment with customers (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). As such, we expect that employees higher in CO are likely to engage in such regulation with customers, given their personal goals and intrinsic valence for interactions with customers. When the organizational goals are consistent with personal goals for pleasant customer interactions (i.e., high CO), they are even more likely to engage in effortful deep acting to achieve this goal in a way that meets both goals.

In contrast, low CO employees do not have the same valence for positive interactions with customers. They are less likely to respond to display rules with deep acting, because authentic positive behavior with customers has little valence for them beyond meeting organizational goals. Thus, the relationship between display rules and deep acting should be weaker among those with low CO. We control for affective disposition to ensure that this relationship is not driven by the affective disposition of the employee, and predict the following:

H3: CO moderates the relationship between positive display rules and deep acting, such that the relationship is stronger among those higher in CO than among those lower in CO.

METHODS

Participants and Procedure

Our hypotheses were tested using a large sample of working adults in Australia, all of whom had high levels of customer contact. Participants were recruited via a professional marketing research firm through the use of a large e-mail database. After they were contacted via e-mail, respondents participate in the survey in exchange for small rewards from online retailers. In the first part of the survey there was a screening question, "As part of your daily job, how much time do you spend interacting with external customers?" Of the 1,308 potential respondents, 608 (46.5%) had either "some" or "great" extent of customer contact, and they were invited to complete the full survey. From this sample, complete data for analysis was available from 484 participants (70% of eligible sample, 37% of full sample).

This final sample had slightly more male respondents than female (55% male, 45% female) and were around 40 years old, on average (M = 39.6 years, SD = 11.0). The sample was 72.5% Caucasian and 11.6% Asian, with additional ethnic groups composing less than 5% of the sample, consistent with the demographics of Australia. They had held their jobs for 5.8 years (SD = 6.5). on average, and reported spending more than two thirds of their time with customers (M = 70.6%, SD = 22.3%). Although all had customer contact, their occupational groups included self-indicated professional (19.4%), customer service role (18.5%), and manager/administrator (17.9%), with job titles such as "sales associate," "customer service manager," "administrative assistant," and "account manager." Thus, we have a fairly experienced sample of customer contact employees in a variety of occupations.

Measures

Display Rules

Integrative display rules were measured with three items from Grandey (2003). Evidence for the validity of the items can be found in Diefendorff et al. (2005). The instructions, "In your opinion, what are your company's expectations regarding your job?" were followed by three items: "This organization would say that part of my product to customers is friendly, cheerful service"; "Part of my job is to make the customer feel good"; and "My organization expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with customers." The display rules scale captures the extent that displays are job requirements from the organization, as opposed to general expectations about displays that might be influenced by societal or cultural factors. Ratings were made on a 5-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The measure had acceptable internal consistency reliability (α = .77).

Emotion Regulation

Surface acting and deep acting were measured with widely used scales (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Grandey, 2003) modified according to recommendations suggested by Diefendorff et al. (2005). Participants were asked, "When doing your job, how often do you do the following behaviors?" Ratings were made using a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*to a great extent*). Surface acting was measured with five items, including, "Put on an act in order to deal with customers in an appropriate way" and "Fake a good mood when interacting with customers." The five items were internally consistent (α = .92). Deep acting was measured with three items; a sample deep acting item is "Try to actually experience the emotions I must show to customers." The Deep Acting scale also exhibited acceptable internal consistency reliability (α = .91).

CO

Because we were interested in individual differences for intrinsic motivation to engage with customers, we used the eight items from the motivation (i.e., desire to nurture or pamper customers) dimension of a CO measure (Donavan et al., 2004). Sample items include, "I enjoy nurturing my service customers" and "Every customer's problem is important to me." A 5-point Likert type

scale was used to rate the items ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Internal consistency was acceptable ($\alpha = .89$).

Control Variables

We statistically controlled study for PA and NA, based on considerable evidence that dispositional affectivity may influence both the predictor (display rule perceptions) and criterion (surface and deep acting) variables under study here. A recent review of the emotional labor literature noted, "It seems plausible to us that the positive correlations between emotional labor and outcomes may be entirely a function of NA and its effects on the other variables" (Bono & Vey, 2005, p. 230). Their concern is grounded in research showing dispositional affect linked both to perceptions of display rules, and to outcomes, such as burnout, often studied in the emotional labor literature. Diefendorff and Richard (2003), for example, showed extraversion and neuroticism are associated with, respectively, perceived demands to express positive and suppress negative emotions. Schaubroek and Jones (2000) found similar results, with individuals high in NA more likely to report display rules to suppress negative emotions. Simply, individuals who experience negative emotions more frequently may perceive greater organizational demands to suppress those emotions. Further, dispositional affect has been linked to our criterion variables, surface and deep acting because, as Grandey (2000) noted, differences in felt affect will impact whether individuals need to engage in active emotion regulation (i.e., surface or deep acting). Several studies (Beal, Trougakos, Weiss, & Green, 2006; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Diefendorff et al., 2005; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005) have now demonstrated substantial associations between dispositional affectivity and related constructs and surface and deep acting. As such, it is now common to control for dispositional affectivity in emotional labor research (e.g., Grandey et al., 2005), and we also do so here. PA and NA were measured using the Positive Affectivity Negative Affectivity Scale (Watson, Clark, & Tellegan, 1988). The 20-item measure was rated using a Likert-style scale, from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). These NA and PA scales demonstrated high internal consistency ($\alpha = .86, .92$, respectively).

RESULTS

Table 1 contains the means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and alpha reliability estimates for all the principle variables measured. Table 1 shows that positive display rules are significantly related to surface and deep acting ($r = .10, .14, p < .05$, respectively; see Table 1). As a more robust test that controls for affective disposition, H1, which stated that display rules are related to surface and deep acting, was tested with two multiple regression analyses. The control variables were entered in the first step, with PA and NA having significant relationships with surface and deep acting (please see further discussion of control variables next). Beyond these control variables, positive display rules were significant as a predictor of surface acting ($\beta = .22$, $p < .05$), explaining 4.5% of the unique variance and deep acting ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$), accounting for 2.0% of the unique variance. Thus, H1a and 1b were supported.

To test H2 and H3, moderated regression analysis was conducted. The independent variables—display rules and CO—were centered prior to creating the interaction term, allowing the beta-weights of the interaction terms to be more directly interpretable (Cohen, Cohen, West, &

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations of All Measures

	M	*SD*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
1. Surface acting	2.64	1.07	(.92)					
2. Deep acting	2.57	1.15	.45**	(.91)				
3. Positive display rules	4.00	.73	.10*	.14**	(.77)			
4. Customer orientation	3.86	.79	–.11**	.15**	.45**	(.89)		
5. Negative affectivity	1.96	.79	.39**	.25**	–.15**	–.18**	(.92)	
6. Positive affectivity	3.35	.68	–.15**	.13**	.29**	.46**	–.064	(.86)

Note. Total sample sizes vary from 488 to 542. Diagonal values are the internal consistency estimates for each scale.
*$p < .05$ (two-tailed). **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Aiken. 2003). After including the control variables, and the independent variables, the interaction term was added to the equation to determine if there were preliminary indications of a moderation effect (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

H2 stated that CO would moderate the relationship between display rules and surface acting, such that the positive relationship between display rules and surface acting is weaker among persons high in CO than low. The interaction of display rules and CO term was significant ($\beta = -.09$, $p < .05$) and accounted for a significant, though small, portion of the variance in surface acting ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $p < .05$; see Table 2). To determine if the interaction form matches the hypothesis, the relationship between display rules and surface acting was plotted comparing persons with more than 1 standard deviation above and below the average level of CO (see Figure 1). The interaction was consistent with our predictions. H2 was supported.

H3 stated that CO would moderate the relationship between display rules and deep acting, such that the positive relationship between display rules and deep acting is stronger among persons high in CO (see Table 2). In testing this hypothesis, the interaction term was not significant ($\beta = -.003$, $p > .10$) and did not explain any additional variance in deep acting beyond the main effects

TABLE 2
Regression of Surface and Deep Acting on Display Rules and Customer Orientation

	Surface Acting					*Deep Acting*				
Model	R^2	ΔR^2	*B*	*SE B*	β	R^2	ΔR^2	*B*	*SE B*	β
Step 1: Control	.15**					.06**				
Negative Affectivity			.55	.05	.41**			.43	.06	.30**
Step 2: Main effects	.19**	.04**				.11**	.04**			
Positive display rules			.30	.06	.21**			.17	.07	.11*
Customer orientation			–.18	.06	–.13**			.23	.07	.16**
Step 3: Interaction	.20*	.01*				.11	.00			
Positive Display Rules × Customer Orientation			–.15	.06	–.09*			–.00	.07	–.00

Note. $N = 484$. All coefficients are reported for the final step.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

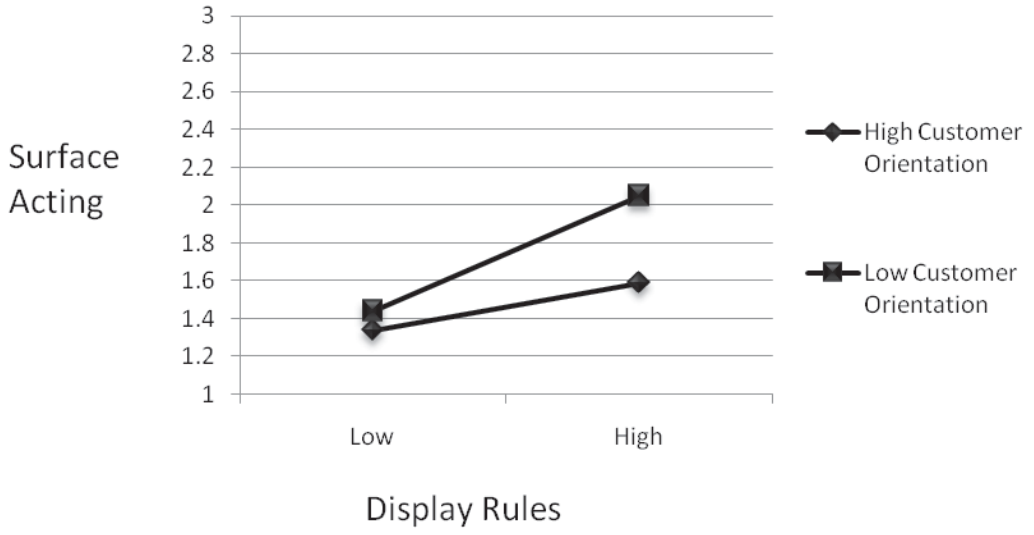


FIGURE 1 Moderating effects of customer orientation on the display rule to surface acting relationship.

of display rules and CO ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, $p > .10$). Instead, both display rules and CO had a direct positive relationship with deep acting. Thus, H3 was not supported.

To examine the effects of control variables, we also tested our hypotheses without the control variables included. Dropping PA from the regression equation produced essentially the same amount of variance explained and did not affect the nature of the interaction; thus, we did not include PA as a control in the results reported in Table 2 (see Becker, 2005, for a description of the proper treatment of control variables). Not including NA as a control variable, however, did impact the results. Although the pattern of the findings were in the same direction, without NA as a control the CO × Display Rules interaction on surface acting no longer reached conventional levels of statistical significance ($p = .09$). Regression results without the control variables are presented in Table 3. Note that because there have also been some suggestions that gender and job tenure may be linked to emotional labor, we also tested the hypotheses while statistically controlling for these. Gender and tenure had essentially no influence on the results.

DISCUSSION

The awareness of display rules for positive expressions with customers has previously been linked to emotion regulation, but, as Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) noted, most models of emotional labor tend to make predictions about the relationships between emotional labor variables (e.g., display rules and emotion regulation) but "provide little explanation of the underlying causal mechanisms responsible for these relationships (p. 946). In this study, we have used ideas from Diefendorff and Gosserand's control theory model of emotional labor to add insight into the relationship between display rules and emotion regulation and to help explain the mixed evidence for

TABLE 3
Regression Summary for the Interaction With Surface Acting Deep Acting as the Dependent Variables Without Control Variable

	Surface Acting					*Deep Acting*				
Model	R^2	ΔR^2	*B*	*SE B*	β	R^2	ΔR^2	*B*	*SE B*	β
Step 1: Independent variables	.04**					.03**				
Positive display rules			.26	.07	.18**			.14	.08	.09
Customer orientation			–.26	.06	–.19**			.16	.07	.11*
Step 2: Interaction	.05*	.01*				.03	.00			
Positive Display Rules × Customer Orientation			–.12	.07	–.07			.02	.08	.01

Note. $N = 484$. All coefficients are reported for the final step.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

whether display rules are more likely to induce good faith or bad faith emotion regulation. Moreover, we examined a context-specific individual difference that is common to the selection literature in customer service: CO, using this individual difference to help explain the connection between display rules and emotion regulation. Overall, the present study provides insights into the importance of individual differences and motivation in emotional labor.

Display Rules, Emotion Regulation, and CO: Theoretical Implications

Consistent with previous research (e.g., Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005; Grandey, 2003), our results support that perceptions of organizational display rules are positively, though weakly, related to both surface and deep acting. Yet, across many studies, the associations between display rules and surface and deep acting have been inconsistent and, often, fairly weak, suggesting the likelihood of moderating effects. There is little prior theory, however, to address the question of *why* display rules lead to surface and/or deep acting, and when an individual would be more inclined toward one type of emotion regulation strategy over the other. The control theory perspective of emotional labor (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003) is able to fill this void by situating display rules within a hierarchy of work and/or personal goals. With display rules conceptualized as subgoals within a broader hierarchy, prior work suggests that the relationship between this goal (display rules) and performance will depend on commitment to the goal (Klein et al., 1999). Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) provided support for this prediction by demonstrating that goal commitment moderated the relationship between display rules and emotion regulation, but they did not draw distinctions between the choice of emotion regulation strategy: surface or deep acting. In the present study we extended prior work by showing that the relationship varies depending on the personal goals of the employee and the type of emotion regulation strategy.

We argued that employees scoring high on a measure of CO intrinsically enjoy interacting with and nurturing customers, suggesting that they held personal goals for authentic positive interactions. Surface acting, the bad faith regulation strategy characterized by faking and inauthenticity, would not be an appealing strategy for high CO employees; in Diefendorff and Gosserand's

(2003) terms, the strategy has low valence. In contrast, those low in CO are likely to minimize their expended effort for emotion regulation, engaging in this surface-level approach only when organizational display rules are strongly present. As shown by the interaction depicted in Figure 1, the relationship of display rules and surface acting is stronger among those low in CO than those high in CO. In other words, when display rules are weak, surface acting is unlikely from either group, but as display rules are more clearly stated by the organization, those who are low in CO are more likely to respond with surface acting.

Our expectation for the reverse with deep acting—that high CO employees would be *more* likely to respond to display rules with deep acting than would low CO employees—was not supported. Instead, both display rules and CO are positively related to deep acting, but they do not interact. Display rules are positively associated with deep acting, but perhaps more interesting, high CO individuals are more likely to engage in deep acting regardless of the display rules. In other words, personal goals (CO) for interacting with customers provide *additional* information about who is more likely to engage in the strategy of "faking in good faith" (Hochschild, 1983).

Our work extends theory of emotional labor in a number of ways. First, we provide additional support for the control theory perspective (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003) of emotional labor. Much prior research on emotional labor is grounded in theories of stress and coping (e.g., Grandey, 2000). The basic argument has been that (a) display rules impose requirements to regulate emotions; (b) emotion regulation, particularly surface acting, is effortful and taxes personal resources (cf. Gross, 1998); and therefore (c) emotion regulation can lead to burnout, lower job satisfaction, and other detrimental outcomes. The Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) perspective, however, frames emotional labor through a motivational lens. As such, conforming to display rules can have a positive valence if, for example, maintaining the required emotional display can lead to the fulfillment of other goals in the goal hierarchy (e.g., more satisfied customers). This and other recent work (e.g., Côté, 2005) highlights some of the positive effects of emotional labor on employees, which represents a point of view not captured by many prior models.

Our support for the control theory model is grounded in the idea that the individual difference construct of CO can represent the extent to which having authentic, positive interactions with customers and delivering the high-quality service is a personal goal of employees. The findings related to CO also highlight the theoretical importance of personality and context in studying emotional labor. Much emotional labor research has focused only on general affective dispositions (PA, NA, or extraversion/neuroticism). Their relevance to emotional labor comes from their association with experienced emotions; they affect the extent to which emotion regulation is required. Measures of CO capture certain personality factors (e.g., conscientiousness, agreeableness, and emotional stability) as well as their relevance in a particular context (e.g., customer service encounters; Ones et al., 2005). It appears as though individual differences in personality factors such as conscientiousness and agreeableness may be important to consider when studying the choice of emotional labor strategies, not because they affect the type of emotions experienced on the job (as does, e.g., NA), but because they affect goals within the customer service context (cf. Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). If individuals high in these factors are motivated to choose one strategy over another, research on emotion labor strategies would need to consider these motivational decisions.

Finally, it is important to discuss the impact of NA as a control variable. When NA is not used as a control, the interaction of CO with display rules on surface acting no longer reaches conventional levels of statistical significance. NA was included as a control because, as discussed previously, there is significant evidence that it impacts both perceptions of display rules and emotional

labor (surface and deep acting), thus potentially contributing to a spurious relationship between the two constructs (Bono & Vey, 2005). Due to a general predisposition to experience negative emotions, individuals high in NA both are likely to both perceive the organization as requiring them to display more positive emotions and report working harder to do so. By statistically controlling for this source of common variance between our predictor and criterion variables, we were able to more clearly examine the role that CO plays in the display rules–emotional labor relationship. Without this statistical control, the common effect of NA on both display rules and surface acting appears to mask the impact that differences in levels of CO can on this relationship.

Note also that CO and NA are both theoretically and empirically distinct ($r = -.18$ in this study). CO is explicitly motivational, representing employee's intrinsic interest in serving customers and their perceived ability to do so. Yet, both NA and CO have substantial associations with constructs often studied in emotional labor research. This fact suggests that future research would be well served by considering both affective processes (e.g., emotion regulation as described by Grandey, 2000) and more motivational processes (e.g., Diefendorff & Gosserand's, 2003, control theory framework) for fully understanding how and why employees manage their emotional displays when interacting with customers.

Practical Implications

The study presented here provides important contributions for practice as well. First, CO is a measurable dispositional factor and is indicative of individuals choosing to be authentic (good faith) in their customer service interactions. Businesses who are heavily service oriented may want to consider using this factor in selecting customer service workers. Most service-oriented firms have policies and procedures that indicate that positive interactions are desired because they attract repeat customers. Hiring individuals who agree with such policies and procedures seems reasonable. In terms of the present findings, individuals high in CO would be more likely to have these sorts of goals for their interactions with customers.

Second, showing that CO moderates the display rule-surface acting relationship implies that there are motivational factors that are important in decisions to surface act or not. Viewing emotion regulation as a motivated choice may spur managers to develop incentives to make the more positive emotion regulation strategy of deep acting more desirable to employees. CO taps into personality and contextual factors that motivate service workers to provide pleasant customer service, but there are certainly situational factors that also affect the motivation to give high-quality emotional labor. For example, emotional labor research has tended to ignore the broader literature on customer service, such as service climate. Managers can utilize this literature and knowledge to promote a setting that increases the probability of positive customer service interactions (e.g., improving service climate) and hire employees who have the personality associated with high CO.

Finally, selecting for individuals who are high in CO may result in a workforce with improved well-being as well as an organization with improved viability. Surface acting is linked to burnout, and those individuals who consistently engage in surface acting are more likely to leave the organization. These negative outcomes for employees can be avoided when they choose to work for organizations where they have a good fit (Lievens, 2003; Morrison, 2002). Managers can screen out applicants who are more likely to engage in surface acting and experience these negative outcomes. Also, a general reduction in overall turnover within service organizations is desirable due to the extraordinary costs of hiring and training new employees.

Limitations and Future Directions

A potential limitation of our study is that we did not include the expression of genuine emotion as a method, distinct from either surface acting or deep acting, of expressing organizationally desired emotions (Diefendorff et al., 2005). Perhaps more than deep acting, high CO employees will report greater expression of genuine emotion in response to display rules; this is an issue for future research. We also do not take into account the perceptions of extrinsic rewards, which have been shown to increase goal commitment to display rules (Diefendorff & Croyle, 2008). We would expect that extrinsic rewards would have more impact on the relationship between display rules and surface acting, an approach that complies with the goals rather than being intrinsically motivated to meet them through deep acting. Comparing indicators of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as moderators of the display rules–emotion regulation relationship would be an interesting next step. Expanding this work into jobs where display rules are not necessarily positive (e.g., funeral directors) could also be an fruitful research direction, as this would potentially allow researchers to distinguish the effects of CO (which emphasizes the intrinsic motivation to deliver high-quality service) from PA (which represents a general tendency to experience positive emotions).

In addition, there are some methodological shortcomings that limit the conclusions we can draw. First, because all the measures were assessed at the same time and from the same source, monomethod bias is a concern (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). This bias results in concerns that the relationships among the variables are inflated. However, we controlled for affective disposition, a likely source of such bias, and we find support for moderation, which is less likely to be due to such biases. Future research could use supervisor ratings (e.g., Diefendorff et al., 2006) or expert codings (e.g., O*NET; Grandey, Kern, & Frone, 2007; Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller, & Rotundo, 2004) for display rules, because CO and surface/deep acting need to be self-reported. Second, the present study used a cross-sectional design; therefore, statements of causal relationships cannot be made. However, display rules as a goal influencing emotion regulation is consistent with the social-cultural perspective of display rules (e.g., Matsumoto et al., 2005), the control theory perspective with display rules as a goal (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003), and experimental research (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007). Third, the magnitude of effects found, though statistically significant, is admittedly modest, raising the issue that these effects are not practically important. However, our overall models are able to explain almost one fourth of the variance in surface acting, and 11% of the variance in deep acting, and we are able to show that CO, and the interaction with display rules, have a unique impact. We may have weakened the effect by including a broad range of occupations, including professional and management occupations. Hochschild's (1983) original work on emotional labor focused on lower status service occupations, where there is less personal autonomy, and thus display rules may be more influential.

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