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Regulating Emotions in Response to Power Distance in Meetings

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Abstract

Purpose – Meetings are a necessary part of work. This research focuses on how power distance in meetings affects emotional labour, including whether leader-member exchange (LMX) serves as a moderator for this relationship. It is hypothesized that power distance in meetings would lead to higher levels of emotional labour in meeting attendees, and that higher levels of LMX would make this relationship even stronger.

Design/methodology/approach - The authors used a panel sample of full-time working adults from a variety of industries who regularly attend meetings. Participants completed a survey with items related to power distance, emotional labour, and LMX. Hypotheses were tested using moderated regression.

Findings - Findings reveal that power distance between the meeting leader and attendees does relate positively to emotional labour, both surface and deep acting. In addition, LMX moderates this relationship for deep acting, but not for surface acting indicating that when high levels of both power distance and LMX exist, meeting attendees will engage in more deep acting.

Research limitations/implications – The results of this study suggest that meeting leaders influence the behavior of attendees through their perceived power and relationship with the attendees. The power distance measure and cross-sectional nature of the sampling strategy is a limitation that provides opportunities for future research.

Practical implications – The practical implications focus on meeting leaders, how they can help meeting attendees make meetings successful and by expressing their true authentic emotions.

Originality/value – The current study is one of the first to focus on the power distance present in meetings related to emotional regulation through the social comparison theory. In addition, the current study investigates how LMX can serve as a moderator in this relationship.

Key words: Meetings, Social comparison, Leader-member exchange, Power distance, Emotional labour

Paper type – Research Paper
Regulating Emotions in Response to Power Distance in Meetings

Calendar invite after calendar invite, meetings are a part of many individuals’ work week. In fact, employees spend an average of six hours each week in meetings – a number that is higher for employees at large organizations (Rogelberg et al., 2006). Managers in large organizations spend around 69% of their time in planned and unplanned meetings (Romano and Nunamaker, 2001) and greater than 25 million meetings are held in the United States each day (Newlund, 2012). Although meetings are a pervasive work task, research on meetings has lagged behind; in particular, relationships and behavior within meetings is rarely studied.

Although previous research has examined hierarchical distance (i.e., objective power; Thomas and Allen, 2015), to date researchers have not examined power distance following Hofstede’s (1980) definition. This definition focuses on perception; power distance is the varying degree to which individuals accept and expect others to have authority in relation to their own authority (Hofstede, 1980). The way employees feel about their meeting may change based on the power distance (i.e., differences in perceived organizational power) between the meeting attendees and meeting leaders. When individuals are in a social situation where there are varying degrees of power, they are more likely to compare themselves to others (Poppe, 2003). Using social comparison theory as a framework (Festinger, 1954), individuals may strive to change their emotions to meet the emotional expectations of the group. This change in emotions is emotional labour. Emotional labour is often studied in customer service roles, but it is proposed that emotional labour could occur in any situation where there are expectations placed on emotions (Grandey, 2000). By examining emotional labour in meetings, we will determine if workplace meetings are a situation which calls for emotional labour.
The purpose of this study is to investigate the extent to which power distance between meeting attendees relates to attendee emotional labour, both surface acting and deep acting. Using social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), we argue that when the perceived power distance divide is larger, individuals will be more likely to engage in emotional labour than when perceived power distance is low. Additionally, previous research shows that the quality of leaders and followers’ relationships affects the behavior of both parties (Vidyarthi et al., 2010). However, research has not examined the relationship between leaders and followers within meetings. As such, we also propose and test whether relationships between leaders and followers (i.e., leader-member exchange) within the meeting could act as a buffer of the positive relationship between meeting power distance and attendee emotional labour. This research will provide powerful implications for research and practice since few have studied emotional labour and power distance in meetings, and none have looked at how the relationships among the people in the meeting, as benchmarked by leader-member exchange, impacts emotional labour in meetings. Implications for workplace meetings, emotional labour, and leader-member exchange will also be addressed.

**Workplace Meeting Context**

Meetings occur when two or more people come together to discuss work related activities with a bit of structure (Rogelberg et al., 2006). Meetings are the primary outlet used to make changes, generate ideas, accomplish goals, and display power (Tracy and Dimock, 2004). The most prevalent purposes for meetings are to discuss projects or routinely discuss the state of the business (Allen et al., 2014). They are a pervasive business practice that make up about 75% of manager’s time in preparation for and attendance of meetings (Allen et al., 2014). In addition, employees spend about six hours each week in meetings (Schell, 2010) and senior managers
spend upwards of 23 hours in meetings each week (Rogelberg et al., 2007). In fact, it is likely that managers may spend more time in or preparing for meetings than they do on any other work task (Allen et al., 2015).

Effective meetings can lead to desirable outcomes such as increased engagement and job satisfaction (Rogelberg et al., 2010; Yoerger et al., 2015). However, ineffective meetings are associated with negative outcomes such as decreased job satisfaction (Rogelberg et al, 2010), wasted time, and decreased employee motivation (Bagire et al., 2015). In addition, meetings that include high amounts of counterproductive meeting behaviors (e.g., complaining, off-topic discussion) are related to decreased perception of voice and co-worker trust (Allen et al., 2015).

Since a large amount of time and resources are used on meetings and they can have positive or negative impacts based on their effectiveness, it is essential to continue to research them. In fact, despite the prevalence of meetings, some researchers have highlighted a lack of research on the topic (Allen et al., 2015). The current research seeks to meaningfully further research on this arena by examining the power dynamics, relationships, and emotional labour expectations within them.

**Emotional Labour**

When an individual works to influence the emotions they have, how they feel them, and how they express them, they are engaging in emotion regulation (Gross, 1998). Emotion regulation (i.e., suppression and reappraisal) is called emotional labour (i.e., surface acting and deep acting) when it is tied to display rules in a work setting. The difference between emotional labour and emotion regulation is purely semantic (Grandey, 2015) indicating that they can be used to study the same phenomenon interchangeably. Research using emotion regulation in place of emotional
labour leads to similar conclusions (Grandey et al., 2004; Rupp et al., 2008). Thus, this study utilizes emotion regulation measures in a work context to study emotional labour.

Emotional labour was first and most frequently studied in customer service roles (e.g., Hochschild, 1983), however, emotional labour is performed in any work arena where certain emotions are expected. Although emotional labour has not been researched extensively in other arenas, meetings may serve as an arena where emotional labour is expected. In meetings, employees may engage in emotional labour in an effort to manage the impression they leave on meeting leaders and to help them achieve the goals they have for the meeting and their work role (Morris and Feldman, 1996). To some, emotional labour may appear to be positive, after all, the employees are doing what the meeting leader expects of them as well as displaying general expectations for professional conduct. However, emotional labour has been tied to both negative and positive outcomes for employees.

Emotional labour is broken into two types: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is seen as “putting on a mask” and faking an emotion that does not match the truly felt emotion (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002). In essence, surface acting is all about the outward appearance of emotion and does not involve internally felt emotions. Surface acting is linked to decreased meeting effectiveness, burnout, and decreased job performance (Brotheridge and Lee, 2002; Shanock et al., 2013). As such, it is ideal to decrease situations that lead to surface acting. Deep acting is concerned with modifying internally felt emotions to match the desired emotions (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002). Although surface acting is associated with mostly negative outcomes, deep acting has been linked to both positive outcomes such as job satisfaction (Becker and Cropanzano, 2015) and negative outcomes such as inability to recover true feelings after work (Hochschild, 1983). As such, deep acting is generally seen as the positive alternative to
surface acting. Although the outcomes of the two types of emotional labour differ, they both occur in response to display rules (Hochschild, 1983).

**Power Distance in Meetings**

Meetings are a unique environment that may pose a trigger for emotional labour. They are composed of meeting leaders and meeting attendees. Power dynamics exist between meeting leaders and attendees due to the varying levels of authority inherent with their job position. In addition, meetings are an avenue in which power is put on display (Tracy and Dimock, 2004). The varying power dynamics between individuals will lead to varying degrees of acceptance and expectations of authority over their own authority. This is called power distance (Hofstede, 1980). When there are high levels of power distance, individuals may edit their behavior in various ways.

When power distance is present in meetings, individuals will engage in social comparison. People use social comparison to determine where they stand in relation to others, to assess their opinions and potential (Suls and Wheeler, 2012), and to ensure they have a stable representation of themselves (Festinger, 1954). Social comparison theory posits that when in a group, people are driven to evaluate their abilities and opinions compared to other group members (Festinger, 1954). Poppe (2003) added that this social comparison in groups differs based on whether individuals are comparing themselves to someone who has higher power (i.e., upward social comparison) or lower power (i.e., downward social comparison) in relation to their own power. In addition, when there are external expectations to behave a certain way, individuals feel more pressure to compare themselves with others and to have uniformity in thoughts and actions (Rijsman, 1974).
Since meetings are often formal and involve a fair bit of structure, it logically follows that they will create an arena where there are expectations to perform and behave a certain way (e.g., attentiveness, active participation). Meeting attendees will feel a pressure to socially compare in order to ensure they are behaving and performing appropriately. The varying degrees of power distance in the meeting will determine whether upward or downward social comparison is performed. When there are more individuals of higher power, the attendees will be faced with upward social comparison.

Upward social comparison means individuals will compare themselves to the persons of higher ability or power than their own in order to have a model of comparison to live up to (Festinger, 1954). When employees engage in upward social comparison, they are using more capable or powerful others to serve as a model of how their own abilities and power measure up. This type of comparison allows for opportunities for improvement and enhances motivation and change (Taylor and Lobel, 1989). In addition, when there is information ambiguity, individuals will socially compare to better ensure they are displaying the appropriate behavior (Taylor and Lobel). As such, when it is unclear as to what emotion is appropriate, individuals will compare themselves to those of higher power to display what they feel is the appropriate emotion.

The presence of power distance in meetings could act as an upward social comparison trigger that motivates meeting attendees to conform to the norms and expectations of others. Social comparison theory postulates that in the presence of high external expectation, individuals will engage in social comparison in order to conform (Festinger, 1954; Poppe, 2002; Rijsman, 1974). When the meeting leader is a high power person, such as the CEO, the expectation to conform, that is to display the desired emotion, is greater. That is, the meeting attendee may seek to compare their emotions to the other meeting attendees and meeting leader in order to match
their emotions to those that are appropriate based on that comparison. Because power distance triggers this social comparison and acts as guideline to perform, it acts as a display rule acts in customer service settings.

If power distance serves as a cue that results in a desired emotion to be displayed, it is acting as display rules act in customer service roles. In customer service settings, when the display rule is salient, employees will engage in emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983). As discussed earlier, both surface and deep acting occur in response to display rules (Hochschild). Display rules are present in customer service settings, but in meetings, power distance could take the place of display rules and serve as the guideline for an emotional labour response. The emotional labour response to power distance should be similar as it is to display rules, as such, when power distance is high, individuals will choose to engage in emotional labour. Thus, the following is hypothesized:

*Hypothesis 1a: Power distance is positively related to surface acting.*

*Hypothesis 1b: Power distance is positively related to deep acting.*

**The Moderating Role of Leader-Member Exchange**

We propose leader-member exchange (LMX) as a moderator of the relationship between power distance and emotional labour. LMX refers to the relationship leaders form with subordinates (Bauer and Erdrogan, 2016). A strong LMX relationship involves trust, affect, respect and a closer, friendlier, more inclusive, and more communicative relationship (Bauer and Erdrogan, 2016). The LMX relationship is extremely influential and is linked to decreased cynicism, increased empowerment, and increased job satisfaction (Lee, 2011; Schermuly and Meyer, 2015; Volmer et al., 2011). Additionally, previous research has found that LMX is a buffer for emotional labour in employees high in negative affectivity, a personality trait related
to higher surface acting in general (Medler-Liraz and Kark, 2012). However, it has not been determined how LMX will impact emotional labour in employees in general. In addition, despite the benefits of strong LMX, these relationships are somewhat limited and truly strong LMX relationships are rare (Erdogan and Bauer, 2014).

In order to address these gaps in research, it is important to consider how LMX could change the relationship between power distance and emotional labour. If a meeting attendee has a strong relationship with their meeting leader, they will endeavor to maintain that positive relationship in their interactions during the meeting. As such, they may put in increased effort to display the appropriate emotions required in the meeting and do so in a way that is authentic and consistent with expectations (Steinberg and Figart, 1999). Since deep acting involves attempting to truly feel the appropriate emotion, it requires more effort to perform, but is more genuine to what is expected. Therefore, a strong LMX relationship should enhance the relationship between power distance and deep acting. In contrast, if the LMX relationship is strong, the meeting attendee may engage in less surface acting in response to power distance. As previously mentioned (Grandey, 2000), surface acting is “faking” the appropriate emotion and is therefore disingenuous and may be viewed as contrary to the positive relationship the individual seeks to maintain. Thus, LMX will serve as a strengthening factor for the power distance to deep acting relationship and a weakening factor in the power distance to surface acting relationship. Thus, the following is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 2: The positive relationship between power distance and surface acting will be weaker when there is high LMX.

Hypothesis 3: The positive relationship between power distance and deep acting will be stronger when there is high LMX.
Method

Sample

The purpose of the study was to examine individual perceptions and reactions to power distance in meetings, how that relates to their emotional labour, and the relationships with those in the meeting. Because all of these are individual perceptions and feelings, a self-report survey design was the appropriate methodology for the research questions and hypotheses just discussed. Participants were recruited through StudyResponse. StudyResponse is a nonprofit academic service that recruits participants to complete surveys. In exchange for recruiting participants, the StudyResponse researchers examine relationships related to survey characteristics (i.e. length, response rate, etc.) (Stanton and Weiss, 2002). The survey link was sent to 1000 participants of which 683 completed the survey (68.7% response rate). The data was cleaned to exclude missing data and the final count of participants was 467. Participants were entered into a contest for a $75 gift card in return for completion of the survey. The sample was 64% female and consisted of a diverse age range, with a mean age of 40.90 (SD=11.2). Participants had an average job tenure of 7.86 (SD=7.35) years. Most participants had graduated college (38%), completed some college (28.5%), or completed a graduate degree (16.7%).

Measures

Emotional labour was measured using a scale consisting of surface acting and deep acting scales. The scale was comprised of 10 items adapted from Gross and John (1998). Four items assessed surface acting (e.g., “I kept my emotions to myself”). Six items evaluated deep acting (e.g., “When I wanted to get out of a bad mood, I changed what I was thinking about”). The 5-point response scale ranged from “not at all” to “to a great extent.”
Power distance in meetings was assessed using three items adapted from Earley and Erez (1997) power distance measure. Items were modified to relate to the respondents’ meeting beliefs. A sample item is, “In my last meeting, subordinates highly respected their supervisors.” Respondents used a 5-point scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.”

Leader-member exchange was assessed using seven items adapted from Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995). A sample item is, “I usually feel that I know where I stand with my immediate supervisor.” Respondents used a 5-point scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.”

Affectivity was assessed using a 20-item adapted version of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988). Participants indicated, on a 5-point scale ranging from “very slightly or not at all” to “extremely,” how often they feel various emotions (e.g., excited, proud, upset, and ashamed). Positive and negative affect were used as control variables in all hypothesis testing because they have an effect on the emotion regulation process and its outcomes (Becker, 2005; Grandey, 2000; Diefendorff et al., 2011).

Demographics. Several demographics variables were assessed for relationships with the key variables including: gender, age, education level, employment status, and tenure. Of these, tenure and gender showed significant relations with focal variables. Thus, following recommendations by Becker (2005), we controlled for tenure and gender in all analyses.

Results

Means, standard deviations, correlations, and internal reliability coefficients are provided in Table 1. As expected, correlations suggest a significant positive relationship between power distance and both surface acting and deep acting. Correlations also suggest a negative relationship between LMX and surface acting, but no significant relationship between LMX and
power distance or deep acting. Given these preliminary results, we proceeded with hypothesis testing using regression analysis. However, before testing our proposed hypotheses and given the cross-sectional nature of the data, we performed confirmatory factor analysis to verify our measurement model and mitigate concerns for common method bias (Conway and Lance, 2010). Results of our CFA indicate adequate model fit (CFI = .93, \( \chi^2 = 595.49 \ p < .001 \), TLI = .92, RMSEA = .05) suggesting that the measures are distinct and hypothesis testing can proceed while mitigating common method bias.

**Hypothesis Testing**

Hypothesis 1a, predicting more power distance in meetings would positively relate to surface acting, was supported. As shown in Table 2, the relationship was significant when controlling for tenure and affectivity, \( \beta = 0.22, \ p < .001 \), 95% CI [0.21, 0.49]. Hypothesis 1b was also supported, as reported in Table 2. Power distance in meetings was positively related to deep acting when controlling for tenure and affectivity, \( \beta = 0.21, \ p < .001 \), 95% CI [0.19, 0.48].

Hypothesis 2 and 3 were tested using moderated multiple regression. Hypothesis 2, predicting that the relationship between power distance and surface acting is moderated by LMX, such that higher LMX would decrease the effects of power distance on surface acting, was not supported. The interaction term was not significant, \( \beta = 0.08, \ p = .089 \), 95% CI [-0.02, 0.22].

Hypothesis 3, predicting that the relationship between power distance and deep acting is moderated by LMX, such that higher LMX would increase the effects of power distance on deep acting, was supported. The interaction term was significant, \( \beta = 0.10, \ p = .021 \), 95% CI [0.02, 0.27], and explained a significant amount of variance in deep acting, \( \Delta R^2 = .01, \Delta F = 5.31, \ p = .022 \). A test of the simple slopes revealed that power distance in meetings was more positively related to deep acting when LMX was high (\( B = .43, \ p < .05 \)) than when LMX was low (\( B = .29, \ p < .05 \)).
regulating emotions in response to power distance in meetings. These findings indicate that when both power distance in meetings and LMX is high, individuals are also more likely to deep act. However, when power distance in meetings is high and LMX is low, individuals will not be as likely to deep act. The interaction is depicted in Figure 2.

Discussion

Power distance in meetings is indeed related to emotional labour, both surface acting and deep acting, as predicted. The positive relationship between power distance and surface acting was not changed by LMX, indicating that the relationship between the meeting leader and attendee does not impact the power distance to surface acting relationship. Although this relationship was not predicted, it is logical as surface acting is not actually felt, but just a change in outward appearance (Hochschild, 1983). Since surface acting is “faking it,” the quality of the LMX relationship has no impact on how surface acting occurs.

However, the positive relationship between power distance and deep acting did change based on the LMX relationship such that when LMX is high, the relationship between power distance and deep acting is stronger than when LMX is low. This finding indicates the relationship between the leader and attendee will impact the effort toward emotions that are both appropriate and authentic. Since deep acting involves going through the effort of trying to truly feel the appropriate emotion, it is logical that a meeting attendee will need to have a strong relationship with the meeting leader in order to put in this effort.

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study provide for several theoretical implications. First, the findings extend the field of research on social comparison theory by illustrating that individuals will
conform not only their behaviors to match others but also their emotions. In addition, upward social comparison has primarily been seen as having ego-enhancing motives (e.g., Suls, 1977) but the upward social comparison performed in reaction to power distance in meetings seems to be a result of a desire to meet the expectations of those with more power.

Second, these findings illustrate why continued research on the interpersonal dynamics in meetings is important. This research shows that the dynamics of meetings can have an effect on the way meeting attendees behave in meetings. When there is greater power distance in meetings, meeting attendees will strive to actually feel the desired emotions dictated by those in higher power. This finding extends the research on impression management in meetings to power dynamics in general, not just the power of the meeting leader (Kello, 2015). This finding continues to illustrate how social dynamics impact meeting attendee behavior.

Third, these findings illustrate how emotional labour occurs in meeting contexts. Emotional labour research has focused primarily on customer facing roles (e.g., Hochschild, 1983). In addition, early research viewed the workplace as a place where emotions were inappropriate and generally emotional labour is only thought to occur when an individual is client or customer facing (Grandey, 2000). However, Grandey’s (2000) proposed a model of emotional labour in the workplace indicated any situation where interaction expectations are present may elicit emotional labour. She highlighted the need to test these relationships across work contexts. As such, this work meets this call for research on more emotional labour in the workplace. It shows that emotional labour does occur in meeting contexts beyond customer or client facing interactions.

**Practical Implications**
The findings provide for a few practical implications for how meetings should be conducted, in particular as it pertains to leaders attending meetings. Although power cannot be decreased, meeting leaders are able to influence the outcomes of meetings by empowering meeting attendees to take charge and run successful meetings (Baran et al., 2012). Meeting leaders need to be cognizant of the effects of higher power in meetings so they can explicitly empower others to have more power and encourage open participation, respectful dissent, and challenge (Scott et al., 2013). Since emotional labour can be taxing on individuals (e.g., predicts burnout) it is important to create an environment where less emotional labour (i.e., less power distance) is necessary.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current research was limited in two ways. First, the power distance measure used in this study had not been used in many previous studies. The reliability of the measure was relatively low, indicating that it may not have been a suitable measure of power distance. Future research should consider using a different power distance measure. It may be necessary to revise the current measure to enhance reliability or devise a new power distance measure that is both valid and reliable.

In addition, the current study relied on data collected through online surveys which may be subject to common-method bias (Conway and Lance, 2010; Podsakoff et al., 2003). It is not possible to rule out all limitations resulting from common-method bias, but we did take steps to mitigate these issues. First, we performed a CFA to determine there was acceptable model fit. Second, we created proximity and psychological separation by assessing the measures independent of one another. Third, we did not collect identifying information so participants would be given anonymity as recommended by Podsakoff and colleagues (2003). In addition,
Evans (1985) concluded that moderation effects would not be found when common-method bias is present. Since a moderation effect was found in this study, common-method bias likely had a small effect on our results.

Given these findings, one potential future direction is to examine other ways that meeting leaders can impact meeting attendees. These findings illustrate the need for a strong relationship between meeting leaders and attendees in order to elicit desired emotional responses. First, it is important to establish how meeting leaders can build a strong relationship with attendees, especially if they do not interact with the attendees on a regular basis outside of meetings. Second, other relational elements (e.g., emotional contagion) could moderate the relationship between power distance and emotional labour.

**Conclusion**

Meetings are a substantial part of organization’s budget and time. When meetings are used effectively, they are a strong venue to create organizational change, establish trust, and share information. However, these outcomes may not be possible if a meeting is not led effectively. If an organization seeks to have productive meetings, it is essential for meeting leaders to be aware of the perceived power that may be present in meetings. When the perceived power distance is high, meeting leaders should strive to form strong relationships with the meeting attendees as it can enhance the relationship between power distance and deep acting.
References


REGULATING EMOTIONS IN RESPONSE TO POWER DISTANCE IN MEETINGS


Table 1

*Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1.</th>
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<th>3.</th>
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<td>1. Deep Acting</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>1.18</td>
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<td>2. Surface Acting</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>.69***</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
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<td>3. Power Distance in Meetings</td>
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<td>.27**</td>
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<td>5. Negative Affectivity</td>
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<td>7. Tenure</td>
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<td>-.10*</td>
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<td>-.11*</td>
<td>.04</td>
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*Notes. N = 467. Internal consistency estimates for each scale shown on diagonal in parentheses, where applicable. LMX = Leader-member exchange.*

*p < .05 (2-tailed).

**p < .01 (2-tailed).

***p < .000 (2-tailed).
Table 2

*Effect of Power Distance in Meetings on Emotional Labour (Surface Acting and Deep Acting) moderated by LMX*

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<th>Model</th>
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<th>Deep Acting</th>
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<td>Step 2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note. N = 467. LMX = Leader-member exchange, PA = Positive Affect, NA = Negative Affect, PDMTG = Power Distance in Meetings. *$p < .05.$*
Figure 1. Depiction of proposed power distance in meetings conditional effect conceptual model
Figure 2. Moderating effect of LMX on the power distance in meetings to Deep Acting relationship. LMX = Leader-member exchange.