# Journal of Applied Psychology

## Willing and Able to Fake Emotions: A Closer Examination of the Link Between Emotional Dissonance and Employee Well-Being

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# Willing and Able to Fake Emotions: A Closer Examination of the Link Between Emotional Dissonance and Employee Well-Being

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Emotional dissonance resulting from an employee's emotional labor is usually considered to lead to negative employee outcomes, such as job dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion. Drawing on Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory, we argue that the relationship between service employees' surface acting and job dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion is moderated by 2 aspects of a service worker's self-concept: the importance of displaying authentic emotions (reflecting the self-concept's self-liking dimension) and the employee's self-efficacy when faking emotions (reflecting the self-competence dimension). A survey of 528 frontline employees from a wide variety of service jobs provides support for the moderating role of both self-concept dimensions, which moderate 3 out of 4 relationships. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed from the perspectives of cognitive dissonance and emotional labor theories.

*Keywords:* emotional labor, self-concept, self-competence, dissonance, surface acting

The management of felt and displayed emotions is an important aspect of many employees' jobs, particularly in service industries where the expression of positive emotions is an expected part of service delivery. In her seminal book, *The Managed Heart*, sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1983) termed this type of work *emotional labor* and defined it as the "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7). Hochschild was not only the first scholar to explicitly identify the management and display of emotions as part of the work role, but she also asserted that emotional labor is a stressor that is detrimental to the psychological and physical well-being of employees. Specifically, her findings suggested that the need to manage emotions in the service of organizational display rules can create a discrepancy between the emotions an employee feels and the emotions he or she displays when serving a customer. This discrepancy, referred to as *emotional dissonance,* has been argued to be a source of strain that threatens employee well-being (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1997).

Although there is general support for the relationship between emotional labor and employee strain, there is some inconsistency in these findings (Bono & Vey, 2005; Côté, 2005). For example, Whar-

ton (1993, 1996) initially found a positive relationship between emotional labor and employee satisfaction. Although subsequent research examining different types of emotional labor strategies tends to support the idea that expressing emotions that one does not feel leads to more detrimental well-being outcomes (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009), some studies of emotional labor have also shown links to positive outcomes, such as higher personal accomplishment (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) and job satisfaction (Yang & Chang, 2008). Moreover, Côté (2005) concluded that there are no consistent differences in self-reported strain between employees in people work jobs (which usually require emotional labor as part of the work role) and employees in other jobs. Côté observed that the understanding of the mechanisms linking emotional labor and strain is limited. We agree and argue that one reason for contradictory findings is the inconsistent conceptualization of the emotional dissonance construct in emotional labor research.

Consequently, the purpose of this study was to critically examine the link between emotional dissonance and employee well-being by drawing on a conceptualization of emotional dissonance that is more closely tied theoretically to research on cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). We propose that emotional dissonance resulting from employee surface acting—the act of displaying emotions that are not actually felt—has effects that are contingent on the negative implications dissonance may have for an employee's self-concept. Specifically, we examine two theoretically relevant facets of a service worker's self-concept, each of which reflects a dimension of the self-concept construct: importance of authentic emotional displays (reflecting an employee's self-liking) and self-efficacy for surface acting (reflecting the employee's self-competence). We propose that both function as moderators of the link between emotional dissonance and em-

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ployee well-being. We tested our hypotheses with a sample of 528 frontline service employees in customer-facing jobs.

## Theoretical Perspectives on Emotional Dissonance

### Surface Acting and Emotional Dissonance

Emotional dissonance is a discrepancy between felt and expressed emotion "analogous to the concept of cognitive dissonance" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 90). This discrepancy arises when the emotions employees display as part of their job performance do not match the emotions they feel. Drawing on the analogy with cognitive dissonance theory, Hochschild (1983) asserted that when felt emotions differ from expressed emotions, tension results. The tension is due to estrangement from the self and feelings of inauthenticity. Expressing emotions that are different from the emotions that are felt, according to Hochschild, "poses a challenge to a person's sense of self" (p. 136).

This perspective has been a dominant theoretical orientation in much research on emotional labor. Indeed, Erickson and Ritter (2001) noted that because of Hochschild's influence, "most studies of emotion management processes begin with the assumption that performing emotional labor is associated with negative mental health outcomes" (p. 148). Morris and Feldman (1997), for example, referred to the negative effects of emotional labor as stemming from alienation or estrangement from true feelings. Other work described emotional labor as "threatening one's self of authentic selfhood in that it requires workers to evoke certain types of emotions while suppressing others" (Erickson & Ritter, 2001, p. 148). Erickson and Ritter asserted that hiding feelings of anger harms employee well-being because it reminds employees of their lack of control over their own emotions. Similarly, Simpson and Stroh (2004) argued that emotional dissonance creates feelings of inauthenticity within employees, particularly women, because the display of unfelt emotions contradicts "a social identity linked to forthright and open communication of emotional states" (p. 717). The common, albeit often unstated, assumption in this research is that employees have a meta-cognitive awareness of the discrepancy between felt and expressed emotions and are distressed about the discrepancy.

Most empirical research on emotional labor has focused on surface and deep acting as two emotional labor strategies commonly used by employees to meet display expectations (Grandey, 2003). *Surface acting* is the act of displaying emotions that are not felt. This is contrasted with *deep acting*, where an employee consciously modifies felt emotions to produce the required emotional displays (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). Whereas deep acting leads to a display of genuinely felt emotions, regulating emotional displays through surface acting is widely considered to be the more detrimental emotional labor strategy because it produces a mismatch between felt and displayed emotions and has been associated with a wide range of negative outcomes, including lower job satisfaction, higher levels of burnout, and intentions to quit (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Côté & Morgan, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005; Heuven & Bakker, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Thus, a dominant theme in the literature is that surface acting is detrimental because it produces emotional dissonance, which is distressing because it conflicts with employees' self-concepts.

The primary purpose of this article is to contribute to theories on emotional labor by critically examining the role of employees' self-

concept on the relationship between surface acting and employee well-being. We argue that scholars have paid little attention to the links between emotional dissonance and the body of research on cognitive dissonance from which Hochschild drew her inspiration. We examine the role of the self in the cognitive dissonance literature and, on the basis of theoretical and empirical insights, formulate and test hypotheses about its role in emotional labor processes.

### Cognitive Dissonance and Emotional Dissonance

Hochschild (1983) proposed emotional dissonance as a concept analogous to Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance. In his seminal book, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Festinger proposed that pairs of cognitions that are relevant to one another can be either consonant (i.e., one naturally follows from the other) or dissonant (i.e., one is in conflict with the other). Dissonant cognitions imply the psychologically uncomfortable state of cognitive dissonance, which then leads a person to take steps to reduce this dissonance, such as avoiding information that would increase dissonance.

Today, although there are many theoretical lenses for studying cognitive dissonance, several consistencies across the different perspectives exist. First, dissonance is conceptualized as a negative affective state, and the attitude change found in dissonance research is motivated by the desire to decrease this negative affect or arousal (Harmon-Jones & Mills, 1999). Second, although there are competing theories for why dissonant cognitions produce negative affect and arousal, nearly all explanations in some way invoke the self-concept. As Aronson (1999a) stated, "cognitive dissonance theory is essentially a theory about sense making: how people try to make sense out of their environment and their behavior" (p. 105; for a review, see Aronson, 1999b). The self-consistency explanation for dissonance implies that dissonance arises in situations that create an inconsistency between the self-concept and a behavior (Harmon-Jones & Mills, 1999). In a similar manner, the self-affirmation paradigm (e.g., Sherman & Cohen, 2006; Steele, 1988) proposes that dissonance effects come from behaviors that threaten one's sense of moral integrity and self-worth (see also Aronson, 1999a).

Grounded in this perspective, it becomes apparent that emotional dissonance has consistencies with, but also diverges from, cognitive dissonance theory. Felt and expressed emotions that are inconsistent with each other, as in the case of surface acting, are similar to the idea of dissonant cognitions and may indeed produce the tension and stress that Hochschild (1983) proposed, similar to the negative affect and arousal associated with dissonant cognitions. What has been overlooked by emotional dissonance researchers is that cognitive dissonance theory proposes that "dissonance theory makes its strongest predictions when an important element of the self-concept is threatened" (Aronson, 1999a, p. 110). In other words, dissonant cognitions per se may not be sufficient to produce dissonance effects; for example, when participants are paid well for lying, dissonance is not aroused because there is sufficient justification for the behavior (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). Steele and Liu (1983) also found that people have no problem tolerating cognitive inconsistency if they can affirm some important aspect of the self.

The theoretical implication for the context of emotional dissonance is that the emotional dissonance experienced in surface acting is most likely to produce stress, tension, and alienation when this dissonance threatens the self-concept in some way.

When emotional dissonance has fewer implications for the self-concept (e.g., where there is sufficient justification for the behavior; cf. Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959), negative effects on well-being are less likely. This proposition is in conflict with most work on emotional labor, which suggests that the dissonance between felt and expressed emotions invariably results in reduced employee well-being. Thus, in the present study, we empirically examined the role of service employees' self-concept in the relationship between emotional labor and employee well-being. This is relevant to service settings because in this context many justifications for feeling one emotion but expressing another exist. Consistent with cognitive dissonance theory, we propose that the discrepancy between felt and expressed emotions experienced in surface acting is more detrimental to well-being when the discrepancy has negative implications for the employee's self-concept.

## Surface Acting and Well-Being: Main Effects

We first briefly review the rationale for negative effects of surface acting on employee well-being before turning to a discussion of moderators of this effect. With regard to employee well-being, we focus on job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion as two key outcome variables, given that these are two of the most frequently examined outcomes in the emotional labor literature and have been consistently linked to emotional dissonance (Abraham, 1998; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Grandey, 2000, 2003; Judge et al., 2009; Wilk & Moynihan, 2005; see Bono & Vey, 2005, for a review). Job satisfaction is defined as an evaluative judgment one makes about one's job or job situation (Weiss, 2002). Emotional exhaustion is the basic individual stress dimension of the broader construct of job burnout. It "refers to feelings of being overextended and depleted of one's emotional and physical resources" (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001, p. 399) and has been described as the "central quality of burnout and the most obvious manifestation of this complex syndrome" (Maslach et al., 2001, p. 402). There are several reasons why surface acting is expected to be associated with emotional exhaustion and dissatisfaction. First, self-concept perspectives on emotional dissonance emphasize that employees who engage in surface acting experience a lack of control over their emotions (Erickson & Ritter, 2001) and experience inauthenticity (Simpson & Stroh, 2004). These feelings are similar to the value conflict and person–job incongruence that Maslach and Leiter (2008) identified as well-established antecedents to burnout. When there is a conflict between personal values and job demands, "workers will find themselves making a tradeoff between work they want to do and work they have to do" (Maslach & Leiter, 2008, p. 501). A significant body of research indicates that poor person–environment fit is associated both with dissatisfaction and job burnout (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Leiter & Harvie, 1997; Maslach, 2003). Because feeling one emotion while being required to display another (Hochschild, 1983) implies a lack of fit between one's personal state and job demands, similar effects on dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion can be expected. As Judge et al. (2009) recently noted, "Employees are probably aware of the inauthenticity as they surface act. It is at such moments when conflicts between one's own needs and preferences and the job's demands are most salient and job dissatisfaction highest" (p. 60). Second, Gross's (1998) work on the resource-depleting effects of emotion regulation suggests that suppressing emotions (as is done in surface acting) depletes cognitive resources and thus can have detrimental effects on well-being. Finally, like cognitive dissonance, emotional dissonance is conceptualized as a negative affective state. Consistent with this, Judge et al. found that surface acting was associated with negative mood. They also found that negative mood partially explains the association between surface acting and (a) emotional exhaustion and (b) job satisfaction.

In summary, employees who surface act likely perceive a lack of fit between their true emotions and the demands of the job, which, over time, would be expected to lead to higher levels of emotional exhaustion and lower job satisfaction (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Further, as emotional dissonance is a negative affective state, this negative affect can be expected to have a substantial impact on job satisfaction, consistent with Weiss's (2002) view that affect can be a significant cause of satisfaction. Thus, we expected to find, as have prior researchers, a negative association between surface acting and our two indicators of well-being. In the following section, we explore how aspects of employees' self-concept may enhance or diminish the effects of surface acting on emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction.

## Self-Concept as Moderator of the Link Between Surface Acting and Employee Well-Being

A person's self-concept is a relatively stable image of himself or herself pertaining to his or her abilities, interests, needs, values, history, and aspirations (Super, 1980). The self-concept is generally conceptualized as a multidimensional knowledge structure consisting of attributes related to a person's self-perception. Baumeister (1998) has termed the conscious awareness and knowledge of the self *reflexive consciousness*.

In the context of workplace behaviors, Leonard, Beauvais, and Scholl (1999) suggested that an employee's self-concept shapes behavior through mechanisms of deliberate as well as reactive processes. That is, employees are often faced with making deliberate choices among behavioral alternatives, and in doing so they tend to favor behaviors that are consistent with their self-concept. For any given work behavior, employees cognitively assess the likelihood of an action leading to levels and types of task and/or social feedback consistent with their self-concept and then act accordingly. However, at other times few behavioral alternatives exist for employees. Resulting reactive strategies to preserve one's self-perceptions are believed to be motivated by the direct result of dissonance between a person's behavior and his or her beliefs, a view that is based on Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. When the social feedback from one's workplace behaviors differs from one's self-concept, an unpleasant state results, which an employee attempts to resolve. If no option exists to resolve the unpleasant state, discomfort and strain may result for the employee. Applied to the context of this research (i.e., emotional labor), cognitive dissonance theory and the self-concept suggest that when service employees engage in surface acting (which produces a discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions), the extent of the negative effect surface acting has on an employee's well-being depends on the relevance of the discrepancy to the individual employee's self-concept.

As Baumeister (1998) noted, the self-concept is an extremely broad construct. We focus on employees' self-esteem as one's

overall sense of worthiness as a person (Baumeister, 1993), an individual's value judgment or evaluation based on the self (Banaji & Prentice, 1994; Baumeister, 1998; Sedikides & Gregg, 2003). When dissonance researchers speak of *threats to the self,* this can be understood as threats to how one evaluates oneself. Self-esteem has two fundamental dimensions: self-competence and self-liking (Tafarodi, 1998; Tafarodi & Swann, 1995). There is a rich tradition of considering judgments of competence and judgments of social worth as underlying most self-evaluations. For example, Diggory (1966) distinguished between two forms of self-evaluation, one based on evaluation of abilities and one based on acceptance and approval. Tafarodi (1998) described self-competence as a "generalized sense of one's own efficacy or power . . . a positive awareness of oneself as effective that results from self-consciously imposing one's will on the environment" (p. 1181). Self-liking, in contrast, is a generalized sense of one's own worth as a social object according to internalized values (Tafarodi & Swann, 1995). Self-liking is formed through reference to values or internalized standards of good and bad (Tafarodi, 1998).

Thus, our assertion that the effect of surface acting on an employee's well-being depends on the relevance of surface acting to the self-concept can be further refined by drawing on the distinction between self-competence and self-liking. Specifically, threats to self-concept are likely to come through judgments of acting as inconsistent with one's values (self-liking) and through feelings of acting-related efficacy (self-competence). In this research, we examined whether the relationship between surface acting and well-being is moderated by (a) the personal importance of authenticity in employee–customer interactions, a construct that is focal for service employee self-liking in the emotional labor context, and (b) self-efficacy for surface acting, a construct that can be considered essential for self-competence of service workers who engage in emotional labor.

## Importance of Authentic Emotional Display

Many descriptions of emotional labor posit that surface acting and the resulting discrepancy between felt and displayed emotion leads to feelings of personal inauthenticity (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1997). Indeed, several studies have used feelings of inauthenticity as an outcome variable that results from performing emotional labor (Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Simpson & Stroh, 2004). The unstated assumption is that service employees value being authentic during interactions with customers, that is, that they value expressing their true emotions. It is argued that when they cannot express their true emotions, this is a source of distress (Hochschild, 1983).

However, we question whether surface acting and the inauthenticity it implies inevitably lead to distress. The literature clearly shows that service interactions are often characterized as battles for control between customer and employee (Rafaeli, 1989) and that emotional labor frequently serves as a control mechanism (Goffman, 1969). For example, cashiers (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988), bill collectors (Sutton, 1991), and police detectives (Stenross & Kleinman, 1989) manipulate their expressed emotions to control interactions and report feeling pride in their ability to do so. These workers do not appear to strive to show their authentic emotions to clients. Instead, they show the emotions they have manipulated to gain control of the interaction and produce the psychological and material rewards associated with suc-

cessful emotional labor (Rafaeli, 1987). In a similar vein, research on burnout suggests that it is sometimes psychologically beneficial to fake emotions by showing concern for clients while remaining emotionally detached (Maslach, 1987), and expressing positive emotion may even have the effect of increasing positive affect (Fleeson, Malanos, & Achille, 2002).

Therefore, we argue that individual differences exist in the degree to which individuals consider it important to express their true, authentic emotions when interacting with customers, and we embrace this as an important value relevant to the self-concept. This is consistent with research on self-monitoring, which examines how individuals "strategically cultivate public appearances" (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000, p. 530), usually with the goal of impressing others. Whereas people high in self-monitoring generally view their interactions with others as more pragmatic and are more willing and able to construct and project images different from their private self about many aspects of their work lives (Day & Schleicher, 2006; Snyder, 1974), in this study we specifically focus on the importance of authentic emotional display, that is, the value employees place on expressing authentic emotions when interacting with customers.

In this tradition of focusing specifically on emotions in employee–customer interactions, Hochschild (1983) distinguished between workers who sincerely want to offer their true feelings to customers and those who "resist company intrusions on the self" (p. 91). Heuven and Bakker (2003) quoted one airline flight attendant, whom they classified as having a healthy approach to emotional labor, of making the distinction about when to give and when to withhold genuine emotions from passengers. Further, as Hochschild noted, many flight attendants easily separate their real and work selves, and for these workers, separation between the two selves is welcome. Thus, when engaged in surface acting, whereas some flight attendants were distressed about their phoniness, "others saw it as surface acting necessary and desirable in a job that positively calls for the creation of an illusion" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 134).

In summary, individuals vary in the extent to which they feel it is important to express their true emotions in service interactions. Consistent with theories on cognitive dissonance, we propose that this importance is a driving force behind the effects of surface acting on employee well-being. For those who do believe it is important to display authentic emotions, surface acting is at odds with their self-concept and the dimension of self-liking in particular, constituting a conflict between behavior and personal values. In other words, the importance of authenticity should moderate the relationship between surface acting and well-being.[1]

> *Hypothesis 1A:* The positive relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion is moderated by the impor-

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[1] Despite this argument for the importance of authenticity as a moderator, we also expect a negative main effect between surface acting and indicators of employee well-being. As noted previously, surface acting can negatively affect well-being through a variety of mechanisms (e.g., perceived lack of fit, resource depletion; for an additional perspective, see Côté, 2005). In this study, we explored the extent to which the negative effects of surface acting are due to the links between dissonance and the self-concept. Although we acknowledge that surface acting can take a psychological toll because of resource depletion (as would any effortful regulatory activity), surface acting should be the most detrimental when it also has negative implications for the self.

tance of authentic emotional display in service interactions, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals who place more importance on the expression of authentic emotions in service encounters.

*Hypothesis 1B:* The negative relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction is moderated by the importance of authentic emotional display in service interactions, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals who place more importance on the expression of authentic emotions in service encounters.

## Surface Acting Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy refers to individuals' judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action necessary to attain various types of performance (Bandura, 1986). High self-efficacy is beneficial for task performance for a number of reasons, including the effectiveness of task performance, persistence, the ability to cope with change, and the type of task strategies adopted (Parker, Williams, & Turner, 2006). We argue that employees' self-efficacy with regard to performing surface acting represents an important facet of their self-competence as frontline service employees and, as such, moderates the general negative impact of surface acting on well-being.

Some initial studies have addressed the role of self-efficacy in an emotional labor context. Specifically, Wilk and Moynihan (2005) proposed that general job self-efficacy serves as an important personal resource that helps frontline workers to cope with the emotional labor demands of the job, reducing psychological and physiological strain. Similarly, Heuven, Bakker, Schaufeli, and Huisman (2006) found that emotional work self-efficacy moderates the relationship between emotional dissonance and employees' work engagement. Heuven et al. emphasized that individuals with high self-efficacy may use the separation of felt and expressed emotions as a functional coping strategy to protect health and well-being; that is, expressing emotions that are different from those that are felt may be "used as a professional shield for protecting true and private feelings" (p. 227). We note, however, that the empirical findings of both of these studies have been mixed. We build on this research and propose that surface acting self-efficacy moderates the relationship between surface acting and both emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction. Like Heuven et al., we view employees' self-efficacy to perform surface acting as a buffer against the detrimental effects of surface acting. However, by placing self-efficacy in the context of our self-concept argument, we argue that the moderating role of self-efficacy does not just come from its ability to serve as a buffer against stressors. Instead, those who report higher self-efficacy for surface acting likely feel greater control and mastery when engaging in surface acting, reflecting greater feelings of self-competence (Tafarodi, 1998). As such, for these employees, surface acting is less likely to produce the threats to the employee's self-concept that negatively impact employee well-being. Thus, we propose the following:

*Hypothesis 2A:* The positive relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion is moderated by surface acting self-efficacy, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals low in self-efficacy.

*Hypothesis 2B:* The negative relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction is moderated by surface acting self-efficacy, such that the relationship is stronger for individuals low in self-efficacy.

## Methods

### Participants and Procedure

Participants for the study were recruited with the help of a professional market research firm. The firm operates a large permission-based e-mail database of potential respondents, all of which have given the research firm prior written consent to be included in their database in order to be contacted for participation in research studies. Participants were rewarded in the form of short text message credits that can be used for sending text messages through cell phones and bonus points for various online retailers. Potential respondents were targeted on the basis of their self-reported occupation and industry information that suggested that they would likely be in contact with customers in their daily work.

Out of a total of roughly 5,000 persons contacted through e-mail, 1,308 individuals logged onto our website in an attempt to fill out the online survey. Because our interest in this study was only in employees who had substantial amounts of customer contact as a regular part of their jobs, participants were asked, "As part of your daily job, how much time do you spend interacting with external customers?" Response options ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*to a great extent*). Only participants who answered either 4 or 5 were invited to complete the survey; all others were rerouted to a different website and thanked for their participation. Of the 1,308 potential respondents who initially logged onto the website, 608 (46.5%) passed the screening question to be eligible to complete the survey. Removing respondents without complete data on the study variables through listwise deletion resulted in a final sample size of 528 (resulting in 87% and 11% response rates of eligible and contacted persons, respectively). Respondents reported a mean age of 36.5 years ($SD = 10.55$) and an average job tenure of 5.6 years ($SD = 6.4$). Of respondents, 55% were male. The three most frequently self-reported occupational categories were professional (19.4%), customer service role (18.5%), and manager/administrator (17.9%). Respondents in the sample indicated that they spent an average of 70.6% of their work time ($SD = 22.3\%$) interacting with customers.

### Measures

The survey included measures of surface acting, importance of authentic emotional display, surface acting self-efficacy, emotional exhaustion, and job satisfaction as well as several demographic variables. All scale items are shown in the Appendix.

Surface acting was assessed with three items from Grandey's (2003) Surface Acting Scale, which are based on items initially developed by Brotheridge and Lee (1998). We made slight modifications to some items in line with recommendations suggested by Diefendorff and Richard (2003). The stem of the questions read as follows: "When doing your job, how often do you do the following behaviors?" The measure was assessed on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*to a great extent*). Importance of authentic emotional display was measured with five items,

which were based on Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, and Ilardi's (1997) measure of authenticity at work; however, one item was subsequently dropped in the analysis because of low factor loadings. Items were assessed on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Surface acting self-efficacy was measured with a three-item measure that we developed by closely following recommendations by Bandura (2006) for the use of self-efficacy measures. Three behavioral statements taken directly from our surface acting measure were presented to participants. Respondents were instructed to rate their degree of confidence on a scale from 0 to 100 in regularly performing each behavior when interacting with customers.

Regarding the dependent variables, emotional exhaustion was measured with five items from Pines and Aronson (1988). We initially picked six of their measure's original 21 items on the basis of their factor loadings in a pretest as well as their relevance to the workplace context; however, one item was subsequently dropped from the analysis because of low factor loadings. The stem of the items read as follows: "In general, how often to do you experience the following at your job?" Items were assessed on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). Finally, job satisfaction was measured with a three-item measure of general job satisfaction developed by Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, and Klesh (1983). Response options ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

## Results

### Validity, Descriptive Statistics, and Common Method Bias

Means, standard deviations, correlation coefficients, and reliability estimates of all variables are shown in Table 1. The reliability of all scales is satisfactory, with $\alpha$ scores ranging from .84 to .90. To assess the convergent and discriminant validity of all measures, a measurement model of all multi-item measures was subjected to confirmatory factor analysis. The overall fit statistics for our five-factor model indicate an acceptable fit to the data: $\chi^2(125, N = 528) = 358.33, p < .01$; comparative fit index = .96; incremental fit index = .96; Tucker–Lewis index = .95; root-mean-square error of approximation = .059 with $p$ (close fit) < .05.

To further assess the discriminant validity of the factors in the measurement model, two types of analyses were conducted.

First, following procedures recommended by Bagozzi, Yi, and Phillips (1991), we conducted a series of confirmatory factor analyses to test whether, for each pair of factors in the measurement model, a two-factor model had a significantly better fit than a one-factor model. Because a one-factor model is nested within a two-factor model, the chi-square difference test can be used for assessment. Second, we followed the procedures outlined by Fornell and Larcker (1981), who suggested that the average variance extracted for two constructs should exceed the square of the correlation between the constructs to demonstrate discriminant validity. All constructs showed sufficient discriminant validity.

Given that our data were collected from a single source, we used procedures recommended by Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, and Podsakoff (2003) to rule out the influence of common method bias. We did this even though interaction term effects, which are at the center of this research, are not affected by such a bias (Evans, 1985). We conducted the Harman's one-factor test, the most commonly used technique for addressing common method variance (Podsakoff et al., 2003). We compared the one-factor Harman's confirmatory factor analysis solution to a five-factor solution and found that the single-factor solution did not fit the data well, $\chi^2(135) = 3,588.00, p < .01$; comparative fit index = .38; Tucker–Lewis index = .29; root-mean-square error of approximation = .22, and was indeed significantly worse, $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 3,229.67, p < .01$, than the five-factor solution. Thus, we concluded that a single method-driven factor does not adequately represent our data and that our results are unaffected by common method bias.

### Results of Hypotheses Testing

Results in Table 1 show that, consistent with prior research, surface acting is positively related to emotional exhaustion and negatively related to job satisfaction. Respondents who engage in more surface acting also report higher levels of emotional exhaustion ($r = .39, p < .01$) and lower levels of job satisfaction ($r = -.28, p < 01$).

We conducted hierarchical regression analyses to test our hypotheses (see Table 2). Gender and job tenure, having been shown to be related to emotional labor in prior research (Simpson & Stroh, 2004; Wharton, 1993), were entered as control variables in

Table 1
*Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations*

| Variable | M | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Gender | 1.45 | 0.50 | — | | | | | | |
| 2. Tenure | 5.64 | 6.46 | .08 | — | | | | | |
| 3. Surface acting | 2.74 | 1.10 | −.06 | −.03 | .91 | | | | |
| 4. Importance of authentic emotional display | 3.66 | 0.76 | .09* | .05 | −.02 | .84 | | | |
| 5. Surface acting self-efficacy | 66.08 | 24.79 | .06 | −.06 | .33** | −.10* | .90 | | |
| 6. Emotional exhaustion | 2.73 | 0.81 | .02 | .02 | .39** | .13* | .04 | .88 | |
| 7. Job satisfaction | 3.84 | 0.92 | .10* | .04 | −.28** | −.03 | .00 | −.57** | .91 |

*Note.* N = 528. Values along the diagonal represent internal consistency estimates.
* $p < .05$ (two-tailed).   ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Table 2
*Regression Summary for Importance of Authenticity and Self-Efficacy Surface Acting*

| Predictor | Emotional exhaustion | | | | | Job satisfaction | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $R^2$ | $\Delta R^2$ | $B$ | $SE\ B$ | $\beta$ | $R^2$ | $\Delta R^2$ | $B$ | $SE\ B$ | $\beta$ |
| Step 1: Control variables | .00 | | | | | .01* | | | | |
|   Gender | | | .04 | .07 | .02 | | | .19 | .08 | .10* |
|   Job tenure (in years) | | | .00 | .01 | .03 | | | .01 | .01 | .05 |
| Step 2: Independent variables | .19** | .19** | | | | .10** | .09** | | | |
|   Surface acting | | | .32 | .03 | .43** | | | −.26 | .04 | −.31** |
|   Importance of authentic emotional display | | | .14 | .04 | .13* | | | −.04 | .05 | −.04 |
|   Surface acting self-efficacy | | | −.00 | .00 | −.10* | | | .00 | .00 | .10* |
| Step 3: Interactions | .23** | .04** | | | | .12** | .03** | | | |
|   Surface Acting × Importance of Authentic Emotional Display | | | .15 | .03 | .17* | | | −.14 | .04 | −.15** |
|   Surface Acting × Surface Acting Self-Efficacy | | | −.00 | .00 | −.10* | | | .00 | .00 | .05 |

*Note.* $N = 528$. All coefficients are reported for the final step.
\* $p < .05$. \*\* $p < .01$.

the first step.[2] Surface acting, importance of authentic emotional display, and surface acting self-efficacy were entered in the second step. Both interaction terms (Surface Acting × Importance of Authenticity and Surface Acting × Self-Efficacy) were entered simultaneously in the third step. The independent variables were centered on their respective means to reduce the multicollinearity between main effects and the interaction term and to increase the interpretability of the beta-weights for interaction terms (Cohen & Cohen, 1983); such a linear transformation has no effect on the multiple $R$ coefficients or the beta-weights for the main effects.

Hypothesis 1 states that the importance of authentic emotional display moderates the relationships between surface acting and emotional exhaustion and between surface acting and job satisfaction in that surface acting would result in more negative outcomes (i.e., higher emotional exhaustion and lower job satisfaction) for employees who place more importance on the expression of authentic emotions in service encounters. As can be seen in Table 2, the addition of the interaction terms resulted in a significant increase in variance explained for both dependent variables. To see whether the forms of the interactions matched Hypotheses 1A and 1B, we plotted them with the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991), using values of plus and minus one standard deviation on the moderator variable. As can be seen in Figure 1, the relationships between surface acting and levels of emotional exhaustion and between surface acting and job satisfaction are stronger for individuals who place high importance on authentic emotional display when interacting with customers, which is consistent with our theoretical arguments. Therefore, Hypotheses 1A and 1B were supported. We also ran simple slopes analyses, testing whether the simple slopes of the interactions were significantly different from zero. Using the Simple Slopes Syntax (Schubert & Jacoby 2004), we calculated stand-in variables for the moderator by adding or subtracting the standard deviation of the moderator from its mean. The effects for surface acting on both outcomes are significant, indicating that all simple slopes are different from zero. Surface acting is associated with lower well-being for all employees, but this association is stronger for those who place greater importance on authentic emotional displays.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that surface acting self-efficacy would moderate the relationship between surface acting and emotional

exhaustion and between surface acting and job satisfaction in that surface acting has less negative outcomes (i.e., lower emotional exhaustion and higher job satisfaction) for individuals who have high self-efficacy about their ability to engage in surface acting. An examination of Table 2 indicates that the interaction was significant for emotional exhaustion but not for job satisfaction, supporting Hypothesis 2A but not 2B. Thus, we plotted the form of the interaction only for emotional exhaustion (see Figure 2). Results are consistent with our prediction in that the relationship between emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion was stronger for individuals with lower self-efficacy for surface acting. Using the approach described earlier, we again tested whether the simple slopes of the surface acting self-efficacy interaction on emotional exhaustion were significantly different from zero and found empirical support for both slopes. Surface acting was positively associated with emotional exhaustion for all employees, but this association was weaker for those with greater surface acting self-efficacy.

## Discussion

A recent study of emotional labor noted that on "an empirical level, the negative association of emotional dissonance/surface acting and well-being of employees has been repeatedly demonstrated" (Giardini & Frese, 2006, p. 66). This quotation represents a dominant focus of the emotional labor literature: A discrepancy between felt and expressed emotions is detrimental to employee well-being. This assumption is a typical starting point for much research on emotional labor (Erickson & Ritter, 2001) and has received empirical support in many studies that have measured employee reports of surface acting (expressing emotions that are not felt; e.g., Grandey, 2003; Grandey et al., 2005).

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[2] Following an anonymous reviewer's suggestion, we also reran the regressions reported in Table 2 with employees' time spent interacting with customers as an additional control variable. The inclusion of this variable had no effect on our results, with only marginal changes of some beta weights but with all significant results remaining identical in strength, direction, significance levels, and variance explained. Additional information on these regressions is available by request.
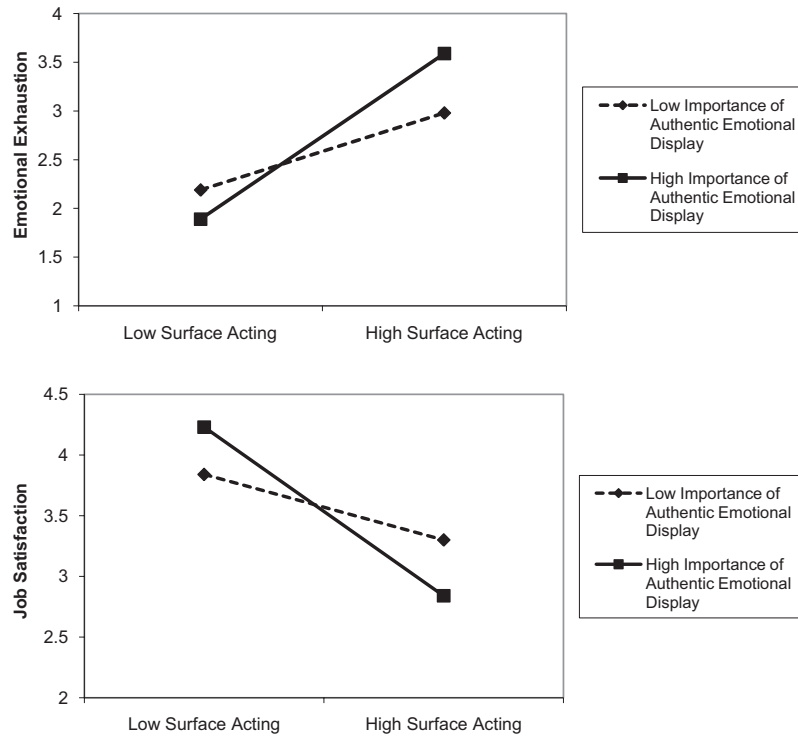
*Figure 1.* Moderating effects of importance of authentic emotional display.

The purpose of our study was to critically examine this assumption and the theoretical support underlying it and to offer an alternative theoretical perspective that is more consistent with research on cognitive dissonance. More specifically, we argue that an employee's self-concept and particularly his or her self-liking and self-competence play moderating roles in this relationship in that people differ in their attitudes toward the expression of fake emotions when interacting with customers. Emotional dissonance resulting from surface acting appears to be most detrimental when it has negative implications for employees' self-concepts.

Overall, our findings support the notion that the relationship between emotional dissonance and employee outcomes, such as job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion, is moderated by variables we hypothesized are relevant to the self-concept. We

examined two moderating variables of theoretical and practical importance to service work: importance of authenticity (closely linked to employees' self-liking in the emotional labor context) and surface acting self-efficacy (linked to self-competence when providing emotional labor). The moderating effects were in the expected direction, with three out of four proposed hypotheses significant, in that the relationships between surface acting and job dissatisfaction and between surface acting and emotional exhaustion were stronger when an employee reported high importance of authenticity and self-efficacy for surface acting. In other words, when employees believe that expressing true and authentic emotions when interacting with customers is important and when they do not believe in their own ability to fake and suppress emotions well, having to engage in surface
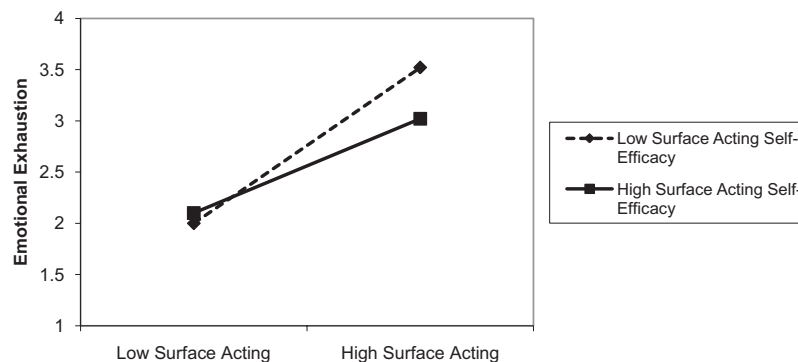


*Figure 2.* Moderating effects of surface acting self-efficacy.

acting is much more likely to lead to negative consequences for employees.

Our main contribution, empirical and theoretical in nature, is to provide an examination of the role of the self in the relationship between how employees report that they manage emotions (level of surface acting) and the type of attitudinal and affective reactions to work they experience. We begin with a well-established finding in the cognitive dissonance literature: Dissonance itself, the state of inconsistent cognitions, is not always bad. Dissonant cognitions tend to produce attitude change and other signs of the aversive state of cognitive dissonance only when the dissonance has negative implications for the self-concept. From that starting point, we demonstrated that surface acting and its relation to emotional dissonance may operate in a similar manner. Our findings replicate results from prior research by showing negative associations between surface acting and two indicators of well-being. However, we go beyond prior research by showing that the negative relationship is stronger for individuals who would more likely be distressed by faking their emotions. We believe a main contribution of this study is tying the emotional dissonance literature to well-established findings on cognitive dissonance.

In addition, our results are consistent with recent studies that examined the effects of personality congruence with the demands of emotional labor jobs. For example, Bono and Vey (2007) hypothesized that emotional regulation would be less stressful for individuals who were asked to display personality congruent emotions. Although these authors found only mixed support for their hypotheses, their results are congruent with those of Judge et al. (2009) who found that emotional labor was more difficult for introverts compared with extraverts. Whereas these two studies focused on personality traits, and our study examined two variables linked to the self-concept, a similar picture may be emerging: that emotional labor is more difficult when it conflicts with personal dispositions or attitudes.

## Research Implications and Study Limitations

In addition to the hypothesized moderation effects, we also note that, consistent with prior research, there is a significant main effect of surface acting on our two indicators of well-being: job satisfaction (negative relationship with surface acting) and emotional exhaustion (positive relationship with surface acting). Our moderator variables did not negate the negative impact of surface acting on employee well-being; they did, however, diminish the negative effects. We suspect that the pattern of the main effect is seen even with the presence of the moderators because, as prior research has correctly identified (e.g., Grandey, 2000, 2003), surface acting is equivalent to antecedent-focused emotion regulation (Gross, 1998), and this type of emotion regulation consumes resources.

As we alluded to in the introduction, the emotional labor literature has several distinct theoretical frameworks that link surface acting to negative employee outcomes. Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization focused on the feelings of estrangement and inauthenticity that result from expressing what one does not feel. This work is explicitly cognitive: It is the awareness of and distress over the discrepancy between felt and expressed emotions that drives the negative effects of emotional labor. Other scholars (e.g., Grandey, 2000) used laboratory research on emotion regulation

(e.g., Gross, 1998) to emphasize the resource-consuming effects of surface acting. An awareness of the discrepancy is not the issue in this research tradition; it is the effort required to change expressed emotions that drives any detrimental effects on employees. Our main purpose was to question and test some of the assumptions of Hochschild's work that have dominated the literature on emotional labor. Yet, the negative impact of surface acting on employee well-being may reflect the robustness of findings based on Gross's (1998) paradigm: Emotion regulation is effortful and consumes resources. Thus, whereas our rationale for the connection between surface acting and the outcomes of emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction relied on ideas of person–organization congruence and values conflict, another plausible rationale can be derived from resource depletion ideas. Our findings suggest that the resource depleting effects of surface acting are not the only cause of the detrimental effects on well-being; cognitive processes also are involved. A person who places low importance on authenticity still must regulate their emotions to conform to display rules; thus, one might presume the effort required to regulate is similar. The attitude about regulating is what is different from a person who places high importance on authenticity.

Clearly, a logical next step to advance this research would be to test these two frameworks against one another. The need for such a test highlights a limitation of our research design: We theorize but do not empirically capture the psychological processes that mediate between surface acting and employee well-being. According to our line of reasoning, a person who places high importance on authentic emotional displays with customers or who has low self-efficacy for surface acting should experience diminished self-esteem (the evaluative component of the self-concept) when surface acting because they are engaging in a behavior that threatens their self-liking and/or their self-competence. If, on the other hand, resource depletion models of emotional labor (Grandey, 2000; Gross, 1998) better explain the detrimental effects of surface acting on well-being, then employees who engage in surface acting should show evidence of diminished psychological resources (e.g., persistence, task vigilance, cognitive performance; cf. Muraven & Baumeister, 2000) but would not necessarily show signs of diminished self-concept. A study that measured these mediating psychological processes could better test these competing perspectives. Such work could also examine whether similar or different processes underlie the connections between surface acting and emotional exhaustion and surface acting and satisfaction (e.g., contrasting the fit/congruence ideas outlined here with a conservation of resources approach; Hobfoll, 1989).

Further, our theoretical approach is based of the proposition from cognitive dissonance theory that dissonance results from behaviors that represent a threat to the self-concept; this is a central point of the self-consistency (Aronson, 1968) and self-affirmation (Steele, 1988) paradigms. There are, however, other perspectives on cognitive dissonance that give a lesser role to the self-concept. Most notably, the new look perspective (Cooper & Fazio, 1984) argues that dissonance is aroused when people feel personally responsible for producing aversive consequences and that the self-concept is not particularly relevant. Research continues to test predictions from each of these perspectives, and even those who argue that aversive consequences are not necessary to produce dissonance do acknowledge that behaviors that produce aversive consequences can intensify dissonance effects (Harmon-Jones,

1999). This suggests one potential avenue for future research: Might surface acting also be negatively associated with well-being because it produces negative outcomes for customers and the organization? Research has indicated that customers do indeed perceive the inauthenticity of surface acting, which consequently negatively impacts their service experience (Groth, Hennig-Thurau, & Walsh, 2009; Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006), and Côté (2005) has suggested that surface acting can invoke negative responses from interaction partners, which in turn causes strain in the sender through a feedback loop. Further, Bem's (1967) self-perception theory represents another alternative to dissonance theory by suggesting that people infer aspects of the self-concept from observing their own behaviors, particularly when external forces (e.g., incentives) are not seen as controlling their behavior. According to this perspective, the act of performing emotional labor in fact drives one's attitudes toward it. Given the reciprocal nature of service interactions (Schneider, White, & Paul, 1998) and particularly of emotional display (Côté, 2005), examining the direction of causality could be an interesting avenue for future research. Our main point in raising both the new look and self-perception theories is to highlight that the precise role of the self-concept in dissonance research is still debated (see, e.g., Stone & Cooper, 2001, for a recent discussion and integration of several frameworks). Future emotional labor research can benefit from developing research questions from this rich cognitive dissonance foundation.

Several additional limitations of this study should be addressed. First, methodologically, the use of cross-sectional, self-report data may have resulted in common method variance, although this would not have affected the predicted moderated relationships (Evans, 1985), and the results of the Harman's one-factor test (Podsakoff et al., 2003) suggest that a single method-driven factor does not adequately represent our data. Our response rate also was somewhat low, which can raise questions about the generalizability of our findings. Second, although the underlying assumption of this research—that emotional dissonance leads to job dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion—is consistent with the emotional labor literature, we cannot rule out the possibility that the direction of causality points in the opposite direction or that the relationship is reciprocal (cf. Grandey, 2003), because it is possible that dissatisfaction and emotional exhaustion may lead employees to engage in more surface acting to override their true feelings and display positive emotions. As noted earlier, Bem's (1967) self-perception theory provides one framework by which one could suggest that the act of performing emotional labor influences attitudes toward it. A true experimental design and/or a design using longitudinal methods could shed additional light on such effects.

Third, we only focused on two outcome variables of employee well-being in our study, job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion. Both have been frequently examined in prior emotional labor research (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Judge et al., 2009; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Wharton, 1993), often in tandem, and thus were deemed particularly relevant for the purpose of this study. We can only speculate why surface acting self-efficacy was a significant moderator for emotional exhaustion but not for job satisfaction. One possibility is that the judgments of self-competence, the general concept associated with our self-efficacy measure, are more closely linked to feelings of exhaustion

than to overall satisfaction with work. Future research should attempt to replicate our findings as well as examine whether our results generalize to other key employee and organizational outcomes, such as physical health, commitment, turnover, and performance.

Finally, although the moderator variables examined in this study are important in shaping an employee's self-concept, other individual differences not addressed in this research may play an important role in influencing the relationship between emotional dissonance and employee well-being. Specifically, future research may benefit from examining the role of core self-evaluation, a broad, higher order construct tied to one's self-concept (Judge, Locke, & Durham, 1997), because some of our results may generalize to such higher order constructs. Preference for consistency (Cialdini, Trost, & Newsom, 1995) as well as prosocial impact (Grant & Sonnentag, 2010) are also potential moderators, because employees who experience their work as benefiting customers may be more likely to justify surface acting as worthwhile. In addition, characteristics specific to the service job were not taken into account in this study. It is possible that emotional labor, if performed well by employees, leads to better service interactions with customers, thus resulting in better outcomes for both customers and employees and potentially negating some of the emotional labor's negative effects (cf. Côté, 2005). In addition, future research should examine the interplay of individual-level and job-level characteristics in predicting the effects of emotional labor on employee outcomes. For example, an examination of the nature of the organizational display rules specific to the job or the organization as well as employees' beliefs and attitudes toward such display rules may further the understanding of the outcomes of surface acting (cf. Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005).

## Implications for Practice

The results of this study have several practical implications for managers of service organizations. First, the often held assumption that exposing frontline employees to jobs in which they have to engage in surface acting to meet organizational display rules principally leads to negative outcomes, such as job dissatisfaction, burnout, or turnover, needs to be partially reexamined given that the degree of negative impact may vary across employees. Our results imply that different service employees may indeed respond differently to the same demands for engaging in surface acting. This may have implications for hiring and staffing decisions. If some individuals are more suited to cope with the demands of surface acting (e.g., because of their values around expressing authentic emotions), matching those employees to the right jobs may pay off in terms of employee and organizational outcomes, such as higher satisfaction and lower absenteeism and turnover (although we did not include the latter variables in our empirical design).

Further, if employees clearly understand the role of emotional labor in producing desired organizational outcomes, this may provide the type of cognitive justifications that attenuate the negative effects of surface acting. Training and communications from management emphasizing the impact of displayed emotions on customers and clients (e.g., Pugh, 2001) may help employees to

see the value to the organization and themselves of managing displayed emotions.

Our finding that self-efficacy for surface acting moderates the relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction also may have important implications for training and development. Common sense suggests that employees may indeed be more satisfied if they perceive that they are capable of performing the core tasks of their jobs well. If surface acting is considered a vital part of their role, as is the case in many frontline service jobs, organizations may benefit from gearing employee training toward increasing people's ability and confidence in effectively managing their emotional display by suppressing unwanted emotions and amplifying desired emotions. Such training and development may have positive effects beyond the increased job satisfaction measured in this study.

In conclusion, our findings support substantial prior research indicating that surface acting is negatively associated with job attitudes and personal well-being. The pattern of results indicates substantial main effects for surface acting on emotional exhaustion (positive) and job satisfaction (negative). Yet, our results also suggest that surface acting may have less deleterious effects for persons who are less troubled by an inconsistency between felt and expressed emotions and who feel more confident about their ability to manage their emotional displays. Consistent with extensive research on cognitive dissonance, it appears that it is not the discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions per se that is associated with negative psychological effects but rather the implications that discrepancy has for the self-concept.

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*(Appendix follows)*

# Appendix

## List of Items and Results of Confirmatory Factor Analysis

| Item | Standardized coefficient | Composite reliability |
|---|---|---|
| Surface acting | | .90 |
| Put on an act in order to deal with customers in an appropriate way. | .88 | |
| Fake a good mood when interacting with customers. | .93 | |
| Put on a "show" or "performance" when interacting with customers. | .82 | |
| Importance of authentic emotional display | | .83 |
| It often makes me feel uncomfortable if I have to hide emotions that I actually feel. | .74 | |
| If I need to express emotions that I do not actually feel, I often feel like I am deceiving others. | .74 | |
| When I need to show emotions that I do not really feel inside, I often feel tense and pressured. | .74 | |
| It is meaningful and valuable to me to always be honest in showing my real emotions. | .72 | |
| Self-efficacy surface acting | | .90 |
| [Confidence you can perform this behavior] Put on an act in order to deal with customers in an appropriate way. | .85 | |
| [Confidence you can perform this behavior] Fake a good mood when interacting with customers. | .91 | |
| [Confidence you can perform this behavior] Put on a "show" or "performance" when interacting with customers. | .84 | |
| Emotional exhaustion | | .88 |
| Being tired | .69 | |
| Being "wiped out" | .87 | |
| Feeling run-down | .89 | |
| Feeling rejected | .61 | |
| Being exhausted | .76 | |
| Job satisfaction | | .89 |
| All in all, I am satisfied with my job. | .90 | |
| In general, I don't like my job (reverse scored). | .72 | |
| In general, I like working here. | .83 | |

*Note.* $N = 528$. All factor loadings are significant at $p < .01$.